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SRID-PA-HO:
A TIBETO-CHINESE TORTOISE CHART OF DIVINATION.

BY

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA DR. SATIS CHANDRA VIDYABHUSANA, M.A., PH.D.,
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Sriḍ-pa-ho—a Tibeto-Chinese Tortoise Chart of Divination.

By Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, M.A., Ph.D.

A chart called in Tibetan Sriḍ-pa-ho has recently been brought down to Calcutta from Lhasa. The central portion of the chart is most interesting. This portion contains the picture of Ruṣ-ṣbal signifying a tortoise on whose breast there are figures from which omens were drawn by the Chinese. The principal figures are those of Lo-ṣkor representing the cycle of twelve years, of Ṣpar-kha marking the eight most important things of heaven and earth, and of Ṣme-wa consisting of nine spots of different colours. The figures were used by the Chinese as diagrams of divination.

The tortoise is unknown in Tibet, while there are many frogs there. The Tibetan name for a tortoise is Ruṣ-ṣbal (རུས་སྦལ) which signifies a frog of bones. The Tibetans could not therefore have taken the initiative in drawing the picture of a tortoise. The picture evidently originated in China. It is reported that god Mañjuśrī, knowing that the Chinese were not inclined to accept religious doctrines but were eager to receive knowledge of divination, transformed himself into a tortoise to enable them to draw omens from the different parts of its body. The diagram of tortoise is said to have been imported into Tibet by Koṅ-jo, the Chinese Princess, who was married to Sroṅ-ḅtsan-ṣgam-po, King of Tibet, in 639 A.D. There is no doubt that the importation took place before 1026 A.D. when the cycle of sixty years was substituted for that of twelve in Tibet.

It was the Buddhist priests of Tibet who developed the diagram in its present shape. They enlarged it by the addition of the figures of Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi, the eight planets, and the various mystic monograms, magic-circles and charms. Two of the charms are clearly stated to have been expounded at Ṣpoṅ-thaṅ in Lhasa, while the device of "the all-conquering circle" is attributed to Guru Padma-sambhava who preached in Tibet in 747 A.D.

The charms are written in Tibetan with an admixture of corrupt Sanskrit which is often mystic and unintelligible.[1]

The Chinese diagram of tortoise (Ruṣ-ṣbal) as enlarged by the Tibetan priests is called Sriḍ-pa-ho, a tortoise chart of divination. This chart is supposed by the Tibetans to possess the power of counteracting the evil influences of Lo-ṣkor, Ṣpar-kha and Ṣme-wa. A copy of it hung by a householder on a wall is believed to guard him against all mischiefs from fire, water, wind, spirit, thief, etc.

A diagram of tortoise, bearing a mystic significance like that of China, was not

[1] The mystic Sanskrit sentences are believed by the Tibetans to be full of meanings which are known only to the Nāgas. A mortal can attempt to explain them only at the risk of losing his head and other limbs.

unknown in India. The Hindu Tāntrikas used Kūrma-cakra (कूर्मचक्र) or diagram of tortoise as a source of divination. The Rudra-yāmala, Tantra-sāra, etc. lay down rules for drawing omens from a spread tortoise on the different parts of whose body Sanskrit letters are placed in a peculiar order. Everybody notices the close similarity of the Kūrma-cakra of the Hindus with the Rus-sbal of the Chinese, but no one has been able to say definitely which of them is the prototype of the other.

The Central Portion of the Chart. The Chinese Picture of Tortoise (རུས་སྦལ)।

It has already been observed that the chart[1] contains at the centre a spread tortoise (designated in Tibetan རུས་སྦལ Rus-sbal)[2] whose mouth gapes and whose paws grasp four poles surmounted each by a frog. The frogs are evil Nāgas who are kept in control by Mañjuśrī transformed into a tortoise. On the horns and the tongue of the tortoise there are snakes while on the tail there is a *Vajra* (རྡོ་རྗེ thunder) of iron. The whole body of the tortoise emits flames which frighten evil spirits and prove disastrous to enemies. On the belly there are figured the Lo-skor Spar-kha and Sme-wa.

Lo-skor ལོ་སྐོར is the cycle of twelve years named respectively as mouse (བྱི byi), ox (གླང་ glaṅ), tiger (སྟག stag), hare (ཡོས yos), dragon (འབྲུག hbrugs), serpent (སྦྲུལ sbrul), horse (རྟ rta), sheep (ལུག lug), ape (སྤྲེ spre), hen (བྱ bya), dog (ཁྱི khyi) and hog (ཕག phag).

Spar-kha སྤར་ཁ consists of eight mystical marks representing fire (called in Tibetan མེ me, in Chinese Li), earth (in Tibetan ས sa, in Chinese Khon), iron (in Tibetan ལྕགས lcags, in Chinese dvo), sky (in Tibetan གནམ gnam, in Chinese khen), water (in Tibetan ཆུ chu, in Chinese kham), hill (in Tibetan རི ri, in Chinese Gin), tree (in Tibetan ཤིང་ śiṅ, in Chinese zin) and wind (in Tibetan རླུང་ rluṅ, in Chinese zon).

Sme-wa སྨེ་བ consists of nine spots of which the 1st, 6th and 8th are white, being symbolical of iron; the 2nd and 3rd are black and blue representing water, the 4th, which is green, represents wood; the 5th, which is yellow, represents earth; while the 7th and 9th, which are red, represent fire. The

1 Compare Waddell's Lamaism, p. 453.

2 རུས་སྦལ Rus-sbal which is a tortoise literally signifies a frog of bones. It is perhaps the syllable སྦལ sbal (frog) in རུས་སྦལ Rus-sbal that has led to the introduction of four frogs round the picture of the tortoise. In some charts of Srid-pa-ho there are no frogs at all.

nine numbers corresponding to the nine spots are arranged in such a way as to give the same total in all directions. Compare—

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

Divination.—The favourable and unfavourable consequences of an action are determined by the position of the figures of the Lo-ṣkor, Ṣpar-kha and Ṣme-wa in relation to the time when the action is performed. The auspicious and inauspicious moments of birth, marriage and death are determined on the same principle.

Surrounding portion of the Chart.

Mystic diagram.—On the left of the tortoise (རུས་སྦལ Ruṣ-ṣbal) there are three mystic diagrams, viz. (1) the diagram of the cycle of twelve years ལོ་སྐོར་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཐུག་རྟགས, (2) the diagram of eight planets and twenty-eight stars གཟའ་རྒྱུ་སྐར་གྱི་ཐུག་རྟགས, and (3) the diagram of the king and minister of the Sa-bdag nāgas ས་བདག་རྒྱལ་བློན་གྱི་ཐུག་རྟགས། On the right there are two diagrams, viz. (1) the diagram of the Sa-bdag nāgas presiding over pestilential diseases གླུ་གཉན་ས་བདག་གྱི་ཐུག་རྟགས and (2) the diagram of Srid-pa-ho for drawing omens སྲིད་པ་ཧོ་འི་ཐུག་རྟགས།

Below the tortoise (Ruṣ-ṣbal རུས་སྦལ) are (1) the symbols of eight planets, (2) the charm of eight Ṣpar-kha expounded at Ṣpoṅ-thaṅ, and (3) the charm of nine Ṣme-wa expounded also at Ṣpoṅ-thaṅ.

The symbols of planets.—The planets (གཟའ gzah) are (1) the sun (ཉི་མ ñi-ma) symbolised by a round body, (2) the moon (ཟླ་བ zla-wa) symbolised by the crescent, (3) Mars (མིག་དམར mig-ḍmar) symbolised by a red eye, (4) Mercury (ལྷག་པ hlag-pa) symbolised by a hand, (5) Jupiter (ཕུར་བུ phur-bu) symbolised by a thunder bolt, (6) Venus (པ་སངས pa-saṅs) symbolised by a garter, (7) Saturn (སྤེན་པ ṣpen-pa) symbolised by a bundle, and Rāhu (སྒྲ་གཅན sgra-gcan) symbolised by a dragon's head.

The charm of Spar-kha—བཅོམ་ལྡན་སྤྱོང་པང་ནས་བཤད་པའི་ཀུན་ཕྱབ་ན་བ་སྤྱངས—the charm subduing all diseases, expounded at Ṣpoṅ-thaṅ, runs as follows :—

ཨོཾ་སུ་པྲ་ཏི་ཥྛ་བ་ཛྲ་ཡེ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། སརྦ་རཀྵ་རཀྵ། ཨོཾ་མ་ཧཱ་ཀཱ་ལི་མཱ་དྱ་ཡེ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཨོཾ་ཨ་ཀཱ་ནི་ནི་ཀཱ་ནི་ཨ་བྱི་ལ་མ་ཧཱ་ལེ་མ་ཧཱ་ལེ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཨོཾ་ཨ་དི་མ་མེ་ནི་མི་ཐཱ་མོ་བཙཱ་ཏ་མ་རཀྵ་ཀུ་རུ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ།།

ཨཱ་ཨཱ་ཨི་ཨཱི་ཨུ་ཨཱུ་རྀ་རཱྀ་ལྀ་ལཱྀ་ཨེ་ཨཻ་ཨོ་ཨཽ་ཨཾ་ཨཿ།།

ཀ་ཁ་ག་གྷ་ང་ཙ་ཚ་ཛ་ཛྷ་ཉ་ཊ་ཋ་ཌ་ཌྷ་ཎ་ཏ་ཐ་ད་དྷ་ན་པ་ཕ་བ་བྷ་མ་ཡ་ར་ལ་ཝ་ཤ་ষ་ས་ཧ་ཀྵ།

ཡ་ར་ལ་ཝཾ་ཧཱ་ཏྲཱ་ཀ་ཡེ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ།།

ཨོཾ་ཡེ་དྷརྨཱ་ཧེ་ཏུ་པ་ཁྱཱ་ཏཱ་ཧེ་ཏུ་ཉེ་ཥཱཾ་ཏ་ཐཱ་གཏོ་ཧྱ་བ་དད། དེ་ཥཱཾ་ཉྩ་ཡོ་ནི་ར་ཧྱ་ཨེ་ཝཾ་ཝཱ་དཱི་མ་ཧཱ་ཤྲ་མ་ཎཿ།།

ཞི་དགེ་བྱ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་གཟའ་སྐར་ས་བདག་སོགས་མི་མཐུན་པའི་ཕྱོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་རྐྱངས།།

ཥཱ་ཥཱ་ཥཱ་ཥཱ་ཥཱ་ཥཱ་ཥཱ་ཥཱ། ཨོཾ་ཨཱ་ཧཱུྃ། སྭཱ་སྭཱ་སྭཱ།།

Hail! Offering to Supratiṣṭha-vajra (well-established thunder). Protect all, protect all. Hail! offering to the great goddess Kāli. Hail! offering to the circle of A-ka-ni-ni ka-ni-a-byi-la. Oṁ a-di-ma-me-ni-mi thamo-cad ma-rakṣa ku-ru svā-hā.

A, ā, i, ī, u ū, ṛ, ṝ, ḷ, ḹ, e, ai, o, au, aṁ, aḥ।

Ka, kha, ga, gha, ṅa, tsa, tsha, dsa, dsha, ña, ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ṇa, ta, tha, da, dha, na, pa, pha, ba, bha, ma, ya, ra, la, va, śa ṣa, sa, ha, kṣaḥ।

Hail! all things that have proceeded from a cause, their cause the Tathāgata has explained; their cessation too has been explained by the Great Ascetic. Protect, protect us in all actions peaceful or fierce and protect us from the hostilities of planets, stars, Sa-bdag nāgas, etc.

Rba, rba, rba, rba, rba, rba, rba, rba. `Oṁ, ā, hūṁ! Rbha, rbhū, rbha.

The charm of Sme-wa—སྨྱོང་གདམས་ལྷོ་ནས་བཤད་པའི་སྨྱོ་ཁས་བཟློག་ཀྱི་ངག་པ་དབྱིའི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ངང་ལ་དགུག་གྱུར— the charm subduing all evils from the nine Sme-wa, expounded at Spoṅ-thaṅ, runs as follows: —

ཨོཾ་སྲིད་གསུམ་འགྲོ་བའི་ཁར་མེ་རྒྱུ་བའི་བདེ་ཡིངཔ་གག་ཀོ་སེལ་ཐྲོ་ཆུ་ཀ་སེམས་ཅན་མའི་སྐྱབས་སྐྱབས་ཤིས་དང་མི་མཐུན་ཤིས་འབྱུང་བའི་སྐྱབས་ཞིག། འདི་འཚང་བ་ཡོ་རྣམས་ལ་མི་མཐུན་པའི་ཕྱོགས་ངན་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་རྐྱངས་རྐྱངས། རྩ་ཙ་རོ་ཏ་ཡེ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། གཅིག་དགོངས་ངན་པ་རྣམས། དྲུ་ཏ་ཀ་ལི་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། གཉིས་ནག་ངན་པ་རྐྱངས་རྐྱངས། དཀའ་ལ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། གསུམ་ཐིང་ངན་པ་རྐྱངས་རྐྱངས། བཞི་ལྡང་། དགོས་སྭཱ་ཧཱ་བྱ་བྱེད་ཞི་ཆུས་དབང་དུག་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ལྡ་སེང་ངན་པ་རྐྱངས་རྐྱངས། དད་ཀི་ལ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། དུག་དགོངས་ངན་པ་རྐྱངས་རྐྱངས། བྱ་བའི་ལི་ར་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། བདུན་དམར་ངན་པ་རྐྱངས་རྐྱངས། ཉེ་ལོང་ལེ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། བརྒྱད་དགོངས་ངན་པ་མེ་ཡེན་པ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། དགུ་དམར་ངན་པ་རྐྱངས།

Hail! May this be the refuge of all beings in the three worlds, the refuge of the agreeable and hostile and of the good and evil. Protect, protect those who hold this charm from the bad hostile parties. Offering to Ra-tsa-ro-ta. May the first, which

is white, protect from evils. Offering to Dha-ha-ka-li. May the second, which is black, protect from evils. Offering to Ta-ka-la. May the third, which is blue, protect from evils. Offering to the Thehu-le demons. May the fourth, which is green, protect from evils. Offering to life. May the fifth, which is yellow, protect all from evils giving them good work, peace and power. Hail good conduct. May the sixth, which is white, protect from evils. Offering to Bya-bi-li-ra. May the seventh, which is red, protect from evils. Offering to Tre-loṅ-le. May the eighth, which is white, protect from evils. Offering to Me-yen-wa. May the ninth, which is red, protect from evils.

Above the tortoise (Rus-sbal རུས་སྦལ) are the figures of Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi, the sun, a crescent moon, the mystic monogram of the all-powerful ten, and the all-conquering circle made by Padma-sambhava.

Mañjuśrī (called in Tibetan འཇམ་དཔྱངས jam-dpyaṅs)—holds in one hand a sword and in the other a lotus-flower and a book. On the top is inscribed ཨོཾ་ཨ་ར་པ་ཙ་ན་དི Oṁ a-ra-pa-tsa-na-di.

Avalokiteśvara (called in Tibetan སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས spyan-ras-gzigs)—holds a gem in two palms which are folded, and bears a crystal string in one hand and a lotus in the other. On the top is inscribed ཨོཾ་མ་ཎི་པདྨེ་ཧཱུྃ oṁ-ma-ṇi-pad-me-hūṁ.

Vajrapāṇi (called in Tibetan ཕྱག་ན་རྡོ་རྗེ Phyag-na-rdo rje)—holds a thunder (རྡོ་རྗེ) in one hand and points the forefinger of the other hand as a sign of threat (སྡིགས མནྡྲ)। On the top is inscribed ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པཱ་ཎི་ཧཱུྃ Oṁ vajra-pāṇi hūṁ.

The Sun and Moon.—The sun, called in Tibetan ཉི་མ Ñi-ma, emits rays from its surface while the moon, called in Tibetan ཟླ་བ zla-wa, appears in the form of a crescent.

The mystic monogram—the all-powerful ten རྣམ་བཅུ་དབང་ལྡན—contains the following formula in Lantsha character:—

𑖌𑖼	Haṁ	Oh grant us the boon of the garland of Haṁ-kṣa.
𑖓𑖿𑖕	Kṣa	
𑖩	ma	
𑖪	la	
𑖫	wa	
𑖨	ra	
𑖬	ya	

This refers perhaps to the ten powers which are possessed by a Bodhisattva, specially Mañjuśrī. The powers are as follows :—

बोधिसत्त्वानां दशवशिताः । རྣམ་བཅུ་དབང་ལྡན།

1. आयुर्वशिता ཚེ་ལ་དབང་བ—power over life.
2. चित्तवशिता སེམས་ལ་དབང་བ—power over the heart.
3. परिष्कारवशिता ཡོ་བྱད་ལ་དབང་བ—power over necessaries.
4. धर्मवशिता ཆོས་ལ་དབང་བ—power over religious instruction.
5. ऋद्धिवशिता རྫུ་འཕྲུལ་ལ་དབང་བ—power for transformation.
6. जन्मवशिता སྐྱེ་བ་ལ་དབང་བ—power over birth.
7. अधिमुक्तिवशिता མོས་པ་ལ་དབང་བ—power over liberation.
8. प्रणिधानवशिता སྨོན་ལམ་ལ་དབང་བ—power for prayer.
9. कर्मवशिता ལས་ལ་དབང་བ—power over work.
10. ज्ञानवशिता ཡེ་ཤེས་ལ་དབང་བ—power over knowledge.

(Dharmasaṅgraha, section LXXIV, and Mahāvyutpatti, section 23; Csoma, page 517, A.S.B. MSS.).

The All-conquering Circle—ཐམ་སྤྱན་སྐབས་མཛད་པའི་ངག་པ་དག་སྒྲུབ་འཁོར་ལོ —the circle subduing all evils, devised by Guru Padma-sambhava (about 747 A.D.), contains—

བྱིབ་ཐེབ་ཨེ་སྦྱ་ཏ། ནམ་ནམ་ཨེ་སྦྱ་ཏ། ད་ཧ་ཀཱ་སྦྱ་ཏ། ད་ར་ཀ་ལ་སྦྱ་ཏ། ཇ་ཡ་བ་ཏཱི་སྦྱ་ཏ། ར་ཇ་ཧ་ནཱི་སྦྱ་ཏ། པ་ཧཱུ་ཤཱི་སྦྱ་ཏ། ཧེ་བ་དྷ་ཨེ་སྦྱ་ཏ། ར་སོ་ནཱི་སྦྱ་ཏ། ངག་དབྱེའི་གནོད་པ་བསྲུངས་ཤིག། Offering to demon Byib-thehu; offering to Nam-nam; offering to Dha-ha-ka; offering to Dha-ra-ka-la; offering to Jayavatī; offering to Rajahani; offering to Pha-hū-śī; offering to Hevadhi; offering to Rasoni. May ye protect from the injury of nine evils (Sme-wa).

At the bottom are the priests' prayers to gods—

Prayers.—གཟའ་ཚེན་པོ་བརྒྱད་གཏད་ལ་བཞུགས་ཤིག། ཤར་ཕྱོགས་འབྲུང་བ་ཤིང་གི་རྡོ། ཤྲེ་ཕྱོགས་འབྲུང་བ་མེའི་ལྕེ། ཤུབ་ཕྱོགས་འབྲུང་བ་ལྕགས་ཀྱི་ལྕེ། བྱང་ཕྱོགས་འབྲུང་བ་ཆུའི་ལྕེ། མཚམས་བཞི་འབྲུང་བ་སའི་ལྕེ་ཆོགས་རྣམས་གཏད་ཅིང་ལ་བཞུགས་ཤིག། རྒྱས་སྦྱར་འབྲུང་བའི་ལྕེ་ལྷ་ཡི་ཡང་གཏད་ཅིང་ལ་བཞུགས་ཤིག། གཟིགས་ཤིག། བདག་ཅག་རྒྱུ་སྐྱོང་ཡོན་བདག་ལ་མ་ལྷ་ཞིག། མ་འཚོལ་ཞིག། འབྲུང་བ་སྡུ་ཡི་ལྕེ་ཆོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་གཏད་ལ་བཞུགས་ཤིག། སྨིན་དུག་ནས་བྱ་ཉེ་ལ་སོགས་རྒྱུ་སྐད་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་བརྒྱད་གཏད་ལ་བཞུགས་ཤིག།

དེ་རིང་གི་འདུ་བ་འདི་ལ་སོགས་བདག་ངན་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་བཞུགས་ཤིག། དེ་རིང་སྐྱལ་མ་ཁྲིད་ཞིག། སྨན་ཁ་མ་འཆག་ཅིག། སྨྲེ་བ་མ་རལ་ཞིག། ལོ་མ་གནོད་ཅིག། ཟླ་བ་མ་འབྲུག་ཅིག། ཞག་མ་ཀུན་ཞིག། དུས་ཚོད་མ་འཕྱུད་ཅིག། དང་ཆུད་མ་ལོག་ཅིག། བདུད་དུ་མ་འབིགས་ཤིག། ས་མ་འཐུལ་ཞིག། རྒྱ་ཐུག་དོག་མ་བྱེད་ཅིག། ཀོ་ལོང་མ་སྟོམ་ཞིག། དཔྱན། ཨོཾ་ཧ་ལ་ཧ་ལ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཧི་ལི་ཧི་ལི་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཧུ་ལུ་ཧུ་ལུ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཨ་དི་མུག་ཏི་པ་ན་ཡེ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཨོཾ་ཨ་ཀ་ནི་ནི་ཀ་ནི་ཨ་བྱི་ལ་མཎྜ་ལེ་མཎྜ་ལེ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཡེ་དྷརྨཱ་ཧེ་ཏུ་པ་བྷ་ཝཱ་ཧེ་ཏུ་ཏེ་ཥཱཾ་ཧེ་ཏུཾ་ཏ་ཐཱ་གཏོ་ཧྱ་བ་ད་ད། དེ་ཥཱཾ་ཉི་ཡོ་ནི་རོ་དྷ་ཨེ་བཾ་ཝཱ་དཱི་མ་ཀ་ཨཱཿ། ཨོཾ་སུ་པྲ་དི་ཥྛ་བཛྲ་ཡེ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ།།

May the eight great planets sit on the site set apart for them. May the tree-god of the eastern quarter, the fire-god of the southern quarter, the iron-god of the western quarter and the water-god of the northern quarter occupy the sites fixed for them. May the multitude of earth-gods of the four points of horizon sit on this great site fixed for them. May the five gods sprung from the tortoise also sit in this great site. May they look after us. Let them not cast an unfavourable glance on us the alms-givers. May they not confound us. May all the gods of five elements sit in their sites. May the twenty-eight stars from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī sit in their sites. May all the bad Sa-bdag nāgas in consideration of the great crowd to-day sit in their proper sites. May not the king of Sa-bdag nāgas be angry to-day. May not the Spar-kha break. May not the Sme-wa be torn asunder. May not the year do any injury. May not the month cause disturbance. May not the day be stolen. May not the hour be passed over. May not the position of the rich and the poor be reversed. May not one be overthrown by devil. May not the earth quake. Do not harbour hatred and malice. May it be such. Oṁ ha-la ha-la svāhā. Hi-li hi-li svāhā. Hu-lu hu-lu svāhā. Ati-mug-ti pa-na-ye svāhā. Oṁ a-ka-ni-ni-ka-ni-a-byi-la maṇḍale maṇḍale svāhā. Whatever things have proceeded from a cause their cause the Tathāgata has explained; and their cessation too has been explained by the Great Ascetic. Oṁ supratiṣṭha vajraye svāhā.

A further description of the Srid-pa-ho is given in the Tibetan text cited at the end of this paper, the substance of which is given below:—

This (Srid-pa-ho) was made for the benefit of the Nāga-rāja Nanda and Takṣaka and for Klu-gñan and Sa-bdag nāgas of the Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra, Brāhmaṇa and Caṇḍāla castes. I, a yogi, change the course of water, dig earth, roll stone, cut the old tree, hew rocks and celebrate the rituals of death and marriage. Do not be jealous of me in all these peaceful and fierce actions. This was made also for the peace and well-being of four classes of great Gñan nāgas, sixteen classes of little Gñan nāgas, the tutelary deity of the country and the clan and for all Sa-bdag and Klu-gñan nāgas. May ye do acts of friendship and assistance. O Tathāgata, give us all success, hail! O gods called respectively year-king, month-minister, day-soldier and hour-weapon, exercising powers respectively over the year, month, day and hour, O the king and minister of sa-bdag, yogini, yama, Kāla-liṅgi (Kāli), Ki-kaṅ nāga, Gnam khyi nāga, Zin-phuṅ nāga, Pi-liṅ nāga, Tshes-sgyu demigod, Hal-khyi demigod,

god of the cycle of twelve years, god of Ṣpar-kha, god of Ṣme-wa, deity of planets and stars, sa-ḅdag, and mischievous hour spirit: May ye all look at this diagram of Sriḍ-pa-ho, do not be jealous. Oṁ a-ka-ni-ni ka-ni-a byi-la maṇḍale maṇḍale svāhā. All things which have proceeded from a cause, their cause the Tathāgata has explained; their cessation too has been explained by the Great Ascetic. This Sriḍ-pa-ho was made for the benefit of the gods called respectively king of the year, minister of the month, soldier of the day and weapon of the hour, god of the cycle of twelve years, nāgas of the year, month and day, and nāgas of four quarters and eight corners. We yogis dig the earth, roll stones, build palaces, celebrate the rituals of death and marriage and throw sticks. In respect of these and other peaceful and terrible actions do not ye hate, envy, sport or joke. Look at this diagram of the cycle of twelve years, and may you turn to our happiness and well-being. Grant us your friendship and co-operation. Oṁ ki-li mi-li pretali oṁ de-wa da-li svāhā. Oṁ lhaṅ-lhaṅ ṅud śed-de du svāhā. O eight great planets beginning with the sun and twenty-eight stars beginning with Kṛttikā and Rohiṇī, listen. We yogis dig the earth, roll stones, throw sticks and celebrate the rituals of death and marriage. In respect of these and other peaceful and frightful actions do ye not hate, envy, sport or joke. Look at this diagram of planets and stars and bear a heart of peace and enlightenment. Oṁ a-ka-ni-ni ka-ni-a maṇḍale maṇḍale svāhā. O eighteen kings and ministers including The-se the Sa-ḅdag king of the year, and Sa-ḅdag nāgas of the month, and other nāgas such as Pi-liṅ, Zin-phuṅ, Ki-kaṅ, Hal-khyi, Ḡnam-khyi and Zab-ṣkar, do ye listen. We yogis dig the earth, and do many other peaceful and frightful actions in respect of which do ye not hate, envy, sport or joke. Look at this diagram of the kings and ministers of Sa-ḅdag nāgas and bear a heart of peace and enlightenment. Grant us your friendship and co-operation. Oṁ ki-la pa-ri-sa-a pa-ma. Hruṁ, hruṁ, hruṁ, ho ho ho thā thā thā nāga sarva svāhā. Oṁ mar-me raṅ thob-thib gnam ṣtoḍ ḥgrel svāhā.

The picture of Ruṣ-ṣbal at the head of the Sriḍ-pa-ho was brought from China by the Chinese Koṅ-jo, wife of King Sroṅ-tsan-gam-po of Tibet (about 639 A.D.). The Lama Mi-ñag-ḥdsin-ṅar-ka-legs translated the legend of the Ruṣ ṣbal from Chinese into Tibetan (about the middle of the seventh century A.D.). Ṟgya-shaṅ-ḳhrom, minister of King Sroṅ-tsan-gam-po, brought out his own translation of the legend with its illustration. A few charms and magic circles were added by Guru Padma-sambhava (about 747 A.D.). Some astrological diagrams were taken from Duṣ-ḥkhor-lo (Kāla-cakra tantra). The Dalai Lama the fifth (Ḷṅa-pa-chen-po) effected considerable development from Chinese and Tibetan sources. Finally the Lama Ḅla-ṃkhyen-ṅag-ḍwaṅ collected together the different parts of Sriḍ-pa-ho and put them into their present form with the help of the materials derived from the country of Gru-śa. The picture in its present form is said to have been imported from the old monastery of Ṣmon-ḥgro-gliṅ into Pho-doṅ *via* Ṣpoṅ-thaṅ of Ḷhasa.

Postscript.

While the Sriḍ-pa-ho was being printed by Lamas at the monastery of Pho-doṅ, the cook of the monastery, named Don-mi-tshe-riṅ, presented them a pitcher. Also on

behalf of a rich man named Ḍwaṅ-ḥdu of the village of Śo-mun who just then died, a rupee and a pitcher were given that his soul might be born in the Sukhāvatī heaven. The gift was made by his son Ḥde-chen.

ཞེས་ ། བློའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དགའ་པོ་དང་འཛོག་པོ་རྒྱལ་རིགས་རྩེ་རིགས་དམགས་རི་གསུ་བྱམ་ཟའི་རིགས་གདོལ་བའི་རིགས་ལ་སོགས་པ་བློ་གཏད་ས་བསྟན་ཏོ་ཞེས་སོ། ། རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་བདག་གིས་ཆུ་བསྐྱུང་བ་ས་ཏོབ་རྡོ་སྦྱོག་པ་ཤིང་གཅན་གཅོད་ པ་བྱག་གཅན་གི་ཤིག་པ་རོ་བག་གི་ལས་ལ་སོགས་ བཞི་དྲག་གི་ལས་ཐམས་ ཅད་ལ་རྣང་པྲག་གིས་མ་མཛད་ཅིག། གཞན་ཡང་གཅན་ཆེན་སྟེ་བཞི་གཅན་ཐུན་བཅུ་དྲུག་ཡུལ་རིགས་ཀྱི་གཞི་བདག་ས་བདག་བློ་གཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཞི་བ་དང་བདེ་ལེགས་སྐུ་བཅོས་སོ། ། སྡོང་བྱོགས་དང་ཁ་འཛིན་མཛོད་ཅིག། དཔྱ་གུ་ཤེ་སྐྱ་ཁའི་དྲྭ་རྩེ་ཞུ་ཞེས་ཤོ།

ལོ་རྒྱ་ཞེག་ཅུས་ལ་དཔང་བྱེད་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱ་བསྟོན་ལོ་ཞེག་དམག་མི་དུས་ཆོད་མཆོག་ཆ། ས་བདག་རྩེ་རྒྱོན། རྣལ་འབྱོར་མ། གཤེག་རྩེ་དུས་མཆོག་མ། ཀི་ཀང་། གཞམ་ཁྱི། ཟིམ་ཕྱང་། པི་ལིང་། ཆོས་རྒྱུ། ཏལ་ཁྱི། ལོ་སྐོར་བཅུ་གཅིས། སྐར་སྐྱེ། གཟའ་སྐར་ས་བདག་དུས་ཆོད་ངན་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྲིད་པ་དོ་འི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་འདི་ལ་ཡྱོས་ཤིག་རྩང་ཐུག་ཀ་བྱེད། ཀུ་རིང་དཀྱལ་ཀ་མ་བྱེད། ཞེ་ཅ་དང་བདེ་ལེགས་སྐུ་གྱུར་ཅིག ། ཨོཾ་ཨ་ཀ་ནི་ཀ་ནི་ཨ་བྱི་ལ་མནྡ་ལེ་མནྡ་ལེ་སྭཱཧཱ།། ཡེ་དྷརྨ་ཧེ་དུ་པ་ཐྭ་ཡི་དུ་དྷི་ཥྚ་ཐྭ་གོ་ཏྲཔྟ་དུཾ། དེ་ཥཱ་ཁྱ་ཨོ་ནི་ངོ་བྷ་ཤེཏྟཱ་ཐྭ་དེ་མ་ཧཱ་མ་ཏྲཱ་ཡ་ཧཱ།།

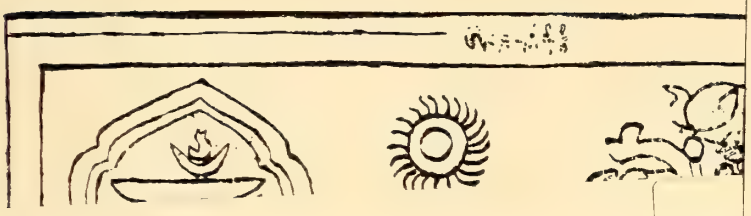
ཞེས་ ། སྲིད་པ་ཧོ་ཞེས་པ་སྦྱིན་རྩལ་སྦལ་རང་སྐད་པ་མ་གཏུག་ལག་གསར་པའི་སྐད་སྦྱ་བསྒྱུར་ཀྱི་མེད་པ་འགའ་འབྱུད་ཡང་སྲིད་པ་ཐམས་ ཅད་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་ཞེས་ སྐུ་གྲགས་པ་གཏུག་ ལག་སྟོང་ཐང་ལྷགས་སྐུ་རྒྱ་ གཟའི་བགྱིད་དང་ཕྱི་འགྱུར་དང་གསང་སྔགས་སྐུ་འདུས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་འགྱུར་བྱོགས་ལ་རྒྱ་ཞེས་བྱེམ་གྱི་འགྱུར་བྱེད་པ་ཅོ་ཁེར་རྒྱང་ཡོད་བར་བྱགས། རྒྱར་གཅེར་ལ་ཡང་ཡོད་བའི་བྱིང་འཕྱེས་འདུག། དེ་ལ་ཡང་གཟའ་སྐྱེས་ལོ་བཅུ་གཅིས་སྐྱེས་ཚེ་ཟླ་བ་ཅོ་ཁེར་ཡོད་ པ་ལས་བདག་གི་ཐྲ་མ་ཀུན་ཁྱབ་པ་ཅོ་དང་ བཅས་ལྟ་ཡོད་ པ་ལས་བདག་གི་ཐྲ་མ་ ཀུན་མཁྱེན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞལ་ནས་ བཀའ་སྩལ་པ་ཅི་ཡང་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་འདི་སྲིད་ པ་ཅོ་ཁེར་རྒྱང་ཡོད་ཅིང་ ཕན་ཐོགས་ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཏེ་ཡང་བཤད་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་ རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞེས་ཀྱི་བར་ཅིག་ཅེས་ཐོས་པ་ལྟར་ བཀའ་སྩལ་ཏོ། ། ཞེས་ཐོས་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་གྱིས་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀར་ཡིད་ཆེས་ཤིང་ ཐོགས

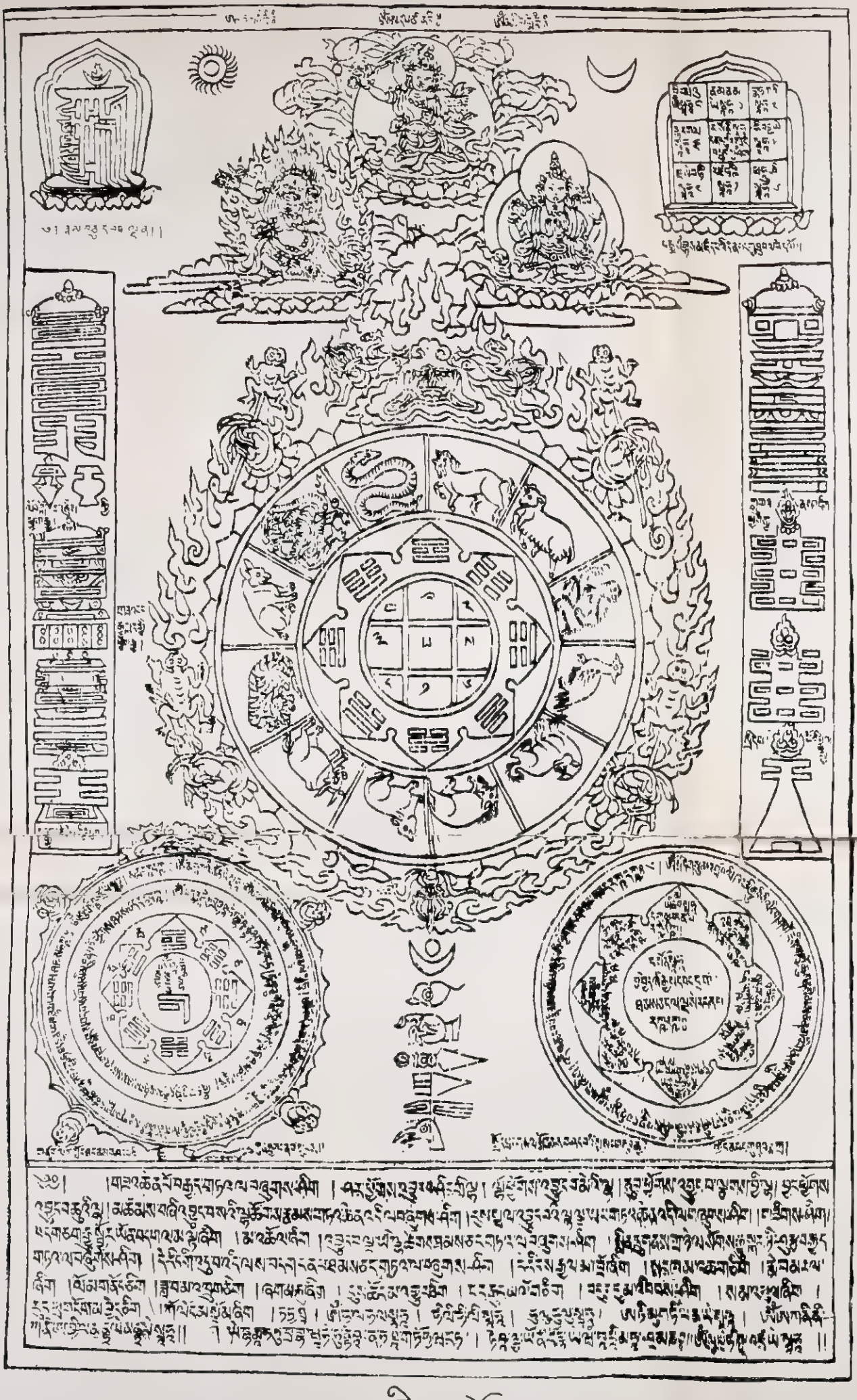
དཔལ་ཀྱི་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་བརྟ་རིས་ གཐུགས་བཀོད་མཛད་པ་ལས་ གཟུགས་ངོ་མ་སྤྱིད་ པ་དེ་དེ་ ཐུགས་རྒྱུད་ མ་གདེགས་དགོས་ ཐས་ལེགས་ བར་མ་མངོན་ད་ ལམ་ས་རས་གསར་དུ་བྱེས་པ་འདིར་ བརྟའི་རིས་གྱུ་ཤའི་ ཐུགས་དབེའི་རྒྱུན་ བཞིན་མཆེར་པ་ དང་འདིར་དབུས་སུ་ ཡང་འགྱུར་གསལ་ བའི་སྒོར་མེ་སྤྲས་བཅཱུག་ཚུགས་སྐོར་གྱི་མན་ དག་གསང་བའི་སྒོམ་གདའི་སྒོམ་ ཐས་མི་རྟང་མི་ཤིས་ པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཐུབ་ པ་དང་ཉེས་པ་ཆོང་ བ་ཐུབ་ཆོད་སྒོས་གདར་ཡང་གསུངས་ པའི་སྒོམ་རིམ་ཇོ་སྤྲ་བྱུ་ བྱ་ས་སྡོད་པར་སྦྱངས། སྡོད་པའི་དང་ལས་རང་གི་སེམས་ཉིདྡྷྱི། ཡིག་དམར་སེར་འཕྲོས་འདུ་ཡོངས་སུ་གྱུར་པ་ལས་ མ་ཏུ་གསེར་ གྱི་རྩུས་ སྤྲལ་ བཅོ་སྦྱངས་ཀྱི་ གསེར་ རྩར་སེར་ བདེའི་ལྷེ་བ་ནུ་ རིམ་པ་ གཟུམ་ དུ་བྱས་པའི་ ལྷེ་བར་ ཚོ་བྱང་ སྒྲིང་དགྱུ། དེའི་ཕྱིར་རྩེབས་བརྒྱད་ལ་སྤྲར་ཁ་ཆེན་ཀོ་བརྒྱད་དེའི་ ཕྱིར་ལེ་འརྩེ་ རྣམ་པ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ལ་ལོ་བཅུ་གཉིས། རྡ་གསེས་བདུད་གྱི་རྡོ་རྗེ་ལ་རྒྱལ་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྤྲུལ་དཀར་ཁྲ་དཀྱིལ་བ། རྡ་གསོན་གསེར་གྱི་རྡོ་རྗེ་ལ་རྗེ་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྤྲུལ་སེར་ཁྲ་དཀྱིལ་བ། ལྷེ་ཟངས་ཀྱི་རྡོ་རྗེ་ལ་དམངས་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྤྲུལ་དམར་ཁྲ་དཀྱིལ་བ། མཆུག་མ་ལྷུགས་ཀྱི་རྡོ་རྗེ་ལ་གདོལ་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྤྲུལ་ནག་ཁྲ་དཀྱིལ་བ། ཡན་ལག་བཞི་སྤྲལ་བའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་འཕྱང་བ། མཆུག་མར་བཟའ་ཆེན་ཡོ་བརྒྱད་ཅིང་རི་གནས་བ། སྐུལ་བསྐལ་བའི་ཤ་རི་དམར་སེར་རབ་དུ་འདྲོབ། སྨིན་མཚམས་ན་འཕགས་པ་རིགས་གསུམ་མགོན་པོས་གཏུག་ལག་ཤད་དོ་བཞི་ཟླ་དུད་གསུང་པ། ལས་དང་བྱ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་མི་རྟང་མི་ཤིས་མི་མཐུན་པའི་ ཐྱོགས་རིས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཞི་བར་འགྱུར་ཅིག།། ཨོཾ་མཉ་ཀ་ལི་མེཏྲ་ཡེ་སྦྱ་ཏྲ།། དཏ་ཐ།། ཨོཾ་ཀ་ལ་ཀ་ལ་སྦྱཏྲ། ཧི་ལི་ཧི་ལི་ སྦྱཏྲ། ཀུ་ལུཏྲ་ལུ་སྦྱཏྲ། ཤའི་སུག་ཏི་བཛྲཡེ་སྦྱཏྲ། ཨོཾ་ཤ་ཀ་ནི་ནི་ཀ་ནི་ཤ་བྱི་ལ་མནྟ་ལེ་མནྟྲལེ་སྦྱཏྲ། འཇམ་དཔལ་སྐུ་འཕྲལ་དུ་བའི་ཆོས་དབྱིངས་ཡེ་ཤིས་ཀྱི་བསྡོང་བའི་སྡོད་ཆེ་ནས། ཐ་རོལ་ཕྱིན་བཅུ་གོབ་པ་སྟེ། ཞེས་སོགས། དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་ ལས་བྱིན་དུ། ཐུགས་རྗེ་བར་ སེམས་དཔའ་ཆེན་པོ་ ཤཱཀྱ་ཐུབ་པ་ ལྷར་གྱི་རྣམ་ བཅུ་དབང་ལྡན་གྱི་ འདས་པ་སོགས་མི་ཤིས་ པའི་ཉེས་དཀྱུ་མཐའ་ ཐ་ཐབ་ བས་འོས་པར་སེམས་པ་ དང་སྤྲོབ་དེའོ་ཆེན་ པོ་པ་སྟྲས་མཛད་པའི་ སྡུ་འབྱུང་གྱི་ངན་པ་དཀྱུ་ཐུབ་ཆྱིད་མ་ཐག་ཐ་ ལྷག་གས་སྡུཁ་ཀྱི་ རྒྱུན་ལྷར་ སྤྱང་བའི་ ཁ་སྐྱུར་གྱི་ངན་པ་ སོགས་ལས་འཁད་པར་མདོའ་བ་ལྷར་དང་ ། གཙུག་ལག་སྤྲོར་ཐད་ལྷག་ཀྱིང་ན་བདག་ཐུབ་ཏུད་ཁྱེད་ཀག་ཀྱོད་ཀྱི་ཟབ་ དབུ་བཅུས་ པ་ཡང་འགྱུར་ གསལ་པའི་སྐྱོ་མེའི་ ཆ་ལག་ ཏུད་པོ་ འབྱུར་ ཐེམ་བརྒྱ་ ཆུ་སོགས་ ནས་བ་ཤད་པ་ འདིར་འཇིག་ཅེས་ བྱ་བ་དང་། འདི་དང་མི་འབྲ་ ཙམ་པགས་ཀྱི་ཤོག་དྲིལ་དུ་ གྲགས་པ་ཡང་ཡོད། སྐྱོན་འགྱོ་བཁ་ཆེན་གཅེས་པའི་ ཐུབ་པ་ ཀྱན་ཐུབ་པ་མ་སྤྱི་ ཐུབ་དེ་འགྱུར་འགྲོ་སྐྱ་འགྱུར་གྲས་འབྲ་ཞིད་གདམས་པས་ ཟབ་པ་དང་མཁོ་ཆེ་བའི་ དཔང་གིས་ གཟལ་སྐྱོ་ཀ་ཉེར་འཁོ་འི་གྲུབ་ སུ་ཡོད། པ་འདི་སྐབས་འདིར་འཛོ་བར་ གཞི་ཆོག་སྐྱིགས་ སུ་བྱིས་པ་ འདི་ལས་གང་ དུ་འབྱར་བ་དང་ཐུགས་གཡས་གཡོན་གཉིས་ཀ་ཡང་ཐཾ་ཀ།།

།ལོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱ་བ་བྱོན་པོ་ཞེགས་དམག་མེ་ཏུས་ཆོད་མཆོག་ཆ། ལོ་སྐོར་བཅུ་གཉིས་ལོ་གཉན་བྱུ་གཉན་ཞག་གཉན་ཐུགས་བའི་མཆམས་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ས་བདག་བྱུ་གཉན་ཐམས་ཅད་བཅོས་སོ། རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་བདག་ཅག་ཁིམ་ས་ཀོ་རྡོ་སྤྲོག་ མཁར་ལས་དོ་བག་ཀི་ ལས་མདོས་གཏོར་ལ་སོགས་ཞི་དྲག་གི་ ལས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་རྟང་ དང་ཐུག་དོག་

ཀུ་རེ་དང་ཀུལ་ཀ་མ་བྱེད་པར་ལོ་བསྐོར་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཐུགཔ་རྒྱ་འདི་ལ་སྟོངས་ཤིག་བཀུ་ཤིས་དང་བདེ་ལེགས་སུ་ཐུབ་ཅིག། སྡོང་གྲོགས་དང་དཔུང་གཉེན་མཛོད་ཅིག། ཨོཾ་ཀི་ལི་མི་ལི་བྷ་ཏ་ལི་ཨོ་དེ་ཝ་དཱ་ལི་སྭཱཧཱ།།

ཨོ་ལྷང་ལྷང་ངྷད་ཤེད་དེ་ཀུ་སྒྲུབ། ཉི་མ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་གཟའ་ཚེན་པོ་བརྒྱད་སྐྱེས་བྱུགཔ་དང་སྐར་མ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རྒྱུ་སྐར་ཉེར་ བརྒྱད་རྣམས་ རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ བདག་གིས་ས་ཀོ་རོ་སྐྱེགས་མདོས་གདོད་ རོ་བག་ཞི་བྱ་གི་ལས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་རྩང་ཐུབ་དོགས་མ་བྱེད་ཀུ་རེ་དང་ཀུལ་ཀ་མ་བྱེད་པར་ གཟའ་དང་རྒྱུ་སྐར་གྱི་ཐུགཔ་རྒྱ་འདི་ལ་སྟོངས་ཤིག། ཞི་བ་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་དང་ལྡན་པར་མཛོད་ཅིག། སྡོང་གྲོགས་དཔུང་གཉེན་མཛོད་ཅིག། ཨོཾ་ཨ་ཀ་ནི་ཀི་ཀ་ནི་ཨ་བྷི་ལ་མནྟྲ་ལེ་མནྟྲ་ལ་སྒྲུབ།། །ལོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་འི་ས་བདག་ཐེ་སེལ་སོགས་རྡེ་བྷོན་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་རྒྱུ་བའི་ལིང་རིན་ཐུང་ཀི་ཀང་ཁལ་ཁྱི་གནམ་ཁྱི་གཟར་ བསྐང་ངན་པ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཟོད་རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ བདག་གིས་ས་ཀོ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཞི་བྱ་གི་ལས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་བྱང་ཐུབ་དོགས་མ་བྱེད་ཀུ་རེ་ཀུལ་ཀ་མ་བྱེད་པར་ས་བདག་རྡེ་བྷོན་གྱི་ཐུགཔ་རྒྱ་འདི་ལ་སྟོངས་ཤིག། ཞི་བ་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་དང་ལྡན་པར་མཛོད་ཅིག། སྡོང་གྲོགས་དང་དཔུང་གཉེན་མཛོད་ཅིག། ཨོཾ་ཀི་ལ་པ་རི་ཤ་ཨ་པཱ་ལི་སྭཱཧཱ་ཧཱ་ཧཱ་





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MEMOIRS

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

VOL. V, No. 2, pp. 13—41.

FRAGMENTS OF A BUDDHIST WORK IN THE ANCIENT ARYAN LANGUAGE OF CHINESE TURKISTAN.

EDITED BY

STEN KONOW.

Smithsonian Institution
MAY 7 1920
National Museum

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS, AND PUBLISHED BY

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1, PARK STREET.

1914.

Price Re. 1-8; *or* 2*s.* 3*d.*

16-7-14.

Fragments of a Buddhist work in the ancient Aryan language of Chinese Turkistan.

Edited by STEN KONOW.

Smithsonian Institution
MAY 7 1920
National Museum

[With plates xxxiii—xxxv.]

The six manuscript leaves which are here edited seem to hail from Khotan or its neighbourhood. They were bought by Dr. E. Denison Ross in Calcutta from a Caucasian exile and Russian subject named Kara, who had, in his turn, acquired them from Caucasian Jews, who had gone to Khotan as carpet dealers and bought the leaves there. They now belong to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Each leaf measures 51 × 12 cm. and is written on both sides. Each side contains six lines, and each line forms a complete stanza. The stanzas are usually numbered at the end, commonly so that the tens and hundreds are not repeated before the units.

The leaves themselves are numbered in the left-hand margin, fol. 325 on the reverse and the remaining leaves on the obverse.

The preservation of the leaves is, on the whole, excellent. The two last ones, numbered 369 and 371, have become more effaced than the rest and cannot be read throughout with certainty.

A leaf of the same manuscript has found its way to the Royal Ethnographical Museum of Berlin.[1]

All these leaves were bought in Khotan and have probably been dug out in that neighbourhood. It is perhaps possible to arrive at a definite conclusion about their findplace. A leaf which apparently belongs to the same manuscript was dug out in 1905 by Mr. Ellsworth Huntington at Khadalik, a ruined site to the north-west of Keriya. It has been illustrated on p. 206 of Mr. Huntington's book,[2] and seems to belong to the same manuscript as the leaves under consideration. Now Sir Aurel Stein [3], who excavated the site in September 1906, gives us the following information, which seems to bear on the question about the origin of our manuscript. A certain village official, Mullah Khwaja, had come into arrears with revenue dues to the Ya-mēn, and he had come to think of selling antiques as a means of getting out of his debts. "By using his local influence he had induced men accustomed to collecting fuel in the desert jungle to the north and east of Domoko to guide him to some 'Kone shahrs' not far off. Scraping among the ruins at one of these small sites, known to the woodmen as Khadalik, he had come upon the hoped-for 'Khats.'

[1] See *Zwei Handschriftenblätter in der alten arischen Literatursprache aus Chinesisch Turkistan.* Von Sten Konow. Sitzungsberichte der kgl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1912, pp. 1127 ff.

[2] See Ellsworth Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia.* A Journey in Central Asia, illustrating the geographic basis of history. London, 1910.

[3] See M. Aurel Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay.* Personal narrative of explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China. London, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 236 and f.

Having realized some money by their sale at Khotan, he had intermittently carried on his burrowings for the last three years or so.'' Dr. Stein succeeded in finding several manuscript leaves and fragments in Turkistano-Aryan language in the Khadalik mound. He is of opinion that they have been deposited there as offerings.

It seems to be very probable that the manuscript leaves which the Jewish tradesman bought at Khotan were sold to them by the identical Mullah Khwajah who later on conducted Dr. Stein to Khadalik, when we consider that Mr. Huntington seems to have found fragments of the same manuscript at that very place.

The abandonment of the Khadalik site must, according to Dr. Stein, have taken place towards the end of the eighth century, and the manuscript fragments have probably been deposited about that time.

Fragments of another manuscript of the same text have been collected by Mr. Petrovsky, late Russian Consul General at Kashgar, and are now in the Archaeological Museum of St. Petersburg. There are altogether 173 manuscript leaves, and two more have found their way to the Strassburg University Library. This manuscript has apparently been of the same size and appearance as the fragments bought by Dr. Ross. Professor Leumann [1] informs us, pp. 11 and ff., that each leaf consists of twelve lines, of which each forms one stanza just as in the case of the Calcutta folios. It would then perhaps be natural to infer that all these leaves once belonged to one single manuscript. Such a conclusion is however inadmissible. One of the folios edited below, fol. 334, seems to be identical with fol. 334 of the Petersburg collection. According to Professor Leumann the latter contains stanzas 102–113 of one of the chapters of the work, and the former contains twelve stanzas numbered from 2, i.e. 102 to 3, i.e. 113, the tens and hundreds having been omitted. Moreover the Petersburg fol. 335 contains in stanza 109 the words *kho purra myānau pakṣä*, in stanza 111 the word *kṛtañī*, and in stanza 112 the words *hamna hona*, which are also found, in the corresponding stanzas, in the Calcutta manuscript. There must therefore have been at least two manuscripts of the work, both about alike in size and arrangement.

Professor Leumann informs us that he has also seen fragments of about twelve other manuscripts of the work in Dr. Hoernle's collection and among the St. Petersburg fragments. A single leaf has also been found by Dr. A. v. Lecoq in quite a different part of Turkistan, near Karashahr. It is numbered 51 and contains only 5 lines to the page. It seems however to correspond to fol. 251 of the St. Petersburg manuscript.[2]

Professor Leumann has dealt fully with the extent and form of the work contained in these manuscripts. It must have contained about 5,300 stanzas distributed over about forty chapters. Professor Leumann intends to publish the portion of the manuscript described by him. When this edition appears, it will be possible to judge about the nature of the text, whether it is a large compendium or a collection of several minor texts.

[1] See Ernst Leumann, *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur.* Vorbemerkungen und vier Aufsätze mit Glossar. Strassburg 1912. Karl J. Trübner.

[2] See *Zwei Handschriftenblätter*, etc. Von Sten Konow.

Professor Leumann has drawn up a table of the manuscript leaves examined by him. The beginning of the work has not as yet been found. The existing leaves contain more or less extensive portions of twenty-five chapters. Four of these are represented in the Calcutta materials.

The first line of fol. 325 contains the last stanza of a chapter. It is numbered 372. According to Professor Leumann the twenty-fourth chapter of his manuscript must have contained 372 stanzas. It is therefore probable that the first stanza of the Calcutta manuscript is the last one of that chapter, which in my edition will be marked as number I.

The remaining stanzas of fol. 325, and the stanzas contained in fols. 329, 334 and 335, are numbered from 1 to [1]1, from [4]2 to 53, and from 90 to [11]3, respectively, the tens and hundreds being commonly omitted, though I have added them within brackets. I have already mentioned that some words occurring in these verses are also found in stanzas carrying corresponding numbers in Professor Leumann's materials. But here they belong to the twenty-third chapter. It therefore seems as if the order of the chapters in this case is not the same in the two manuscripts. This portion of my materials I have given the number II.

The third fragment is found on fol. 369, and has been numbered III. It contains the stanzas 9–20 of a chapter, which I cannot identify in Professor Leumann's table.

The fourth fragment, numbered IV in my edition, contains the first twelve stanzas of a chapter, which I cannot identify. It forms the contents of fol. 371.

I am not in a position to give a complete translation of the Calcutta materials. I have however accepted the invitation of the Asiatic Society to edit them, because I think it is advisable to make them accessible as early as possible. More collaborators are urgently needed for the investigation of this new Aryan language. I know very well that I shall make many mistakes, which I might perhaps avoid if I would keep my edition back till I have got fuller materials. But I think that the individual scholar in such a case has a duty to give others an opportunity of collaborating, and that he has no right to reserve the study of such new and interesting materials to himself.

My edition consists of a transliteration of the manuscript, with an interlinear translation of such words as I understand. Then follows a list of words and forms with explanations and notes. For these I have made use of the materials contained in Professor Leumann's excellent study and also of the Central Asian versions of the Vajracchedikā and the Aparimitāyuḥsūtra, which I am editing for Dr. Hoernle The index has been arranged in the order of the Latin alphabet. Only the sign *ä* has been reckoned as *i*.

TEXT.

I.

Fol. 325.

cu aysu ttū hvatänau byūttaimä avaśśä balysä hämāne
As I that saying understand, certainly a-Buddha I-shall-become,

ttyau puñyau harbiśśä satva balysūśtu hastamo bvände 372
by-those merits all beings Buddhahood the-best will realise.

II.

Saddham [1]

Hail.

namasämo balysa kye ttärä rraṣṭo hvatai thu
I-worship the-Buddhas whom so-far justly saidest thou

här-ju saṁtserai [2] o gāmī näśtä 1
because connected-with-existence and transient (?) not-is.

hamäyāre harbiśśä härа ni dāru ṣṭāre
Transmigrating-are all things not firmly stand

ttū vare vā hāḍe uysnorāṇu padaṁgya [2]
that upon indeed the-states of-the-beings are-based (?).

khoye pyūṣḍe crrāmu ṣu väta kṛviyuggä satva
When-one hears how were of-the-Kṛta-age the-beings

crrāmu vätä kälä kho ttärä staurä ha mästä 3
how there-was a-time when so-far strong indeed greatly.

ne-ne ju hā-mäñätä karä khoye härа daiyä
not now looks-like at-all when-one things sees

kaläyuggī harbiśśu tt[e]rä stauru ha mästä 4
belonging-to-the-Kali-age everything thus strong indeed greatly.

tterä ne vätä bāḍä ko-va parrīye kalpī [2]
Thus not was time that was-saved-one who-belongs-to-the-kalpa

ysama-śśandai [3] harbiśśä tterä äphäḍä vätä ya 5
belonging-to-the-earth everyone thus afflicted was and.

nä śśäña drraumūjsiya balysä puña kuśśalamūla haṁkhiṣṭo [2]
Not in-one Buddha's meritorious roots-of-goodness counted

biśśä sarva satva yanīndä ttärä gyasta balysa puñaunda 6
every all beings make, so-far the-divine Buddhas (are-)full-of-merit.

pharu buḍaru balysä ṣṣahāne hamye kṣaṇu yīndä näjsaṣṭo
Much more the-Buddha faith in-one moment makes explained

panye kṣaṇä handarä tāmu kho ttätä para māṇava biśśä 7
in-each moment other than those highest māṇavas all.

kye rä ttä para māṇava biśśä tterä Śśāriputra hämāro
Who now those highest māṇavas all thus O-Śāriputra may-be

---

[1] The beginning or a new chapter is indicated by a circle attached to the left side of *sa*.
[2] With superfluous sign of interpunction.
[3] The sign of *ai* here has the shape of a St Andrew's cross

śye kṣaṇä ni tte rī gūna[1] bvemäte-jsa rrījäte balysä. [8]
in-one moment their those also qualities through-understanding surpasses(?) Buddha.

pharu buḍaru balysä samāhāna buḍaru mästa vimūha
Much more Buddha's meditations more great releases

kho ttäte para māṇava biśśä cu kari arahanda ni bvāre 9
than those highest māṇavas all what at-all arhants not realize.

ttäna mä pratäbimbai vīri kye mä udiśä ṣṣadde-jsa yande
Therefore my likeness in who me towards with-faith acts

tte rī puña mästa hämāre biśśī käḍätāne jiyāre. [10]
those also merits great become all-his sins are-oppressed.

balysūśtu hastamo butte parrījäte satva dukhyau-jsa
Buddhahood the-best he-realises he-delivers the-beings from-misery

biśśäñe śśäratete-jsa trāmu biśśä-padya hämäte kho balysä [11]
in-all goodness thus in-all ways he-becomes like the-Buddha.

Fol. 329.

ggīrai ṣṣu braṣṭe[1] se cvī kīrä se ysojsi
Girai now asked, now what-his work? now purification (?)

ka ysojsä īyä ka cvī hamatä ne hvīrä [4]2
when purification(?) should-be. When? when-with-him at-the-same-time not the lord(?)

trāmu māñamdu kye pharu dātu nikṣūtä
Thus like who much the-law

ka tta tceru īyä hamatä cūḍe ne yañä thu. [43]
when so work might-be at-the-same-time tonsure (?) not makest thou.

ttäna śśärye bāḍä hamatä paḍā västāta
Therefore in-the-blessed time at-the-same-time forth started

dātu vätu rrunde ttīyä lovapathīya [4]4
the-law in kings then world-renowned.

pharu salī vaṣṭa ku ne-nä vätä śtä adātä
Many a-year for when not arisen is unrighteousness

tūśśe biśśä ku bäye Śamä rrundi västāte [4]5
empty all when abodes (?) of-Yama the-king were-standing.

Nämä rro rre ustamu ttū dātä-na drraite[1]
Nimi and king at-last that with-the-law protected

ysama-śśandau hvāṣṭä ṣä aviṣṣägyäte pūru [4]6
earth well-established, he anointed his-son.

ttai parste dātä-na yana harbäśśu rruśtu
Thus-to-him he-said: with-the-law do the-whole government

---

[1] With superfluous sign of interpunction.

cīyä paśśä dātu bajäte harbiśśä kṣīrä [4]7
if thou-abandonest the-law, will-be-destroyed the-whole realm.

ṣṣ[ai] hīvī pūrä[1] ma vaṣṭe kar[ä] pakṣä[1]
Even belonging-to thy-son not should-lead-you (?) at-all the-side

adātä-na śśaṁdye raysä śśando vahīndä [4]8
(If-)by-unright of-the-earth the-rule (?) on-the-earth they-dwell (?),

cī dukhä-te kṣīrä hämäte cu vā yanīndä
if in-misery-thy realm is when now they do

ne-ne pathīsīndä adātyau-jsa uysnora. [4]9
not let-off from-unright the-beings,

pharu rro jsañä satva ko rro dātu yanāro
much and slayest the-beings though even right they-do

ne-ne hämäte dātä samu rro baśdo näsa 50
not there-is right, at-the-same-time also guilt wilt-incur;

ka ne ṣṣahānīya hajba dātya hvaṁndi
when not virtuous wise righteous men

adātya īrata śśaṭhyau-jsa purrīndä. 51
unrighteous with-rogues are-filled (?);

cītä ne buva hvandi ṣṣahānānu väśśeṣu
if not beings men of-virtue particularly,

ysama-śśandiya[1] harbiśśe panaśśāre ṣṣahāne. [52]
on-earth all is-lost virtue.

kāḍaruī baste[1] u aviṣīyvī hūḍe[1]
Sword-his he-bound and anointing-of-him he-gave (?),

nimä śśä rre parräte brahmalovi vavannä 53
Nimi now the-king was-released in-the-Brahma-world entered.

Fol. 334.

ttai ttä biśśi ggāṭhā ysīnīya kye mamä śśāśanu oṣku
Thus-by-him they all beings are-blessed who my religion always

jvyau dharmyau-jsa paderīndä ku ne-mä thatau nihuśdä 90
lives righteous-with keep when not-of-me quickly.

adātī pakṣu pathaṁjīndi dātu pakṣu hämāre
The-unrighteous side they-abandon(?) on-the-righteous side they are

hätaṁkara śśāśiña uvatārna ṣṣamanānu hämāre [9]1
benefactors in-the-religion by-assistance (?) of-the-ascetics they are.

ka biśśä parsīndi dukhyau-jsa nirvānä ttranda hämānde
When all are-released from-misery to-nirvāṇa gone are

---

[1] With superfluous sign of interpunction.

tteru väte harbiśśo patä[1] hvāno Mahākālśavi nāte [9]2
so-being in all the-master's preaching Mahākāśyapa got.

pātcu vā balysä suvīru ggurṣṭe Baradbāju ttu kālu
Afterwards now Buddha the-valiant addressed Bharadvāja at-that time

Bakulu Iṅgaṇu Vanavāysu Aśśauku Ggaupaku sthīru
Bakula Iṅgaṇa Vanavāsa Aśoka Gopaka the-elder 4[i.e. 93]

Badru Kāḍu Kanakavatsu Kanakabāradbāju
Bhadra Kāla Kanakavatsa Kanakabhāradvāja

Pantho Rāhulu Nāgasenu Cūḍapantho sthīru 95[i e. 94]
Panthaka Rāhula Nāgasena Cūḍapanthaka the-elder

abi-ju-ggurṣṭe Vajjiputtru haṁtsa biṣṭyau ttīyä[1]
He-addressed Vajrīputra together-with the-followers(?) then,

umā ttū śśāśanu ysīnīyu dastu vīri paśśīmä 96[i.e.95]
O-disciples(?) that doctrine the-blessed-one the-hand in I-let.

tto ttä biśśä ggāṭhā ysīnīta kye mamä śśāśiña ṣṣadda[1]
And-so those all beings are-blessed who my in-doctrine believing

ka ni trāmu dakṣiṇo śśūhāta ku parsīndi dukhyau-jsa [9]6
when not thus fee when they-are-released from misery.

ci ṣṣandäṣṣajo yanīyä jāggarau khāysu bilsaṁgi
Who might-make waking food to-the-order

o paṁjavaṣṣī mālihāru nimaṁdrūṇo yanīyä [9]7
and pañcavarsika invitation might-make,

saṁkhāramu yande cātäśśālu aṁggäśālu bilsaṁgi
a-saṅghārāma makes a-four-roomed a-fire-room for-the-order,

haṁtsa ānaṁduvyau vara āṇa varāśāre handāro [9]8
with joyful-people(?) there being they-obtain support.

varatä hīsāta ma ju ṣä īyä ka ju ye kṣāḍä hämāte
he would-be when now one becomes

nä vara dākṣiṇīndu byehītä tcamäna ysände bilsaṁggi [99]
not there he-would-obtain wherefrom knows[?] the-order.

cu mānau aysu tta hvataimä närvänä kantha pṛhīya
As now I so said, nirvāṇa's city is-wide

pande hā ttärburo byaude ku buro mara ttäte pata īndä [100]
rooms(?) so-much are found as much here those lords are.

anice harbiśśä ṣkoṅgye anātme harbiśśä skauṅgye[1]
Transient all forms unreal all forms

dukhīṅgye harbiśśä ṣkoṅgye tsāṣṭä närvāni nä ṣaundi [10]1
full-of-misery all forms in-nirvāṇa not

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[1] With superfluous sign of interpunction.

Fol. 335.

vyāksīva-hāḍe hämāre ṣṣamanānu ustaṁ kālu
Obstruction-states become for-the-śramaṇas in-the-last time

ne-ne tta pani śśando ttīyä arahanda hamu-väte byaure [10]2
not thus any on-earth then arhats likewise are-found.

umā ṣai[1] parau muho-jsa vaṁña ma varä vāro hämāte
O-disciples (?) even by-me here is

śśo tcaramu ustamu vīrä varatä hīsīyi bälsaṁgya [103]
ultimate last in might-be-sounded in-the-order.

āstanna sthīri Baradvāji panatä harbiśśä ttīyä[2]
Beginning-with the-elder Bharadvāja rose every-body then,

käḍenu amanāvu bihīyu ku tte-te pyūṣtāndi salava. [104]
action unfair they-would-fear (?) when those-thy they-heard words.

balysä baña jsaunita västāta gyasta balysa mäḍāna
O-the-Buddha before gone (?) we-have-started, O-divine Buddha merciful

crrāmu ttye pīri pūra syūta ce päte mīḍe u māta. [10]5
as of-that teacher sons whose father dies and mother.

ttrrāmu maha haṁjsäta mara syūta gyasta balysa paśśete
Thus we (?) come here O-divine Buddha

mulśdu yanu maha vai[1] balysa paśśa ni ūvāśu biśśānu [10]6
mercy make for-us (?) now O-Buddha leave to-us (?) bliss (?) to-all.

tteri paranirvāmä ku ṣṣai thu mara-ta ṭṛṣṭandī balysa
Thus we-enter-into-nirvaṇa when also thou here standing-art O-Buddha

ka mara harsāmä mästu daṇḍu pachīśāma ne balysa [10]7
when here we- great punishment we-complete not O-Buddha.

tta ni hvāñäte balysä umyau-jsa ttäte nä ysānäre salāva
Thus to-them says the-Buddha to-the-disciples, they not know the-words,

biśśu yiḍāndi sta cū tceru kho rro muho-jsa syūta
everything done you-have what-your work so-that also by-me

hämīru [108]
may-become.

vāmu puṣṣo ttranda sta ysaṁthīnau biśśä klaiśa
gone you-have belonging-to-rebirth all defilements

jätānda
you-have-conquered,

trāmu haṁbaḍa sta ṣṣahānyo-jsa kho purra myānau pakṣä [10]9
so filled you-are with-virtue as the-moon in-the-bright fortnight.

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[1] The sign of *ai* here has the shape of a St. Andrew's cross.

[2] With superflous sign of interpunction.

ce rä halcä mamä nä chovätä āta samu kho bārandi padā
Who now some-one my similarly as
ni tvīye haṁberäte hatä rra ni-ni ju hā biśtä cu bendä [110]
not at-death
pūryo mamä kṛtañī mästä cu aysu saṁtsera dätaimä
By-the-sons of-me gratitude great as I in-the-world saw
duḳhakarye śśāśanä vaska ko dāra vastī āya [11]1
difficult of-the-doctrine on-account so-that firm stay (?) might-be.
biśśä orä tändi hamna hona gyastä balysä hvatändi
In-every quarter with-one voice of-the-divine Buddha they-spoke,
kho ni parī hīvye mäḍāna biśśä-padya tta muhu yanāmä [112]
so-that not O-merciful-one in-every-way so we (?) we-make.
pätcä Ānandi tta hvate balysä ttu scätu mittrai vīrä
afterwards Ānanda thus spoke to-the-Buddha at-that time his-friends among,
ṣä-te Jaṁbutīvä bihīysde drrai ysārä ggaṁpha kho vaysña [11]3
this Jambudvīpa extends three thousand miles as here.

III.

Fol. 369.

hamī raysä ūce ttuto śśando mäste[1]
Just-the-same arrangement (?) of-water on-the earth great
hvatä gāmu ttīma vicätru chai[2] yande 9
said manyfold makes.
trāmu hamä dätä raysä-na indrya-hāḍe
thus the-same law (?) by-arrangement states of-the-senses,
drai-padya gāmu drraya yāna hvañāre [10]
in-three-ways three vehicles are-said.
hävyo pharo pyūv̱āre hivya gāmu salāva
much they-hear words
biśśu nä anuvarttäte balysānä bajāṣṣä 2[i.e. 11]
to-everything of-them conforms of-the-Buddhas the-word.
cīyä uysnora ttu skyätu marä hayärīndä
when the-beings at-that time here dwell
kāmu skyätu rrundä cakrravartti upāta [1]2
at-which time of-a-king of-an-emperor the-rising-is,
padama hīsīndä kye jālānu ggäṇ̱aka
are-sounded which

[1] With superfluous sign of interpunction.
[2] The sign of *ai* here has the shape of St. Andrew's cross.

trāmu kaljändä kho bīnāñi väcätträ [1]3
thus they-beat as a-lute-player manifold

hvata hvatī gāmye uysnora puñyau-jsa [1]
said the-beings through-merit

kho ni kṣamäte hayäḍe tta bīñu pyūv̆ā[re] [14]
so-that not wants to-dwell (?), thus the-lute (?) they-hear.

trāmu balysānä anābhoggä[na] dātä
Thus the-Buddhas' without-attachment the-law

biśśä karma-i[ndri]ya anuvarttäte hv̆aṁ[ndä] [1]5
to-all the-organs-of-actions conforms of-man.

ma ju ye ttu[t]o śśando karä bita [gyo]ya ..
Lest (?) now somebody on-this earth at-all

[ttä]na tta hvate sū[tro] hamatä [sarva]ñi balys[ä] [16]
therefore thus spoke in-the-sutra at-the-same-time omniscient Buddha.

avamātä balysä viṣayä rrāśä a[grā]ṣṭä
Unmeasured-is the-Buddha sphere-of king (?)

ṣṣai [vä] brrahmān .. tta ru hota kho balysä [1]7
even of-the-Brahmās thus the-power as the-Buddha.

ttāvatrīśānu patä-na närmäte brahmacerä
Of-the-thirty-three-gods created brahmacarya

ttāvatrīśa pa[nye] patäna nit̆astä. 18
the-thirty-three seated.

pani ttāvatrīśä [1] [patä-na] brahmu vajsäṣḍe
each thirty-three-god Brahmā beholds

mamä patä-na āste muho-jsa hvāñite [19]
my he-sits to-me he-speaks.

śśakkrä tterä ho[ta] śśakkranärmäte gyoya
Śakra's thus power Sakra-created

pani aysuri .... bendä vajrrä-na ātä 20
each asura by-the-thunderbolt

IV.

Fol. 371.

Saddham [2]

Hail.

śśaddo hvate harbiśye śśäratete gyastä balysä paḍośu
Faith called of-all bliss the-divine Buddha the-first

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[1] With superfluous sign of interpunction.

[2] The begining of a new chapter is indicated by a circle attached to the left side of s.

[cu] ttä tt[ä]te ....[1] utāra ṣṣaddo vara hvāṣṭo västate 1
when they those exalted faith there the-well-established he-established.

paṁjsa bala ṣṣadda paḍoysä no parāhīnā aṁgga
(There-are-)five balas, faith (-is) the-first, nine belonging-to-morality members,

ṣṣadda varä hvāṣṭa paḍoysä[2] ṣṣaddendrī indrī
faith there the-well-established the-first the-śraddhendriya organ-of-sense

hvāṣṭä 2
(is-)well-established.

ṣṣadde-jsa ye trāmä te vā .. klaiśīnau sūttro tta hvīnde
By-faith somebody such dealing-with-the-kleśas in-the-sūtra thus it-is-said

ṣṣadda samu trām[u] kho māta biśye śśäratete saṁ[tsera] 3
faith(-is) in-the-same-way such as the-mother of-all bliss in-the-world.

ttäna tta hvate sarvañi balysä sūträ-daśadharmakä vīrä
Therefore so said omniscient Buddha the-Daśadharmaka-sūtra in,

kho ni pa[thu]tä ttīma nä vīttä[2] ttrāmu śśäratātä a[ṣṣaddi] 4
as not grows (?), thus the-bliss the-disbeliever.

ṣṣadu vara ttrāmu baysāre dākṣäṇya biśyau diśyau-jsa
Faith there thus bring (?) kindness with-all quarters

samu kho murakī śś[ä]ña [bā]śa tca[m]äña hīyāra pharāka [5]
in-the-same-way as in-one garden where many.

Ka va ggaṁjsa ttaṁdya āya[2] ṣṣai[3] ne batu kye hvẹ aṣṣaddä[2]
When now sin would-be even not who man disbelieving

aṣṣadye hvaṁndä tta [saittä][3] balysä paranärväte
to-the-unbelieving man thus it-appears, Buddha having-entered-into-nirvāṇa

näś[t]ä 6
not-is.

ttäna cu aysu balysu nä daimä pharu ttä härа cu
Therefore when I the-Buddha not see, many(-are) those things which

häly[sda] īndi
are,

aṣṣaddä nä hāḍe nä daiyä kho rro prīya ū[tco] ne [vendä] 7
the-disbeliever not things not sees, as also the-pretas water not

aṣṣadda ju hvandä ne oysärä tta ta tä ṣṭānye jīyänīyä
non-believing now men not so

ttū pyūṣḍe karma jyāre khäjätä lāstanu yīndä 8
that he-hears, the-acts are-overpowered he-does.

māṁkuya rro īndä hainā[3] kho [ca] uhuna ciṁgga supīya
and are

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[1] Looks like *hāva.* [2] With superfluous sign of interpunction.
[3] The sign of *ai* here has the shape of a St. Andrew's cross.

kye nä hvatä-na kṣīru [ba]jo ttāndä ttu ju ye gā[cu] ne oysde. [9]
who the-country that somebody not

balysä ṣṣai aśtä cī pyūṣḍe[1] [va]rī oysde aṣṣaddä
Buddha also is if he-hears there-it a-disbeliever

vau karma cu-tä yiḍe haysgu ku-jso aśtä śśäru ha vaska 10
action which did wherefrom is hail for-the-sake-of.

arahaṁda balysa hämāre kye ttū sūtru vāśäte pyūṣḍe
Arhants buddhas they-become, he-who that sūtra reads hears

puṣṣvai käḍäyānä jyārä puñai avamāta hämāre [1]1
(?)-his deeds one-overpowered merits-his unmeasured become.

cīyä ttū pyūṣḍe aṣṣa[dd]ä [ṣṣra].ä[2] väte sūtru ne nāste[1]
If it hears a-disbeliever in the-sūtra not gets

kye rä buḍaro balysa hämāre ttäro jsomā hastaru vaska [1]2
which now more buddhas are so-far (?) better for-the-sake-of.

INDEX.

abi, probably Zd. *aibi*, Skr. *abhi*; *abi-ggurṣṭe*, he addressed, II. 95. The *b* was probably pronounced as a *w*.

adātä, subst., unright, from the negative *a* and *dātä*, Zd. *dāta*, right, law; the common translation of Skr. *adharma;* nom. sing. *adātä*, II. 45; instr. sing. *adātä-na*, II. 48; instr. abl. plur. *adātyau-jsa*, II. 49.

adātī, adj., from the preceding, unrighteous; acc. sing. *adātī*, II. 91; nom. plur. *adātya*, II. 51.

agrāṣṭä, past part., probably meaning 'immense'; perhaps connected with the base of Zd. *gərəfš*, cf. English 'grasp'; nom. sing. *agrāṣṭä*, III. 17.

amanāvä, adj., borrowed from Skr. *amanāpa*, not attracting, unfair, evil; acc. sing. *amanāvu*, II. 104.

aṁggä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *aṅga*, a limb, a member; nom. plur. *aṁgga*, IV. 2.

aṁggäśālä, subst., probably borrowed from Skr. *agniśāla*, house in which a fire is kept; acc. sing. *aṁggäśālu*, II. 98.

āṇa, pres. part. middle of *āh*, to sit, II. 98.

anābhoggä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *anābhoga;* instr. sing. *anābhoggä-na*, without attachment (?), III. 15.

Ānandi, nom. propr., Skr. *Ānanda*; nom. (?) sing. *Ānandi*, II. 113; it is possible that the form is gen., and that *balysä* is the subject.

ānaṁdū, probably an adj. formed from Skr. *ānanda* and meaning 'full of joy', 'happy'; instr. plur. *ānaṁduvyau*, II. 98.

anātmä, adj., borrowed from Skr. *anātma*, not self, unreal; nom. plur. fem. *anātme*, II. 101.

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[1] With superfluous sign of interpunction. [2] Perhaps *ṣṣraädä*.

anicä, adj., borrowed from Skr. *anitya*, not eternal, transient; nom. plur. fem. *anice*, II. 101.

anuvartt, borrowed from Skr. *anuvṛt*, to follow, to conform to; pres. 3rd pers. sing. *anuvarttäte*, III. 11, 15.

āphäḍä, past part., probably meaning 'afflicted', II. 5; evidently connected with *āphārana*, affliction, Leumann, p. 89[3].

arahanda, subst. borrowed from Skr. *arhat*, an arhat, a saint; nom. plur. *arahanda*, II. 9, 102; *arahaṁda*, IV. 11.

aṣṣaddä, adj., borrowed from Skr. *aśrāddha*, unbelieving, without faith; nom. sing. *aṣṣaddä*, IV. 6, 7, 12; *aṣṣaddi*, IV. 4 (reading uncertain); gen. sing. *aṣṣadye*, IV. 6; nom. plur. *aṣṣadda*, IV. 8.

Aśśaukä, nom. propr., Skr. *Aśoka*; acc. sing. *Aśśauku*, II. 93.

āstanna, probably the instr.-abl. of a noun corresponding to Zd. *stāna*, *stana* with prefixed *ā*, stand, place. The word is used in the same way as Skr. *prabhṛti*, beginning with; *āstanna sthīri Baradvāji ṗanatä harbiśśä ttīyä*, then everyone rose, beginning with the sthavira Bharadvāja, II. 104.

aštä, present 3rd pers. sing. of the base *ah*, Skr. *as*, to be, IV. 10; *štä*, II. 45; *näštä*, is not, II. 1; IV. 6; 2nd pers. plur. *sta*, II. 108, 109; 3rd pers. plur. *īndä*, II. 100; IV. 9; *īndi*, IV. 7; opt. 3rd pers. sing. *īyä*, II. 42, 43, 99; *āya*, II. 111; IV. 6; this *āya* is perhaps derived from Zd. *āyāt*.

āste, present 3rd pers. sing. from the base *āh*, Skr. *ās*, to sit, III. 19; pres. part. *āṇa*, sitting, living, being, II. 98.

ātä, unidentified part.; the form might be the perf. part. of *ā-i*, to come to, to approach, to attack; nom. sing. *ātä*, III. 20; nom. plur. *āta*, II. 110.

avamātä, past part. of *ṗamā*, to measure, with prefixed *a*, unmeasured, unmeasurable; nom. sing. *avamātä*, III. 17; nom. plur. *avamāta*, IV. 11.

avaśśä, probably borrowed from Skr. *avaśyam*, certainly, I. 372.

aviṣīyä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *abhiṣeka*, anointing, consecrating; acc. sing. with the enclitic pronoun *ī aviṣīyvī*, II. 53.

aviṣṣägy, borrowed from Skr. *abhiṣic*, to anoint, consecrate; past 3rd pers. sing. *aviṣṣägyäte*, II. 46.

āya, opt. 3rd pers. sing., perhaps of *ā-i*, to come, used as an opt. of the verb subst., II. 111; IV. 6.

aysu, pron., Zd. *azem*, I, I. 372; II. 100, 111; IV. 7.

aysuri, subst., borrowed from Skr. *asura*, an asura, a titan; nom. sing. *aysuri*, III. 20.

bāḍä, subst., time; nom. sing. *bāḍä*, II. 5; gen. sing. *bāḍä*, II. 44.

Badrä, nom. propr., Skr. *Bhadra*; acc. sing. *Badru*, II. 94.

bajāṣṣä, subst., speech, word; nom. sing *bajāṣṣä*, III. 11.

bajäte, apparently borrowed from Skr. *vadhyate*, will be destroyed, II. 47.

bajo, doubtful reading, IV. 9; we should perhaps read *bajottändä*.

Bakulä, nom. propr., Skr. *Bakula*; acc. sing. *Bakulu*, II. 93.

bala, subst., borrowed from Skr. *bala*, strength, force; nom. plur. *bala*, IV. 2.

balysä, subst., with or without *gyastä* used as a translation of Skr. *bhagavat*; cf. Zd. *barez*, great; nom. sing. *balysä*; I. 372; II. 7, 8, 11, 93, 108; III. 16, 17; IV. 1, 4, 6, 10; acc. sing. *balysu*; IV. 7; gen. sing. *balysä*, II. 6, 9, 105, 112, 113; voc. sing. *balysa*, II. 105, 106, 107; nom. plur. *balysa*, II. 6; IV. 11, 12; acc. plur. *balysa*, II. 1; gen. plur. *balysānä*, III. 11, 15.

balysūśta, subst., derived from the foregoing, buddhahood; acc. sing. *balysūśtu*, I. 372; II. 11.

baña, apparently loc. of noun, used as a postposition meaning 'before,' 'in the face of'; cf. Leumann, p. 48 [40]; *balysä baña* before the Buddha, II. 105.

Baradvāji, nom. propr., Skr. *Bharadvāja*; acc. sing. *Baradbāju*, II. 93; gen. sing. *Baradvāji*, II. 104; the alternate use of *b* and *v* in this word tends to show that *b* was commonly pronounced as a *w*.

bārandi, unidentified word, II. 110; looks like a participle; cf. *tranda*, gone; *naranda*, gone out.

bāśa, reading uncertain, perhaps loc. of a word corresponding to Pers. *bāγ*, IV. 5; cf. *bāṣa*, which is used to translate Skr. *vane* in the Vajracchedikā.

baśdā, subst., sin; acc. sing. *baśdo*, II. 50.

baste, past 3rd pers. sing of base corresponding to Zd. *band*, to bind; *kāḍaruī baste*, he bound his sword, II. 53.

batu, unidentified word, IV. 6.

bays, perhaps identical with Zd. *vaz*, to bring; present 3rd pers. plur. *baysāre* IV. 5.

benda, unidentified word, II. 110; III. 20.

bäye, subst, nom. plur. perhaps 'abodes', II. 45.

bihīyu, perhaps opt. 3rd pers. plur. of verb corresponding to *Z*d. *bī*, to fear, II. 104; might also be a past. part.; cf. *bihīysde*.

bihīysde, present 3rd pers. sing. of verb which perhaps means 'to extend', II. 113.

bilsaṁgi, subst., the collection of monks, the order; nom. sing. *bilsaṁggi*, II. 99, gen. sing. *bilsaṁgi*, II. 97, 98; loc. sing. (?) *bälsaṁgya*, II. 103.

bīña, probably adapted from Skr. *vīṇā*, a lute; acc. sing. *biñu*, III. 14.

bīnāñi, loanword, Skr. *vīṇā-jña*, understanding the lute, a lute player, III. 13.

biśśä, adj., Old Pers. *visa*, *vispa*, every, all; acc. sing. *biśśu*, II. 108; III. 11; instr. sing. fem. *biśśäñe*, II. 11; gen. sing. fem. *biśye*, IV. 3; nom. plur. *biśśä*, II. 7, 8, 9, 45, 92, 96; *biśśi*, II. 90; with suffixed enclitic pronoun *biśśī*, II, 10; acc. plur. *biśśä*, II. 6, 109, 112; III. 15; *biśśä-padya*, everywhere, II. 11; instr.-abl. plur. *biśyau*, IV. 5; gen. plur. *biśśānu*, II. 106.

biśtä, subst., death, the end, II. 110.

biṣṭyau, instr.-abl. plur of unidentified word, probably meaning 'following,' 'disciple,' II. 95; cf. Zd. *vīs*.

bita, unidentified word, III. 16.

brahma, subst. borrowed from Skr. *brahman*, the god Brahmā, acc. sing. *brahmu*, III. 19; gen. plur. *brrahmān*., III. 16.

brahmacerä, subst. borrowed from Skr. *brahmacarya*, the life of a religious student, III. 18.

brahmalovi, subst. borrowed from Skr. *brahmaloka*, the world or heaven of Brahmā, II. 53.

brraṣṭe, past 3rd. pers. sing. of *puls*, Zd. *fras*, to ask, II. 42.

bud, Zd. *bud*, Skr. *budh*, to perceive, realise; present 3rd pers. sing. *butte*, II. 11; 3rd pers. plur. *bvāre*, II. 9; conj. 3rd pers. plur. *bvānde*, I. 372; the conjunctive is apparently used as a future.

buḍaru, comparat. from *buro*, more, farther, II. 7, 9; *buḍaro*, IV. 12.

buro, adj. or adverb, cf. Zd. *vouru*, broad, wide, *ttärburo*, so much, so far, II. 100; *ku buro*, as much, as far, II 100.

buva, subst., a being; nom. plur. *buva* II. 52.

bvāmata, subst., derived from *bud*, understanding, knowledge; instr.-abl. sing. *bvemäte-ṣa*, II. 8.

byau, to be found; present 3rd pers. plur. *byaure*, II. 102; past part. nom. plur. fem. *byaude*, II. 100.

byeh, to obtain; opt. 3rd. pers. sing. *byehītä*, II. 99.

byūttaimä, present 1st pers. sing of verb, probably corresponding to Zd. *aipi-ut*, to understand, I. 372.

ca, doubtful reading of unidentified word, IV. 9.

cakkravartti, subst., borrowed from Skr. *cakravartin*, emperor; gen. sing. *cakkravartti*, III. 12.

cātäśśälä, adj., borrowed from Skr. *cātuḥśāla*, having four rooms; acc. *cātäśśälu*, II. 98.

ce, rel. pronoun, originally an old interrogative, cf. *kye*; nom. sing. *ce*, II. 110; *ci*, II. 97; gen. sing. *ce*, II. 105.

chai, unidentified word, III. 9.

chovätä, unidentified word, II. 110; perhaps to be separated into two words *cho* and *vätä*, become.

ci, rel. pronoun, II. 97; see *ce*.

cī, conj., if, when, II. 49; IV. 10; *cī-tä*, the same, II. 52; *cī-yä*, the same, II. 47; III. 12; IV. 12.

cimgga, unidentified word, IV. 9.

crrāmä, adj., what like, of what kind; the neuter *crrāmu* is used as an adv., how, II. 3; as, II. 105.

cu, rel. pronoun, cf. *ce*; acc. sing. *cu*, II. 9; *cutä*, IV. 10; nom. plur. *cu*, IV. 7; it is used as a conjunction, when, II. 49; IV. 1; as, I. 372; II. 100, 110 (?), 111;

cū, probably from *cu ū* in *cū tceru*, what is to be done by you, II. 108;

cvī, from *cu ī*; *cvī kīrä*, what is his work, II. 42; *cvī hamatä ne hvīrä*, perhaps, when the master (is) not at the same time as he, II. 42.

cūḍa, subst., of uncertain meaning; to judge from the form it might be the Skr. *cūḍā*, tonsure; acc. plur. *cūḍe*, II. 43.

Cūḍapantha, nom. propr., Skr. *Cūḍapanthaka*; acc. sing. *Cūḍapantho*, II. 94.

dakṣiṇa, subst., borrowed from Skr. *dakṣiṇā*, sacrificial gift, fee, reward; acc. sing. *dakṣiṇo*, II. 96.

dākṣiṇīndu, unidentified word, derived from the foregoing, II. 99; the form is acc. sing.

dākṣäṇya, subst., borrowed from Skr. *dākṣiṇya*, kindness (?); nom. plur. *dākṣäṇya*, IV. 5.

daṇḍä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *daṇḍa*, punishment, violence; acc. sing. *daṇḍu*, II. 107.

dārä, adj., perhaps connected with Skr. *dhīra*, firm, steady; nom. sing. fem. *ko dāra vastī*, so that there might be a steady (?) repose (?), II. 111; sing. neuter *dāru*, used as an adv., *hamäyāre harbiśśä hära ni dāru ṣṭāre*, all things transmigrate (?) and do not stand firmly (?), II. 2. The explanation of both these passages is uncertain.

daśadharmakä, adj., borrowed from Skr. *daśadharmaka*, dealing with the ten *dharmas*; gen. sing. *sūträ daśadharmakä vīrä*, in the Daśadharma *sūtra*, IV. 4. The passage referred to is perhaps the same as is quoted in the Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 5, ll. 7 ff., *aśrāddhasya manuṣyasya śuklo dharmo na rohati, vījānām agnidagdhānām aṅkuro harito yathā.*

dastä, subst., Old Pers. *dasta*, hand; acc. sing. *dastu vīri paśśīmä*, I give it into (your) hand, I hand it over, II. 95.

dātä, subst., Zd. *dāta*, right, law, used to translate Skr. *dharma*; nom. sing. *dātä*. II. 50; III. 10,15; acc. sing. *dātu*, II. 43, 47, 50; *dātu vätu*, in right, righteously, II. 44; *dātu pakṣu hämāre*, they are on the side of right, II. 91; instr. sing. *dātä-na*, II. 46, 47.

dātī, adj. from foregoing, righteous; nom. plur. *dātya*, II. 51.

dä, to see, Zd. *dī*, pres. 1st pers. sing. *daimä*, IV. 7; 3rd pers. sing. *daiyä*, II. 4; IV. 7; past 1st pers. sing *dätaimä*, II. 111.

dharmī, adj., borrowed from Skr. *dharmika*; instr. abl. plur. *dharmyau-jsa*, II. 90. The form can also be derived from *dharma*.

drra, probably the same case as Zd. *θrā*, to protect; present 3rd pers. sing. *drraite*, II. 46.

drrai, numeral, Zd. *θrāyō*, three; *drraya yāna*, the three vehicles, III. 10; *drai padya*, in three ways, III. 10; *drrai ysārä*, three thousand, II. 113.

drraumūjsiya, unidentified word, probably the loc. sing. of a noun denoting some period of time, II. 6.

dukhä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *duḥkha*, pain, misery; loc. sing. *dukhä*, II. 49; instr.-abl. plur. *dukhyau-jsa*, II. 11, 92, 96; in II. 111 we read *dukha-karye*, which is perhaps gen. of *dukhakara*, causing pain, or, perhaps, to be effected with difficulty, difficult.

dukhīṅgya, adj., from foregoing, full of misery; nom. plur. fem. *dukhīṅgye*.

gā[*cu*], uncertain and unidentified word, IV. 9.

gāmī, perhaps borrowed from Skr. *gāmika*, transient, II. 1.

gāmu, unidentified word, apparently a sing. neuter, III. 9, 10, 11; a gen. sing. of the same word is probably *gāmye*, III. 14.

ggaṁjsa, subst., fault, sin, IV. 6; the form is nom. sing. fem.

ggaṁpha, subst., a measure of distance, a mile; acc. plur. *ggaṁpha*, II. 113.

ggāṭhā, subst., Zd. *gaēvā*, a being; nom. plur. *ggāṭhā*, II. 90, 96.

Ggaupakä, nom. propr., Skr. *Gopaka*; acc. sing. *Ggaupaku*, II. 93.

ggānākä, participle of unidentified verb; nom. plur. *ggänāka*, III. 13.

Ggīrai, unidentified nom. propr., II. 42.

gūna, subst., Zd. *gaona*, characteristic mark, nature, quality; nom. plur. *gūna*, II. 8; in the Vajracchedikā the word is used to translate Skr. *lakṣaṇa*.

gyastä, adj., Zd. *yazata*, worthy of worship, divine; *gyastä balysä*, used to translate Skr. *bhagavat*, an epithet of the Buddha; nom. sing. *gyastä balysä*, IV. 1; gen. sing. *gyastä balyä*, II. 112; voc. sing. *gyasta balysa*, II. 105, 106; nom. plur. *gyasta balysa*, II. 6.

gyoya, unidentified word, III. 16, 20.

ha, unidentified word, perhaps a particle, II. 3, 4; IV. 10.

hā, adv., Zd *ā*, denoting the direction towards, II. 110; used in connexion with verbs; *hā byaude*, is found, II. 100; *hā māñätä*, looks like, resembles, II. 4.

hāḍe, nom. acc. plur. fem of unidentified noun perhaps meaning 'state,' 'matter,' 'affair,' II. 2, 102; III 10; IV. 7.

hainā, unidentified word, apparently nom. plur. of a *hainai*, IV. 9.

hajba, adj., wise, prudent; nom. plur. *hajba*, II. 51.

halcä, pron., someone, anyone, II. 110.

hamä, adj., Zd. *hama*, the same; nom. sing. *hamä*, III. 10; with emphatic (?) *ī* *hamī*, III. 9; instr. sing. *hamna*, II. 112; gen. sing. *hamye kṣaṇu* (perhaps wrong for *kṣaṇä*), in the same moment, in one moment, II. 7; *hamu väte*, in the same (way), likewise, II. 102.

hamatä, cf. Zd. *hamaθa*, likewise, at the same time, II. 42, 43, 44; III. 16.

haṁbar, Zd. *ham-par*, to fill; past part. nom. plur. *haṁbaḍa*, II. 109.

haṁberäte, apparently present pass. 3rd pers. sing., perhaps from foregoing, II. 110.

hamäyāre, apparently present 3rd pers. plur., perhaps of verb corresponding to Zd. *ham-i* and used to translate Skr. *saṁsar*, to undergo transmigration, II. 2.

haṁjsätä, past part., perhaps from verb corresponding to Zd. *haṁ-gam*, to come together, to gather; nom. plur. *haṁjsäta*, II. 106.

haṁkhiṣṭä, past part. of verb corresponding to. Zd. *ham-xsā*, to count, to enumerate; acc. *haṁkhiṣṭo*, II. 6.

haṁtsa, adv., together with, II. 95, 98.

handarä, pron., Zd. *antara*, another, II. 7; the form is perhaps nom. plur., in which case we however elsewhere find *handara*, cf. Leumann p. 46[13].

handāra, subst., favour, support; acc. sing. *handāro*, II. 98.

harbiśśä, adj., Pehlevī *harvīsp*, all and every; nom. sing. *harbiśśä*, II. 5, 47, 104; nom. sing. neut. *harbiśśu*, II. 4; acc. sing. *harbäśśu*, II. 47; acc. sing. fem.

harbiśśo, II. 92; gen. sing. fem. *harbiśye*, IV. 1; nom. plur. *harbiśśä*, I. 372; II. 2, 101; nom. plur. fem. *harbiśśe*, II. 52; the form *harbiśśä* is used with feminine nouns in II. 101.

hars, unidentified verb; present 1st pers. plur. *harsämä*, II. 107.

hastamä, superl. of adj., cf. Zd. *hastama*, best; acc. sing. fem. *hastamo*, II. 11.

hastaru, compar. of foregoing, IV. 12.

hatä, unidentified, II. 110.

hayar, to repose, to dwell, used to translate *abhiram* in the Aparimitāyuḥsūtra; pres. 3rd pers. plur. *hayärīndä*, III. 12; inf. (?) *hayäḍe*, III. 14.

haysgu, unidentified word, IV. 10; Leumann p. 140[36] has *haysge*, the nose, but this word is hardly intended.

hälysdä, past part. of unidentified verb, perhaps from verb corresponding to Zd. *harz*, pers. *hištan*; nom. plur. *hälysda*, IV. 7.

hämä, base of verb used as a verb subst., to be, to become; present 3rd pers. sing. *hämäte*, II. 11, 49, 50; 3rd pers. plur. *hämäre*, II. 10, 91, 102; IV. 11, 12; imper. 1st pers. sing. *hämäne*, I. 372; conj. 3rd pers. sing. *hämäte*, II. 99, 103; 3rd pers. plur. *hämände*, II. 92; *hämäro*, II. 8; opt. 3rd pers. plur. *hämīru*, II. 108.

härä, subst., an object, thing; nom. sing. with suffixed relative *ju*, *här-ju*, because II. 1; nom. plur. *härа*, II. 2; IV. 7; acc. plur. *härа*, II. 4.

hätaṁkarä, probably borrowed from Skr. *hitakara*, doing what is useful, a benefactor; nom. plur. *hätaṁkara*, II. 91.

hävya, *hivya*, unidentified word; acc. sing. fem. *hävyo*, III. 11; acc. plur. *hivya*, III. 11; perhaps connected with *hīvī*.

hīs, this base occurs in the Aparimitāyuḥsūtra in the passage *gyaṁña hīsī*, which translates Skr. *karṇapuṭe patiṣyati*; the meaning of the verb therefore seems to be 'to be heard, to be sounded'; pres. 3rd pers. plur. *hīsīndä*, III. 13; opt. 3rd. pers. sing. *hīsīyi*, II. 103.

hīsāta, unidentified, perhaps connected with the foregoing, II. 99.

hīvī, adj., connected with, belonging to; cf. Leumann p. 88[22]; nom. sing. *hīvī pūrä*, belonging to thy son, II. 48; obl. sing. (?) *hīvye*, II. 112.

hīyāra, unidentified word, IV. 5.

ho, subst. voice; instr. sing. *hamna hona*, with the same, with one, voice, II. 112.

hota, subst., might, power, III. 17, 20.

hūḍe, unidentified verb in the 3rd pers. sing., perhaps meaning 'accomplished,' 'performed,' *aviṣīyvī hūḍe*, he performed his anointment, II. 53.

hvan, Zd. *xvan*, to say, to speak; present 3rd pers. sing. *hvāñäte*, II. 108; *hvāñite*, III. 19; past 1st pers. sing. *hvataimä*, II. 100; 2nd pers. sing. *hvatai*, II. 1; *hvati* (?), III. 14; 3rd pers. sing. *hvate*, III. 16; IV. 1, 4; 3rd pers. plur. *hvatändi*, II. 112; present passive 3rd pers. sing. *hvīnde*, IV. 3; 3rd pers. plur. *hvañäre*, III. 10; past part. nom. sing. *hvatä*, III. 9; nom. plur. *hvata*, III. 14.

hvāna, subst., derived from *hvan*, preaching; acc. sing. *hvāno*, II. 92.

hvāṣṭä, perhaps identical with Zd. *hvāxṣta*, well established; perhaps corresponding to Skr. *kuśala*; nom. sing. *hvāṣṭä*, II. 46 (of King Nimi); *ṣṣaddendrī indrī hvāṣṭä*, the faith-indriya is the excellent indriya, IV. 2; *no parāhīnā aṁgga ṣṣadda varä hvāṣṭa paḍoysä*, there are nine members pertaining to morality, and the excellent faith is the first, IV. 2.

hve, subst., a man; nom. sing. *hvẹ*, IV. 6; gen. sing *hvaṁndä*, III. 15; IV. 6; nom. plur. *hvandä*, IV. 8; *hvandi*, II. 52; *hvaṁndi*, II. 51.

hvīrä, unidentified word, II. 42; it might be Zd. *hvīra*, a hero, used as a designation of the Buddha.

ī, enclitic pronoun of 3rd pers. sing., used to denote the oblique cases; *se cvī kīrä se ysojsi ka ysojsä īyä ka cvī hamatä ne hvīrä*, now what is his work? Well, purification if there should be purification. When? When the hero (the Buddha) does not exist contemporaneously with him; II. 42. The whole passage is extremely doubtful, and the above translation is only tentative; *ttai parste*, thus he said to him, II. 47; *kadaruī baste u aviṣīyvī hūḍe*, he bound his sword and performed his ointment, II. 53; *puṣṣvai*, IV. 11.

īndä, present 3rd pers. plur. of verb subst., II. 100; IV. 9; *īndi*, IV. 7; see *aśtä*.

indrī, subst., borrowed from Skr. *indriya*, an organ of sense; nom. sing. *indrī*, IV. 2.

indrya-hāḍe, states, objects of the senses III. 10.

Iṅgaṇä, nom. propr., of uncertain origin; acc. sing. *Iṅgaṇu*, II. 93.

īrata, unidentified word, II. 51; perhaps two words *ī* and *rata*.

īyä, opt. 3rd pers. sing. of verb subst., II. 42, 43. 99; see *aśtä*.

jāggarai, subst., borrowed from Skr. *jāgaraka*, waking; acc. sing. *jāggarau*, II. 97.

jālä, unidentified word, probably borrowed from Skr. *jāla*; gen. plur. *jālänu*, III. 13.

Jaṁbutīvä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *Jambudvīpa*, name of a continent, II. 113.

jä, to conquer; past 2nd pers. plur. *jätānda*, II. 109.

jīyänīyä, uncertain and unidentified word, IV. 8.

jsa, particle of uncertain origin, often added to the instr.-ablative; *adātyau-jsa*, II. 49; *bvemäte-jsa*, II. 8; *dharmyau-jsa*, II. 90; *diśyau-jsa*, IV. 5; *dukhyau-jsa*, II. 11, 92, 96; *muho-jsa*, II. 103; III. 19; *puñyau-jsa*, III. 14; *ṣṣade-jsa*, II. 10; *ṣṣahānyo-jsa*, II. 109; *śśäratete-jsa*, II. 11; *ṣṣaṭhyau-jsa*, II. 51; *umyau-jsa*, II. 108; of two consecutive words in the same case, only the last one takes the addition *jsa*; cf. *jso*.

jsan, Zd. *jan*, to slay, oppress; pres. 2nd pers. sing. *jsañä*, II. 50.

jsaunita, unidentified word, probably the plural of a past part., II. 105.

jso, apparently a particle forming an ablative case from *ku*, where, when; *ku-jso*, wherefrom, IV. 10; probably from *jsa* with emphatic *u*.

jsomā, unidentified word, IV. 12; perhaps from *jsa* and *umā*.

ju, indefinite particle, cf. Skr. *cid*, II. 4, 95, 99, 110; III. 16; IV. 8, 9; in *härju*, II. 1, *ju* is probably the relative *cu*.

jvyau, instr.-abl. plur. of word, probably corresponding to Zd. *jva*, *jīva*, Skr. *jīva*, life, II. 90; or else *jvyau* is an adj., living, and the following *dharmyau*, the qualified noun.

jyā, Zd. *jyā*, to be overpowered, to disappear; pres. 3rd pers. plur. *jiyāre*, II. 10; *jyāre*, IV. 8; *jyārä*, IV. 11.

ka, adv. and conjunction, when, if, II. 42, 43, 92, 96, 99, 107; IV. 6.

Kāḍä, nom. propr., Skr. *Kāla*; acc. *Kāḍu*, II. 94.

kāḍarä, subst., a sword; acc. sing. with suffixed pronoun *ī kāḍaruī*, II. 53; I am indebted to my friend Baron Staël Holstein for the translation of this word.

kālä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *kāla*, time; nom. sing. *kālä*, II. 3; acc. sing. *kālu*, II. 93, 102.

kaläyuggī, adj. derived from *kaläyuggä*, Skr. *kaliyuga*, belonging to the *kali* age; nom. sing. *kaläyuggī*, II. 4.

kalj, to beat, to sound; present 3rd pers. plur. (?) *kaljändä*, III. 13.

kalpī, adj., derived from Skr. *kalpa*, belonging to the age, II. 5.

Kanakabāradvājä, nom. propr., Skr. *Kanakabhāradvāja*; acc. sing. *Kanakabāradvāju*, II. 94.

Kanakavatsä, nom. propr., Skr. *Kanakavatsa*; acc. sing. *Kanakavatsu*, II. 94.

kantha, subst., a town; nom. sing. *kantha*, II. 100.

karä, an emphatic particle, common in negative sentences, cf. Skr. *kila*, II. 4, 48; III. 16; *kari*, II. 9.

karma, subst., borrowed from Skr. *karman*, act; IV. 8, 10.

karma-indriya, subst., borrowed from Skr. *karmendriya*, an organ of action; acc. plur. *karma-indriya*, III. 15.

käḍätāna, subst., derived from *käḍä*, done, an act, a deed, especially an evil deed, a sin; acc. sing. (?) *käḍenu*, II. 104; nom. plur. *käḍätāne*, II. 10; *käḍäyānä*, IV. 11.

khāysä, subst., food; acc. sing. *khāysu*, II. 77.

khäjätälāstanu, unidentified word, IV. 8.

kho, conjunction, formed from the interrogative-relative; when, II. 3, 4; like, as, II. 11, 109, 110, 113; III, 13, 17; IV. 3, 4, 5, 7, 9; so that, II. 108, 112; III. 14; than, II. 7, 9.

kīrä, subst., Skr. *karya*; nom. sing. *kīrä*. II. 42.

klaiśä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *kleśa*, impurity, defilement; acc. plur. *klaiśa*, II. 109.

klaiśīnai, adj. formed from foregoing, dealing with the *kleśas*; acc. sing. *klaiśīnau sūttro*, in the kleśa sūtra, IV. 3.

ko, conjunction, formed from the interrogative-relative; so that, II. 5 (*ko va*), 111; though, II. 50 (*ko rro*).

kṛtañī, subst., derived from *kṛtaña*, the Skr. *kṛtajña*, and corresponding to Skr. *kṛtajñatā*, gratefulness, gratitude, II. 111.

kṛviyuggä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *kṛtayuga*, the golden age; gen. sing. *kṛviyuggä*, II. 3.

kṣāḍä, unidentified participle, II. 99.

kṣam, Skr. *kṣam*, to want, to wish; pres. 3rd pers. sing. *kṣamäte*, III. 14.

kṣaṇa, subst., borrowed from Skr. *kṣaṇa*, a moment; acc. sing. *kṣaṇu*, II. 7; gen. sing. *kṣaṇä*, II, 7, 8.

kṣīrä, subst., cf. Zd. *kšaθra*, Skr. *kṣetra*, country, realm; nom. sing. *kśīrä*, II. 47, 49; acc. sing. *kṣīru*, IV. 9.

ku, conjunction formed from the interrogative-relative, when, II. 45, 90, 96, 104, 107; *ku-buro*, as much as II. 100; *ku-jso*, whence, wherefrom (?) IV, 10.

kuśśalamūla, subst. borrowed from Skr. *kuśalamūla*, root of goodness; nom. plur. *kuśśalamūla*, II. 6.

kye, relative pronoun, cf. *ce*; nom. sing. *kye*, II. 10, 43; IV. 6, 11; nom. acc. plur. *kye*, II. 1, 8, 90, 96; III. 13; IV. 6, 9, 12.

lāstanu, unidentified word in the acc. sing., see *khäjätälāstanu*, IV. 8.

lovapathīya, adj., renowned, famous in the world, II. 44.

ma, prohibitive particle, II. 48, 99, 103; III. 16.

maha, perhaps the 1st pers. plur. of the personal pronoun, II. 106; cf *muhu*.

Mahākālśavi, nom. propr., Skr. *Mahākāśyapa*; nom. sing. *Mahākālśavi*, II. 92.

mālihārä, unidentified word, perhaps connected with Skr. *mālā* and meaning 'entertainment with garlands'; acc. sing *mālihāru*, II. 97.

mamä, gen. of the pronoun of the 1st person, my, II. 90, 96, 110, 111; III. 19.

māṁkuya, unidentified word, IV. 9.

mān, New Persian *mānistan*, to look like, to be similar; pres. 3rd pers. sing. *māñätä*, II, 4; present part. neuter sing., *māñaṁdu*, Pers. *mānind*, like; *trāmu māñaṁdu*, such like, just as, II. 43.

mānau, unidentified word, used after the relative *cu*; perhaps connected with Zd. *mana*, way, manner; *cu mānau*, in which way, as, II. 100.

māṇavä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *māṇava*, a youth, a young brāhmaṇ; nom. plur. *māṇava* II. 7, 8, 9.

mara, adv., here, II. 100, 106, 107; *marä*, III. 12.

māta, subst., Zd. *māta*, a mother, II. 105; IV. 3.

mä, oblique form of the pronoun of the 1st pers. sing., II. 10, 90.

mäḍāna, present part. of verb, cf. Skr. *mīḍhvas*, merciful; voc. sing. *mäḍāna*, II. 105.

mästä, adj., Zd. *masita*, great; nom. sing. *mästä*, II. 3, 4, 111; acc. sing. *mästu*, II. 107; gen. sing. fem. *mäste*, III. 9; nom. plur. *mästa*, II. 9, 10.

mīr, Zd. *mar*, to die; pres. 3rd pers. sing. *mīḍe*, II. 105.

mittra, subst., borrowed from Skr. *mitra*, a friend; acc. plur. with suffixed enclitic pronoun *ī*, *mittrai vīrä*, amongst his friends, II. 113.

muho, oblique base of the pronoun of the 1st pers.; instr.-abl. *muho-jsa*, II. 103, 108; III. 19; the form *muhu*, II. 112 is perhaps the nom. plur.

mulśdä, subst., compassion, pity; cf. Zd. *mərəždika*; acc. sing. *mulśdu*, II. 106.

murakī, unidentified word, IV. 5.

myānai, adj., pure, bright; acc. sing. *myānau*, II. 109.

na, suffix or postposition, used in the instr. sing.; *aḍātä-na*, II. 48; *anābhoggä-na*, III. 15; *dātä-na*, II. 46, 47; *ham-na ho-na*, II. 112; *hvatä-na*, IV. 9; *tcamä-na*, II. 99; *uhu-na* (?), IV. 9.

nā, to get; past 3rd. pers. sing. *nāte*, II. 92.

Nāgasenä, nom. propr., Skr. *Nāgasena*; acc. sing. *Nāgasenu*, II. 94.

namas, borrowed from Skr. *namasya*, to bow down to; present 1st pers. sing. *namasämo*, II. 1, the form is however irregular (the usual one being *namasīmä*), and is perhaps a 1st pers. plur.

nās, to reach, to obtain, Zd. *nas*; present 3rd pers. sing. *nāste*, IV. 12; conj. 2nd pers. sing. *nāsa*, II. 50 (used as a future).

ne, negative particle, II, 5, 42, 43, 51, 52, 90; IV. 6, 7, 8, 9, 12; more emphatic *ne ne*, II. 4, 49, 50, 102; *ne nä*, II. 45; cf. *nä*, *ni*.

nä, *ni*, negative particle; *nä*, II. 6, 45, 99, 101, 108, 110; IV. 4, 7, 9; *ni*, II. 2, 9, 96, 110, 112; III. 14; IV. 4; more emphatic *ni ni*, II. 110; cf. *ne*.

ni, perhaps enclitic pronoun of 1st pers. plur., II. 106.

nä, *ni*, enclitic pronoun of 3rd pers. plur.; *nä*, III. 11; *ni*, II. 8, 108.

nihuśdä, unidentified verb, II. 90; perhaps two words *ni* and *huśdä*.

näjsaṣṭo, past part. of verb corresponding to Zd. *nicaš*, to explain, II. 7.

nikṣūtä, unidentified verb, II. 43; perhaps two words *ni* and *kṣūtä*.

nimaṁdrūṇa, subst., borrowed from Skr. *nimantraṇa*, invitation; acc. sing. *nimaṁdrūṇo*, II. 97.

Nämä, name of a famous king, Skr. *Nimi*; nom. sing. *Nämä*, II. 46; *Nimä*, II. 53.

närmäte, borrowed from Skr. *nirmita*, created, III. 18, 20.

närvänä, borrowed from Skr. *nirvāṇa*; gen. sing. *närvänä*, II. 100; *närväni*, II. 101; *nirvänä*, II. 92.

näśtä, is not, II. 1; IV. 6, see *aśtä*.

nitgastä, past part., seated, sitting, III. 18.

no, numeral, Zd. *nava*, nine, IV. 2.

o, adv., also, and, II. 1, 97.

orä, unidentified word, perhaps connected with Hindustani *aur*, quarter, direction, II. 112.

oys, perhaps the same as Zd. *uz*, Skr. *ūh*, to consider, heed; pres. 3rd pers. sing. *oysde*, IV, 9, 10; 3rd pers. plur. *oysāre*, IV. 8.

pachīś, to complete; conjunctive 1st pers. plur. (?) *pachīśāma*, II. 107.

paḍā, adv., in front; *p. västāta* used to translate *pravrajita*, II. 44.

padā, uncertain and unidentified word, II. 110.

padama, unidentified word, seems to denote some musical instrument, III. 13.

padaṁgya, adj. of uncertain meaning, perhaps 'based on,' 'pertaining to,' II. 2.

pader, cf. Zd. *paiti-dar*, to keep; pres. 3rd pers. plur. *paderīndä*, II. 90.

padī, subst., way, manner; acc. plur. *biśśä padya*, everywhere, in every way, II. 11, 112; *drai padya*, in three ways, III. 10.

paḍoysä, numeral, the first; nom. sing. *padoysä*, IV. 2; acc. sing. *paḍośu*, IV. 1.

pakṣä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *pakṣa*, side, half month; nom. sing. *pakṣä*, II. 48, acc. sing. *pakṣu*, II. 91; *myānau pakṣä*, in the bright fortnight, II. 109.

paṁjsa, numeral, Zd. *panca*, five, IV. 2.

paṁjavaṣṣī, adj., borrowed from Skr. *pañcavarṣika*, a certain festival; acc. *paṁjavaṣṣī*, II. 97.

panam, to rise; past part. nom. sing. masc., used as a past tense *panatä*, II. 104.

panaśś, Zd. *apa-nas*, to disappear; pres. 3rd pers. plur. *panaśśāre*, II. 52.

panda, unidentified word, perhaps connected with Zd. *panti*, *paθā*, way; nom. plur. *pande*, II. 100.

pani, adj., each, every; nom. sing. *pani*, III. 19, 20; gen. sing. *panye*, II. 7; nom. plur. (?) *pani*, any, II. 102.

Panthā, nom. propr., Skr. *Panthaka*; acc. *Pantho*, II. 94.

par, to give out, to say, to speak; past 3rd pers. sing. *parste*, II. 47.

parāhīnai, adj., connected with, belonging to *parāha*, morality; nom. plur. *parāhīnā*, IV. 2.

paranärva, borrowed from Skr. *paranirvā*, to enter into the highest *nirvāṇa*; pres. 1st pers. plur. *paranärvāmä*, II. 107; perfect 3rd pers. sing. with the negative particle *paranärväte näśtä*, IV. 6.

parau, unidentified, II. 103.

parä, adj., Skr. *para*, the highest, or, other; nom. plur. *para*, II. 7, 8, 9.

parī, unidentified word, II. 112.

parr, to be saved, to be released; opt. 3rd pers. sing. *parrīye*, II. 5; past 3rd pers. sing. *parräte*, II. 53.

parrīj, Zd. *paiti-ric*, to make free, to deliver; pres. 3rd pers. sing. *parrījäte*, II. 11.

pars, to be saved, inchoative from *parr*; pres. 3rd pers. plur. *parsīndi*, II. 92, 96.

paśśā, to let out, to give out, to leave; present 1st pers. sing. *paśśīmä*, II. 95; 2nd pers. sing. *paśśä*, II. 47; imper. *paśśa*, II. 106.

paśśete, unidentified word, probably the oblique form of *paśśātä*, deliverance, II. 106.

patä, subst., Zd. *paiti*, a master, a lord; gen sing. *patä*, II. 92; nom. plur. *pata*, II. 100; the explanation is not certain.

patäna, uncertain word, III. 18, 19; to judge from the form it might be the instr.-abl. of *patä*, or perhaps connected with Zd. *paitina*, different, separate, separately, individually.

pātcä, adv., cf. Zd. *pasca*, afterwards, II. 113; *pātcu vā*, II. 93.

pathaṁj, to leave, to give up; pres. 3rd pers. plur. *pathaṁjīndi*, II, 91.

pathīs, to leave off from; pres. 3rd pers. plur. *pathīsīndä*, II. 49.

pathutä, uncertain and unidentified word, IV. 4.

pharāka, adj., much, many, IV. 5.

pharu, adj., much, many, II. 7, 9, 43, 45, 50; IV. 7; *pharo*, III. 11.

pīri, subst., Pehlevi. *pīr*, an old man, a teacher; gen. sing. *pīri*, II. 105.

päta, subst., Zd. *pitā*, a father; nom. sing. *päte*, II. 105.

pratäbimbai, subst., borrowed from Skr. *pratibimbaka*, resemblance, likeness; gen. sing. *pratäbimbai*, II. 10.

pṛhīya, probably an adaptation of Skr. *pṛthu*, broad, II. 100.

prīyä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *preta*, a spirit, a ghost; nom. plur. *prīya*, IV. 7.

puña, adj., borrrowed from Skr. *puṇya*, meritorious; nom. plur. *puña*, II. 6, 10; with suffixed enclitic pronoun *ī*, *puñai*, his merits, IV. 11; instr.-abl. plur. *puñyau*, I. 372; *puñyau-jsa*, III. 14.

puñaunda, adj. formed from foregoing, full of merit, righteous; acc. plur. *puña-unda*, II. 6.

pūrä, subst., Zd. *puθra*, a son; acc. sing. *pūru*, II. 46; gen. sing. *pūrä*, II. 48; nom. plur. *pūra*, II. 105; instr.-abl. plur. *pūryo*, II. 111.

purr, verb of uncertain origin and meaning; pres. 3rd pers. plur. *purrīndä*, II. 51.

purra, subst. the moon; nom. sing. *purra*, II. 109.

puṣṣa, unidentified subst., perhaps connected with Skr. *pārśva*, Wakhī *pürs*, side, region; acc. sing *puṣṣo*, II. 109.

puṣṣva, unidentified adj.; nom. plur. with suffixed pronoun *ī*, *puṣṣvai*, IV. 11.

pyūs, to hear, cf. Pers. *niyošīdan*; pres. 3rd pers. sing. *pyūṣḍe*, II. 3; IV. 8, 10, 11, 12; 3rd pers. plur. *pyūvāre*, III. 11, 14; past 3rd pers. plur. *pyūṣṭāndi*, II. 104.

Rāhulä, nom. propr., Skr. *Rāhula*; acc. *Rāhulu*, II. 94.

raysä, unidentified word, probably Zd. *razan*, rule, order, II. 48; III. 9; instr. abl. sing. *raysä-na*, III. 10.

rä, particle added after pronouns; *ce rä halcä*, whoever, II. 110; *kye rä*, who now, II. 8; IV. 12.

rī, copulative or emphatic particle, II. 8, 10.

rra, uncertain and unidentified word, probably a copulative particle, II. 110.

rrāśä, subst., according to Leumann, p. 67[39] borrowed from Skr. *rājan*, a king; nom. sing. *rāśä*, III. 17.

rraṣṭa, adj., Zd. *rašta*, right, just; adv. *rraṣṭo*, rightly, II. 1.

rre, subst., a king; nom. sing. *rre*, II. 46, 53; gen. sing. *rrundä*, III. 12; *rrundi*, II. 45; nom. plur. *rrunde*, II. 44.

rrīj, Zd. *ric*, to surpass; pres. 3rd pers. sing. *rrījäte*, II. 8.

rro, adv., and, also, II. 46, 50, 108; IV. 7, 9.

rruśtä, subst., kingdom, government; acc. sing. *ruśtu*, II. 47.

ru, uncertain and unidentified, III. 17, perhaps the same as *rro*.

sai, Zd. *sad*, to appear; present 3rd pers. sing. *saittä* (?), IV. 6.

ṣai, adv., even, also, II. 103; cf. *ṣṣai*.

saddham, borrowed from Skr. *siddham*, hail, II. 1; IV. 1.

salāvä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *saṁlāpa*, teaching, word; acc. plur. *salāva*, II. 104, 108. III. 11.

salī, subst., Zd. *sarəd*, a year; acc. sing. *salī*, II. 45.

Śamä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *Yama*, the lord of the nether world; gen. sing. *Śamä*, II. 45.

samāhāna, subst., borrowed from Skr. *samādhāna*, absorption, meditation, II. 9.

saṁkhāramä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *saṅghārāma*, a monastery; acc. sing. *saṁkhāramu*, II. 98.

saṁtsāra, subst., borrowed from Skr. *saṁsāra*, transmigration, the world; loc. sing. *saṁtsera*, II. 111; IV. 3.

saṁtserai, adj., derived from foregoing, subject to transmigration, belonging to the world, II. 1.

samu, adv., borrowed from Skr. *samam*, in like manner, similarly, simultaneously, II. 50, 110; IV. 3, 5.

sarva, adj., borrowed from Skr. *sarva*, all, every; acc. plur. *sarva*, II. 6.

sarvañi, adj., borrowed from Skr. *sarvajña*, omniscient; nom. sing. *sarvañi*, III. 16; IV. 4.

satva, subst., borrowed from Skr. *sattva*, a being; nom. plur. *satva*, I. 372; II. 3, 50; acc. plur. *satva*, II. 6, 11.

ṣaundi, unidentified word, II. 101.

scätä, subst., time; acc. sing. *scätu*, II 113; *skyätu*, III. 12.

se, adv., used to introduce a saying; Professor Leumann, p. 75 [18] compares Prakrit *se*. If that derivation is correct the word must be a loanword; it is however possible to derive it from the Indo.-European base *ko*; cf. Greek *ekei*, Latin *ce-do*.

ṣä, dem. pron. nom. sing., II. 46, 99; *ṣä te*, II. 113.

ṣkoṅgya, subst., apparently used to translate Skr. *saṁskāra*, form, the world of phenomena; nom. plur. *ṣkoṅgye*, II. 101; *ṣkauṅgye*, II. 101.

skyätä, time, see *scätä*.

ṣṣadda, subst., borrowed from Skr. *śraddhā*, faith, belief; nom. sing. *ṣṣadda*, IV. 2, 3; acc. sing. *ṣṣaddo*, IV. 1; *ṣṣadu* (?), IV. 5; instr. *ṣṣadde-jsa*, II. 10; IV. 3.

ṣṣaddä, adj., borrowed from Skr. *śrāddha*, believing, full of faith; nom. plur. *ṣṣadda*, II. 96.

ṣṣaddendrī, subst., borrowed from Skr. *śraddhendriya*, the faculty, moral sense, of faith, IV. 2.

ṣṣahāna, subst., borrowed from Skr. *śraddhāna*, faith, used to tramlate *guṇa*, virtue; nom. plur. *ṣṣahāne*, II. 52; acc. plur. *ṣṣahāne*, II. 7; instr.-abl. plur. *ṣṣahānyo-jsa*, II. 109; gen. plur. *ṣṣahānānu*, II. 52.

ṣṣahānīyä, adj., derived from foregoing, connected with virtue, virtuous; nom. plur. *ṣṣahānīya*, II. 51.

ṣṣai, adv., even, also, II. 48, 107; III. 17; IV. 6, 10.

Śśakkrä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *Śakra*, the god Indra; gen. sing. *Śśakkrä*, III. 20; *Śśakkranärmäte*, created by *Śakra*, III. 20.

ṣṣamanä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *śramaṇa*, an ascetic, a Buddhist recluse; gen. plur. *ṣṣamanānu*, II. 91, 102.

ṣṣandäṣṣajo, unidentified, II. 97; perhaps two words.

śśanda, subst., the earth; acc. sing., also used as an adverb, on the earth, *śśando*, II. 48, 102; III. 9, 16; gen. sing. *śśaṁdye*, II. 48.

Śśāriputrä, nom. propr., Skr. *Śāriputra*; voc. sing. *Śśāriputra*, II. 8.

śśāśanä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *śāsana*, doctrine, teaching; acc. sing. *śśāśanu*, II. 90, 95; gen. sing. *śśāśanä*, II. 111; loc. sing. *śśāśiña*, II. 91, 96.

śśaṭhä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *śaṭha*, a cheat, a rogue; instr. abl. plur. *śśaṭhyau-jsa*, II. 51.

śśä, unidentified, II. 53; cf. *śśo*.

śśäña, loc. sing. of the first numeral, in one, II. 6; IV. 5.

śśärä, adj., cf. Skr. *śiva*, good, lucky; nom. sing. neut. *śśäru*, IV. 10; gen. sing. *ṣṣärye*, II. 44.

śśäratätä, subst., derived from foregoing, luck, hail, bliss; nom. sing. *śśäratätä*, IV. 4; instr. abl. sing. *śśäratete-jsa*, II. 11; gen. sing. *śśäratete*, IV. 3.

śśo, unidentified, II. 103; cf. *śśä*.

ṣṣu, unidentified, II. 42; cf. *ṣu*.

śśūhäta, unidentified, II. 96.;

sta, Zd. *stā*, 2nd pers. plur. of the verb subst., used to form a 2nd pers. plur. of the perfect; *haṁbaḍa sta*, you have been filled, II. 109; *ttranda sta*, you have gone, II. 109; *yiḍāndi sta*, you have done, II. 108.

ṣṭa, Zd. *xšṯā*, to stand, also used as a verb subst.; present 3rd pers. plur. *ṣṭāre*, II. 2.

ṣṭānye, uncertain and unidentified, might be the obl. sing. of the middle part. of *ṣṭa*, IV. 8.

staurä, adj., probably connected with Zd. *stawra*, strong, firm; nom. sing. *staurä*, II. 3; neuter *stauru*, II. 4.

śtä, the same as *aśtä*, is; *vätä śtä*, is become, has arisen, II. 45.

sthīrä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *sthavira*, an elder; acc. sing. *sthīru*, II. 93, 94; gen. sing. *sthīri*, II. 104.

ṣu, unidentified, II. 3; cf. *ṣṣu*.

supīya, unidentified, IV. 9.

suvīrä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *suvīra*, a hero, a valiant man; acc. sing. *suvīru*, II. 93.

sūträ, subst., borrowed from Skr. *sūtra*, a treatise, a sūtra; acc. sing. *sūtru*, IV. 11, 12; *sūtro*, III. 16; *sūttro*, IV. 3; gen. sing. *sūträ*, IV. 4.

śye, gen. sing. of the first numeral; *śye kṣaṇä*, in one moment, II. 8.

syūta, unidentified participle, II. 105, 106, 108.

ta, uncertain and unidentified, II. 107; IV. 8.

tāmu, unidentified, II. 7.

tāndi, unidentified word, perhaps meaning 'word,' or 'praise,' II. 112.

tcamä-na, instr.-abl. of a relative interrogative base *tcamä*, which, II. 99; loc. sing. *tcamäña*, IV. 5.

tcaramä, adj., cf. Skr. *carama*, last; acc. sing. *tcaramu*, II. 103.

tcera, adj., cf. Skr. *karya*, that should be done, work; nom. sing. neut. *tceru*, II. 43, 108.

te, perhaps the enclitic pronoun of the 2nd person, but often used as an emphatic addition; *dukhä-te kṣīrä*, in misery thy (?) realm, II. 49; *ṣä-te*, this here, II. 113; *trämä-te*, such now (?), IV. 3; *ttä-te*, those now, II. 9, 100, 108; IV. 1; *tte-te*, those thy, II. 104.

thatau, adv., quickly, II. 90.

thu, Zd *θvam*, thou, II. 1, 43, 107.

tä see *cī tä*, II. 52; *ta tä*, IV. 8.

trämä, adj., such, like that; nom. sing. *trämä*, IV. 3; nom.-acc. sing. neuter *trämu*, such, thus, II. 11, 43, 96, 109; III. 10, 13, 15; IV. 3; *tträmu*, IV. 4, 5; *ttrrämu*, II. 106.

tṛṣṭandī, probably adapted from Skr. *tiṣṭhan*, standing, with *ī*, 2nd pers. sing. of the verb subst., art standing, living, II. 107.

tsāṣṭä, unidentified, II. 101.

tta, oblique base of the demonstrative pronoun, that; acc. sing. *ttu*, II. 93, 113; III. 12; IV. 9; *ttū*, I. 372; II. 2, 46, 95; IV. 8, 11, 12; *ttu-to*, III. 9, 16; instr. sing. *ttäna*, therefore, II. 10, 44; III. 16; IV. 4, 7; gen. sing. *ttye*, II. 105; nom. plur. *ttä*, II. 8, 90, 96; IV 7; *ttä-tä*, II. 7; *ttä-te*, II. 9, 100, 108; IV. 1; nom. acc. plur. fem. *tte*, II. 8, 10; *tte-te*, II. 104; instr.-abl. plur. *ttyau*, I. 372.

tta, adv., formed from the demonstrative base *tta*, thus, so, II. 43, 100, 102, 108, 113; III. 14, 16, 17; IV. 3, 4, 6; the enclitic pronoun *ī* has been added in *ttaī*, II. 47, 90; *tto*, II. 96, probably contains *tta* and the emphatic particle *u*.

ttaṁdya, unidentified, VI. 6.

ttändä, uncertain and unidentified, IV. 9.

ttävatrīśä, subst., cf. Pāli *tāvatiṁsa*, belonging to the thirty-three, a class of gods of whom Indra is the first; nom. sing. *ttävatrīśä*, III. 19; nom. plur. *ttävatrīśa*, III. 18; gen. plur. *ttävatrīśänu*, III. 18.

tterä, adv., formed from the demonstrative base, thus, so, II. 4, 5, 8; III. 20; *tteri*, II. 107; an accusative *tteru* occurs in *tteru väte*, in so being, in those circumstances, II. 92.

ttärä, adv., formed from the demonstrative base, apparently corresponding to Skr. *tävat*, so far, II. 1, 3, 6; *ttäro* (?), IV. 12; *ttärburo*, so much, so many, II. 100.

ttīma, adv., perhaps meaning 'then,' III. 9; IV 4.

ttīyä, adv., then, II. 44, 95, 102, 104.

ttram, to go; past part. nom. plur. *ttranda*, II. 92, 109.

ttrrämu, thus, II. 106; *tträmu*, IV. 4, 5; see *trämä*.

ttūśśä, adj., cf. Skr. *tuccha*, empty; nom. plur. fem. *tūśśe*, II. 45.
tvīye, unidentified, II. 110.
u, particle, Zd. *uta*, and, II. 53, 105.
u, emphatic particle, Zd. *u*, in *tto*, thus indeed, II. 96.
ū, enclitic pronoun of the 2nd pers. plur., in *cū*, what (should be done) by you, II. 108.
udiśä, borrowed from Skr. *uddiśya*, with reference to, II. 10.
uhu, perhaps pronoun of 2nd pers. sing., thou; instr. *uhuna*, IV. 9.
umai, unidentified word, apparently meaning 'disciple'; voc. plur. *umā*, II. 95, 103; instr.-abl. plur. *umyau-jsa*, II. 108.
upāta, subst., borrowed from Skr. *utpāda*, coming forth, birth, appearance; nom. sing. *upāta*, III. 12.
ustama, Zd. *ustəma*, outmost, last; acc. sing. *ustamu*, at last, II. 46; *ustamu vīrä*, in the last time, II, 103; *ustaṁ kālu*, in the last time, II. 102.
ūtca, subst., water; acc. sing. *ūtco*, IV. 7; gen. sing. *ūce*, III. 9.
ūvāśu, unidentified word, II. 106; perhaps connected with Zd. *urvāzā*, joy, happiness, bliss.
uvatārna, unidentified word, perhaps borrowed from Skr. *upakāreṇa*, by assisting, II. 91.
uysnorä, subst., a being; nom. plur. *uysnora*, II. 49; III. 12, 14; gen. plur. *uysnorāṇu*, II. 2.
va, Zd *vā*, emphatic particle, II. 5; IV. 6.
vā, emphatic particle, II. 2, 49, 93; IV. 3; cf. *va*.
vah, Zd. *vah*, to live, to dwell; pres. 3rd pers. plur. *vahīndä*, II. 48.
vai, unidentified, II. 100.
Vajjiputträ, nom. propr., Skr. *Vajrīputra*; acc. sing. *Vajjiputtru*, II. 95.
vajrrä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *vajra*, the thunderbolt; instr. sing., *vajrrä-na*, III. 20.
vajsäs, Zd. *ava-caxš*, to behold; pres. 3rd pers. sing. *vajsäṣḍe*, III. 19.
voṁña, adv. here, now, II. 103; cf. *vaysña*. [II. 109.
vāmä, unidentified, perhaps connected with Skr. *avama*, last; acc. sing. *vāmu*,
Vanavāysä, nom. propr., Skr. *Vanavāsa*; acc. sing. *Vanavāysu*, II. 93.
vara, adv., there, II. 98, 99; IV. 1, 5; with enclitic pronoun *ī* (?) *varī*, IV. 10.
varatä, unidentified, II. 99, 103.
varāś, to obtain, cf. Zd. *rāz* (?); present 3rd pers. plur. *varāśāre*, II. 98.
vare, postposition, on, in; *ttū vare*, therein, thereon, II. 2.
varä, unidentified, perhaps the same as *vara*, II. 103; IV. 2.
vāro, unidentified, II. 103.
vāś, to read; present 3rd pers. sing. *vāśäte*, IV. 11.
vaska, postposition and adverb, for the sake of, in consequence, II. 111; IV. 10, 12.
vaṣṭa, postposition, during, for, II. 45.
vaṣṭe, probably inf. of base corresponding to Zd. *vaz*, II. 48 (even the son's side should not lead him).

vastī, subst., (?), cf. Zd. *stāiti* (?), Skr. *avasthiti*, abiding, staying, II. 111.

vau, uncertain and unidentified, IV. 10

vavannä, uncertain and unidentified, probably borrowed from Skr. *upapanna*, entered, reached, or *vipanna*, dead, II. 53.

vaysña, adv., here, now, II. 113; cf. *vaṁña*.

vä, to become, to be; past 3rd pers. sing. *vätä*, II. 3, 5; 3rd pers. plur. *väta*, II. 3; perf. 3rd pers. sing. *vätä śtä*, II. 45.

vä, uncertain and unidentified, III. 17.

väcätträ, adj., borrowed from Skr. *vicitra*, variegated, manifold; nom. sing. *väcätträ*, III. 13; acc. sing. *vicätru*, III. 9.

vimūhä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *vimokṣa* or Pali *vimokha*, release, enfranchisement; nom. plur. *vimūha*, II, 9.

vīrä, postposition, Zd. *upairi*, on, in, II, 103; IV. 4; *vīri*, II. 10, 95.

viṣayä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *viṣaya*, sphere, dominion; gen. sing. *viṣayä*, III. 17.

väśśeṣä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *viśeṣa*, a peculiar mark; acc. sing. used as an adv. *väśśeṣu*, II. 52.

västä, to start, to stand, Zd. *vistā*, past part. nom. plur. *västäta*, II. 44, 105; fem. *västäte*, II. 45; transitive, to place, to establish; past 3rd pers. sing. *västäte*, IV. 1.

väte, postposition, in, on, II. 92, 102; IV. 12; *vätu*, II. 44, if *dätu vätu* is not 'law being,' 'in the law.'

vyākṣīva, subst., borrowed from Skr. *vyākṣepa*, obstruction; *vyākṣīva hāḍe*, obstruction states, difficulties, II. 102.

ya, adv., Skr. *ca*, and, II. 5.

yan, to do; present 2nd pers. sing. *yañä*, II. 43; 3rd pers. sing. *yīndä*, II. 7; IV. 8; 1st pers. plur. *yanāmä*, II. 112; 3rd pers plur. *yanīndä*, II. 6, 49; opt. 3rd pers. sing. *yanīyä*, II. 97; imper. 2nd pers. sing. *yana*, II. 47; *yanu*, II. 106; present middle 3rd pers. sing. *yande*, II. 10, 98; III. 9; conj. 3rd pers. plur. *yanāro*, II. 50; past 3rd pers. sing. *yiḍe*, IV. 10; perfect 2nd pers. plur. *yiḍāndi sta*, II. 108.

yānä, subst., borrowed from Skr. *yāna*, a vehicle; nom. plur. *yāna*, III. 10.

ye, enclitic pronoun, somebody, some one, II. 3, 4. 99, III. 16; IV. 3, 9.

ysma-śśandai, adj., belonging to the earth, the world; nom. sing. *ysama-śśandai*, II. 5; acc. sing. *ysama-śśandau*, II. 46; loc. sing. *ysama-śśandiya*, II. 52.

ysaṁthīnai, adj., connected with birth, existence (*ysaṁthä*); acc. sing. *ysaṁthīnau*, II. 109.

ysān, Zd. *zan.*, to know; pres. 3rd pers. sing. (?) *ysānde*, II. 99; 3rd pers. plur. *ysānāre*, II. 108.

ysīnītä, part., gratified, blessed; acc. sing. *ysīnīyu*, II. 95; nom. plur. *ysīnīta*, II. 96; *ysīnīya*, II. 90.

ysojsä, *ysojsi*, unidentified, perhaps borrowed from Skr. *śauca*, purification, II. 42.

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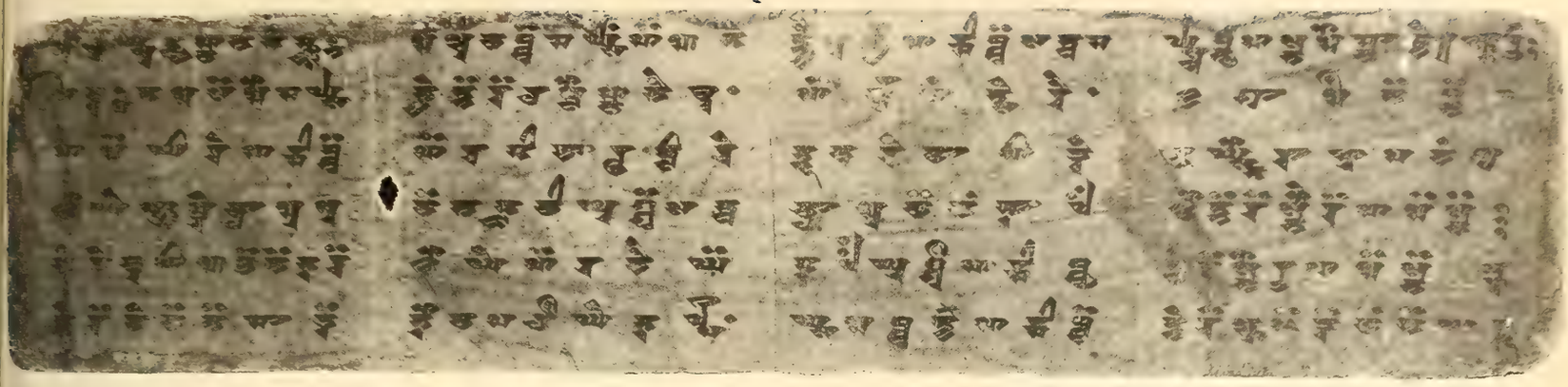

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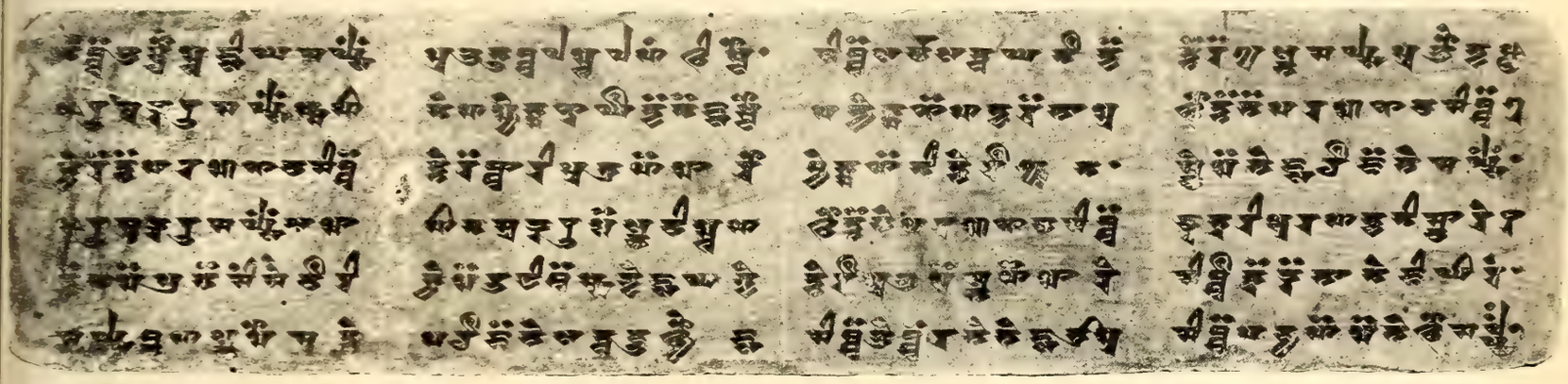

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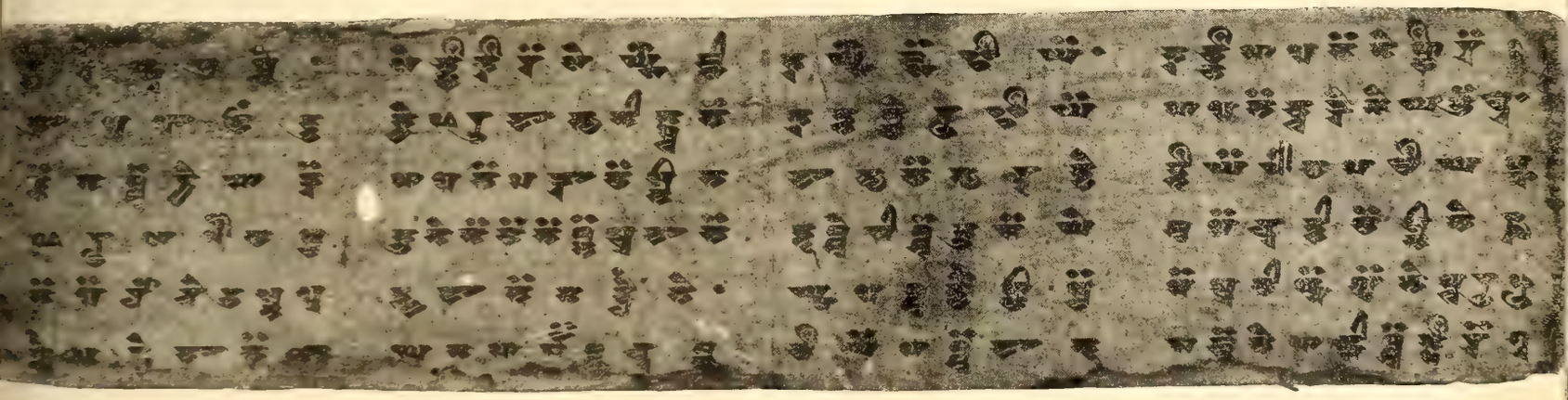

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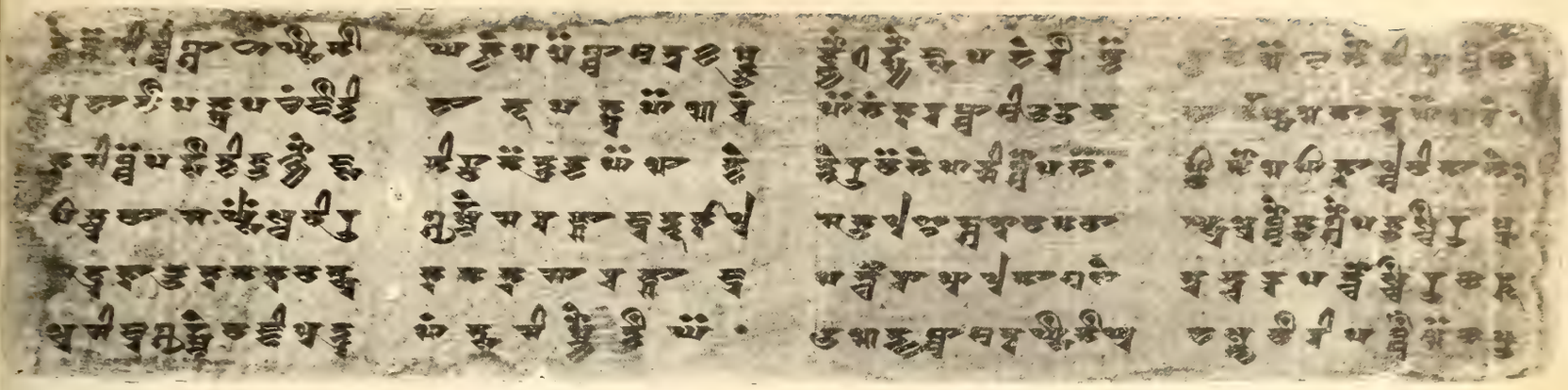

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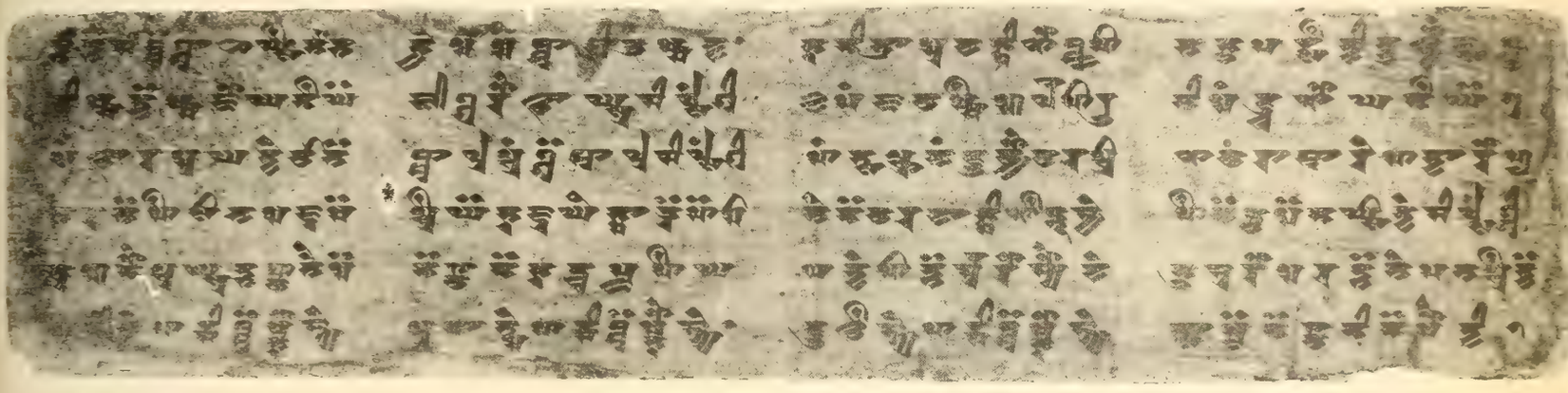

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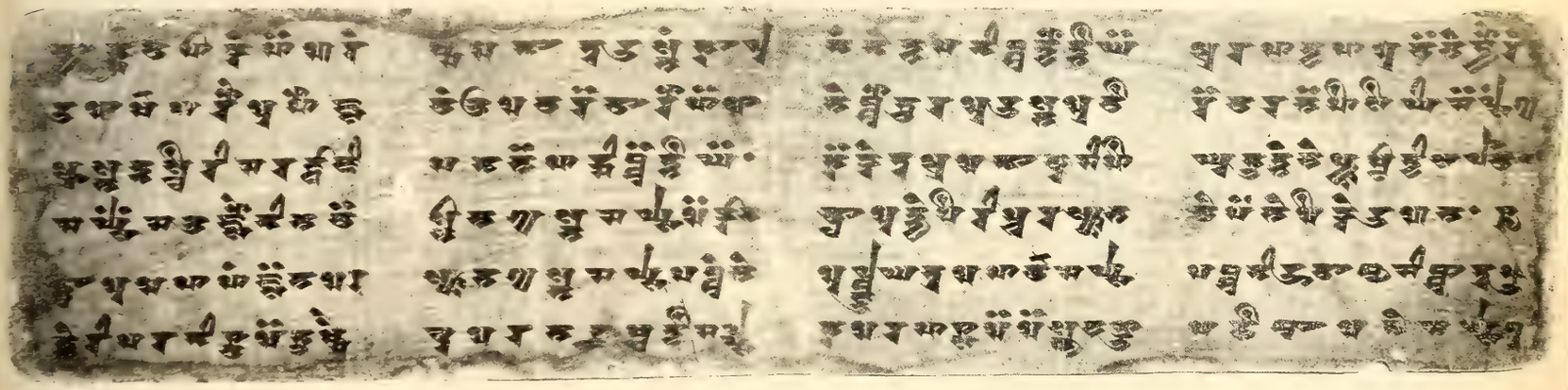

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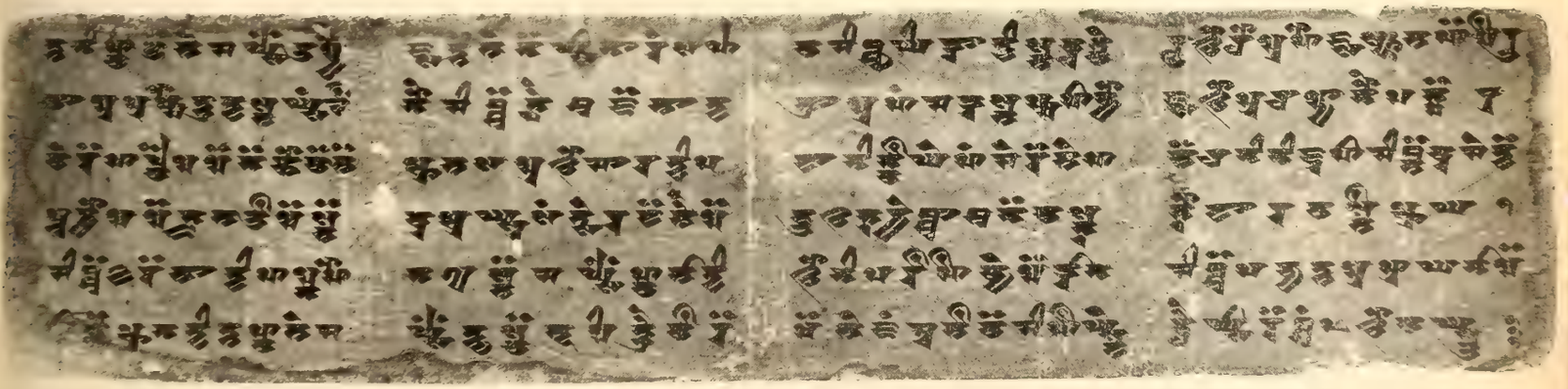

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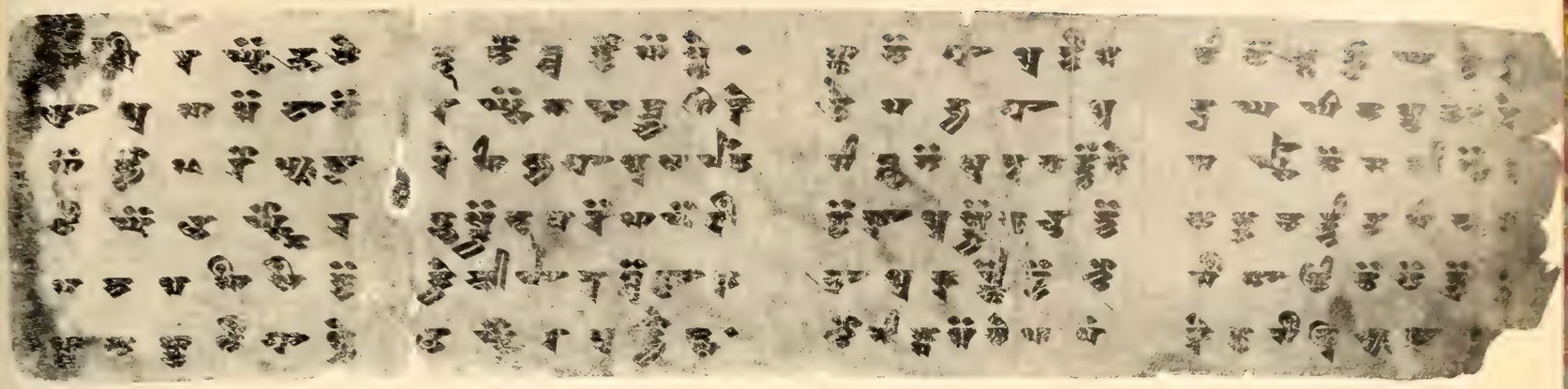

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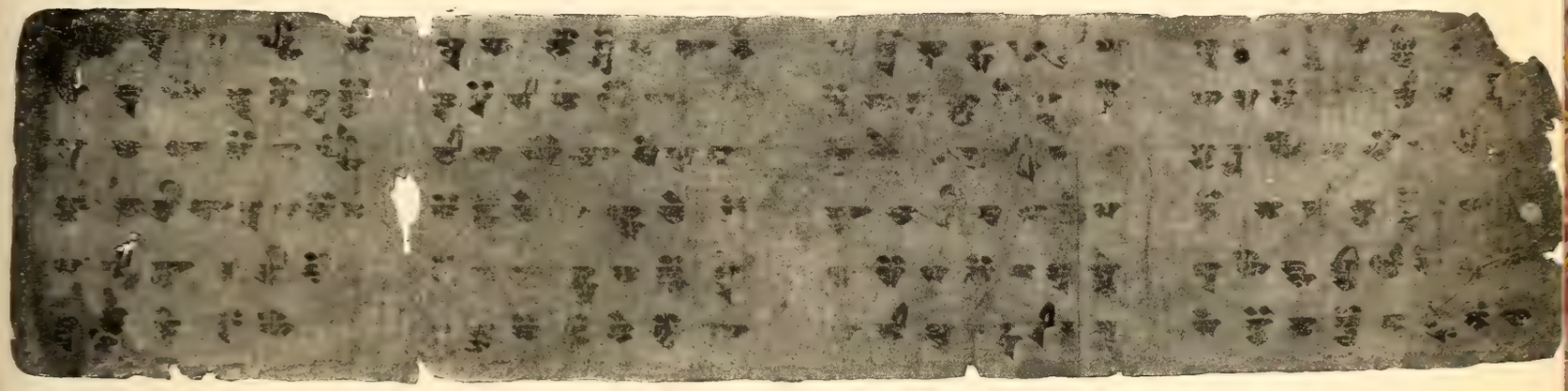

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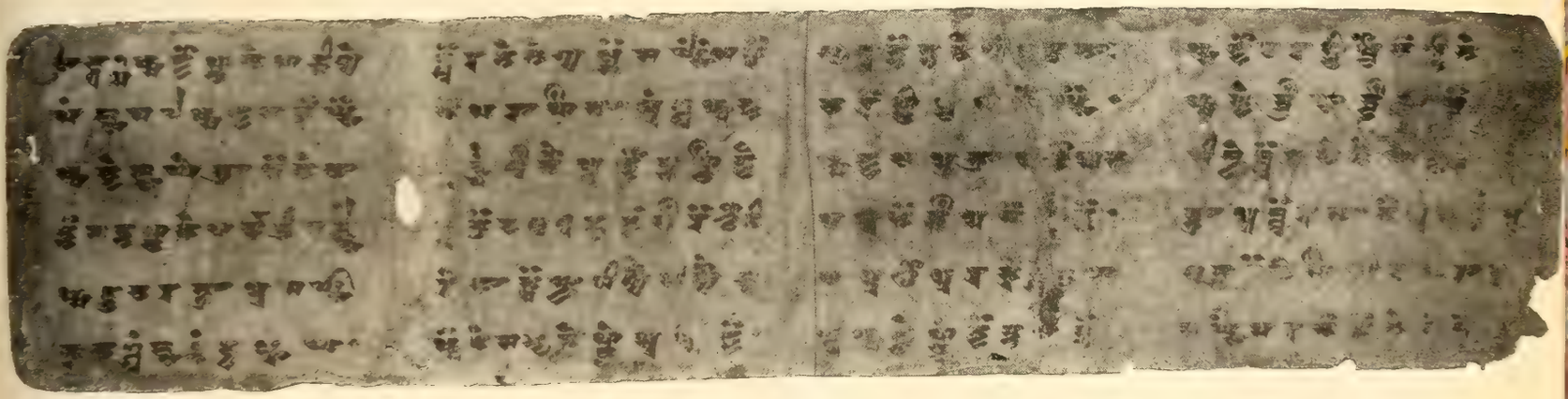

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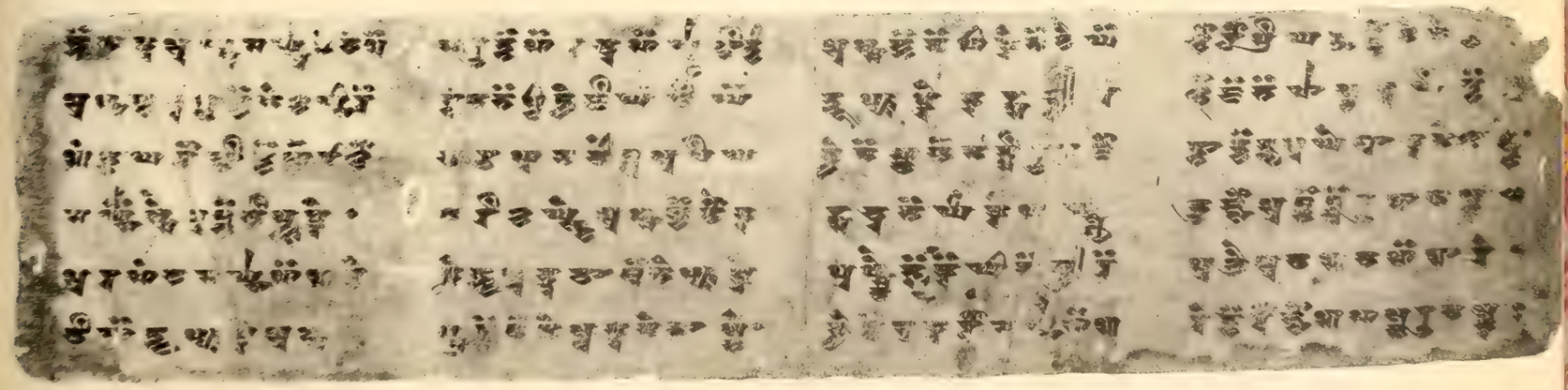

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PREFACE.

The ground plan of a history of Eastern India from 800 to 1200 A.D. has already been sketched out by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasād Sāstrī in his short introduction to Sandhyākaranandi's *Rāmacarita*. At that time I intended to develop it and add all the available material in a fresh article. This article was finished in October 1911. It was revised by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Ph.D., then Officiating Director General of Archaeology, and submitted to the Society. For various reasons, the publication of this part of the Memoirs has been delayed, among which may be mentioned the loss of several impressions of inscriptions.

I have not been able to edit the inscriptions quoted in the body of this paper to my satisfaction, on account of want of time and space. The readings quoted are for the most part true readings. Pandit Binod Bihari Bidyabinod has helped me considerably in deciphering them. The majority of the new records were read by him, and the texts were then revised and modified by me. But in each case a mechanical estampage has been reproduced so that a worthier scholar may re-edit it from the plates. The historical information supplied by each record has been given in the form of a summary in the body of the text.

I am indebted to Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasād Sāstrī, C.I.E., Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Ph.D., Dr. D. B. Spooner, B.A., Ph.D., Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, B.A., Bar.-at-Law, for many suggestions. To my friend Mr. Surendra Nath Kumar of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, I am indebted for translations of various passages in French or German. Dr. F. W. Thomas, Ph.D., of the India Office Library, and Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle kindly obtained for me photographs of the historical colophones of manuscripts preserved in the Bodleian or the Royal Asiatic Society's Library. Dr. Thomas obtained for me two impressions of votive inscriptions of Mahendrapāla in the British Museum. Mr. G. H. Tipper, M.A., F.G.S., then Honorary General Secretary of the Society, very kindly obtained photographs of the historical colophones of manuscripts preserved in the Cambridge University's Library and the Bengal Asiatic Society's collections. In fact, without his aid it would have been quite impossible for me to complete this work.

INDIAN MUSEUM,
Calcutta, the 30th May, 1914.

The Pālas of Bengal.

By R. D. Banerji, M.A., *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

[With Plates XXIV—XXXII, XXXVI—XXXVIII.]

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

After the death of Harṣavarddhana, nothing is definitely known about the history of Bengal and Bihar, till the rise of the Pālas. In fact the only definite date after the death of Harṣavarddhana, is the year 66, of the Harṣa era, on the Shāhpur image of Sūryya.[1] We know from the Aphsaḍ inscription of Ādityasena, that Mādhavagupta was the contemporary of Harṣa,[2] and that Ādityasena succeeded in making himself independent in Magadha. The Deo-Banārak inscription of Jīvitagupta II carries the genealogy of the family for three generations further. These princes Devagupta, Viṣṇugupta and Jīvitagupta II continued to assume Imperial titles, though most probably their possessions were insignificant. The dynasty came to an end with the last-named prince, Jīvitagupta II.

The Guptas of Magadha.

The exact circumstances which led to the fall of this ancient dynasty are not known, but it seems certain that the event took place in troublesome times. Bengal was run over by Yaśovarmmadeva of Kanauj during the first two decades of the eighth century A.D.[3] Most probably Jīvitagupta II was the king who was overthrown by this invasion. Ādityasena's only definite date is 671 A.D., and this gives us about 40 or 50 years for four generations, which is certainly not too much. We do not know anything about the successors of Jīvitagupta II, but we know of several other foreign invasions of Bengal about the same time from contemporary records. The invasion from Kanauj was followed by one from Assam. The King Harṣadeva conquered Bengal, Orissa and the Northern Sarkars (*Gauḍ = Oḍr = ādi-Kaliṇga-Kośala-pati*). As his grandson, Jayadeva, the Licchavi, was reigning in the sixth decade of the eighth century A.D.,[4] the date of his maternal grandfather must be placed some time earlier. Most probably this invasion from Assam closely followed upon the heels of that from Kanauj, or we may one day be surprised to learn that both armies invaded Bengal jointly. Harṣadeva must have held Bengal for a sufficiently long time, so as to enable him to pass through that country and conquer *Oḍra* (Orissa) *Kaliṇga* (Northern Sarkars), and Kośala (Orissa Hill Tracts). The *Gauḍa-vaho* and the Rājataraṇginī has familiarized us with the

The dark period.

Foreign invasions.

[1] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, Vol. III, pp. 209-10.
[2] Ibid., p. 207.
[3] J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 76.
[4] Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 178.

story of the banished king, Jayāpīḍa, who came to Bengal, married the daughter of the king, and freed him from the subjection of his liege-lord.[1] According to the able translator of the Rājataraṅginī, the true date of this king is between 760 and 800 A.D. Finally Bengal was conquered by the Gurjara and Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. The Gurjara king Vatsarāja, according to the Gwalior inscription of Mihira-Bhoja, had seized by main force the imperial sway from the house of Bhāṇḍi:—

From Kanauj, Assam.

Khyātād=Bhaṇḍi-kulān=madotkaṭa-kari-prākāra durllaṅghato yaḥ sāmrājyam=adhijya-kārmmuka-sakhā saṁkhye haṭhād=agrahīt—verse 7.[2]

Most probably after the fall of Harṣavarddhana, the family of his cousin Bhaṇḍi succeeded to the Empire. Bhaṇḍi is mentioned in the *Harṣacarita* as the mother's brother's son of Harṣa.[3] Vatsarāja is said to have conquered Bengal very easily and taken away from its king the radiantly white royal umbrellas. In the Wani grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III, his father Dhruvarāja is said to have taken away these umbrellas from Vatsarāja and driven him away into the desert:—

Helā-svīkṛta-Gauḍa-rājya-kamalā-mattaṁ praveśy-ācirād = durmārgam = marumadhyam=aprati-balair=yo Vatsarājaṁ balaiḥ Gauḍīyaṁ Śaradindupāḍadhavalaṁ chatradvayaṁ kevalaṁ tasmān = n = āhṛta tad-yaśo = pi kakubhaṁ prānte sthitaṁ tat-kṣaṇāt.

"Having with his armies, which no other army could withstand, quickly caused Vatsarāja, intoxicated with the goddess of the sovereignty of the country of Gauḍa, that he had acquired with ease, to enter upon the path of misfortune in the centre of the deserts or Maru, he took away from him not only the two royal umbrellas of Gauḍa, that were as radiantly white as the rays of the autumn moon, but almost, at the same moment, his fame that had reached to the extremities of the regions."[4]

The late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson supposed that the country conquered by Vatsarāja was Thanesar.[5] But the Gurjara king conquered Gauḍa and Vaṅga at the same time and the two umbrellas were, most probably, one for Gauḍa and the other for Vaṇga like the double crown of Egypt:—

Gauḍendra-Vaṅgapati nirjjaya-durvvidagdha sad=gurjjareśvara dig=arggalatāṁ ca yasya,

Nītvā bhujaṁ vihata-mālava-rakṣaṇārthaṁ svāmī tath=ānyam-api rājya-phalāni bhuṅkte.—Baroda plates of Karkarāja.[6]

The Radhanpur grant also contains the verse about the defeat of Vatsarāja by Dhruva.[7] So according to the Wani and Radhanpur grants Dhruva, father of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III, drove Vatsarāja back into the desert, and wrested from him the double royal umbrellas of Gauḍa, and according to the Baroda grant

1 Mem. A.S.B., Vol. III, p. 3, note 2. 2 Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., 1903-04, p. 281.
3 Cowell and Thomas, *Harsacarita*, Or. Tr. Fund Series, p. 116. 4 Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 157.
5 J.R.A.S., 1905, pp. 103-04. 6 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 160, ll. 39-40. 7 Epi. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 243.

Govinda III caused Karkarāja's arm to become the doorbar of the country of the Lord of the Gurjaras, who had become evilly inflamed by conquering the Lord of Gauḍa and Vaṅga. The verses in both grants do not refer to the same person. The first verse refers to Vatsarāja, the contemporary of Dhruva, but the second verse refers to Nāgabhaṭa II, son of Vatsarāja, who was defeated by Govinda III.

This brings us to the fourth foreign invasion of this period, the invasion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It is evident from the verses quoted above that the Gurjara king's conquest was not a lasting one. Close on his heels followed the southerner and obliged him to relinquish his conquests and even forced him to retire into the desert country, his original home. When the double white umbrella was snatched away from Vatsarāja, the Kingdom of Gauḍa and Vaṅga must also have passed into the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa conquerer. Nothing is known definitely about the close of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa occupation, but most probably it did not last long. As soon the Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces were withdrawn, the local princes must have re-asserted their authority.

During this period of foreign invasions and consequent anarchy and misrule, the old Royal dynasty must have come to an end, the harassed populace felt the necessity of a strong and able ruler. They held an election about the details of which we know nothing. As a result of this election Gopāladeva, the son of a successful soldier named Vapyaṭa, was elected king. In the Khalimpur grant of Dharmmapāla it is said that the people made him take the hand of fortune:—

The election of a king by the subjects

Mātsya-nyāyam-apohitum prakṛtibhir-lakṣmyāḥ karaṅ-gṛāhitaḥ Śrī-Gopāla iti kṣitīśa-śirasām cuḍāmaṇis-tat-sutaḥ, Yasy-ānukriyate sanātana-yaśo-rāsir-diśām-āśaye śvetimnā yadi paurṇṇamāsa-rajanī jyotsn-ātibhāra-śriyā.—verse 4.[1]

The composer of the Khalimpur inscription puts the cause of this election very nicely in the above verse: *Mātsya-nyāyam-apohitum*, "to escape from anarchy," as Mr. K. P. Jayaswal translates it.[2] That the danger of being swallowed up into the kingdom of a powerful neighbour, was not exaggerated, is amply evident from the foregoing account of the foreign invasions of Bengal during the dark period.

Nothing is known about the origin of this new line of kings, who continued to hold sway over Bihar or Bengal till the final conquest of the country by the Muhammadans. In the oldest inscription of this dynasty Dayitaviṣṇu, the grandfather of Gopāla I, is called the progenitor of this line of kings, and it was stated, that he was sanctified by all sorts of knowledge (*sarvva-vidyāvadātaḥ*).[3] Most probably the family was of such a humble origin that even the names of Dayitaviṣṇu's forefathers were not known in the time of his great-grandson. In later biographical works and inscriptions like the Rāmacarita of Sandhyākara-nandi and the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva, mythical accounts are given of the origin of the Pālas. The Kamauli grant mentions very distinctly that

The origin of the dynasty.

[1] Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 248.

[2] *Arthaśāstra of Cānakya.*

[3] J.A.S.B., 1894, p. 47, and Mem. A.S.B., Vol. III, p. 3.

the king Vigrahapāla III was born in the race of the Sun.[1] The Rāmacarita and the Bengali poem Dharmmamaṅgala of Ghanarāma give a different account altogether. This account is given very fully in the *Kaṅurpālā* of Ghanarāma's work, according to which the kings of the Pāla dynasty after Dharmmapāla were really the descendants of the Sea-god. This tradition is not very coherent as Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasada Sastri has shown. In the Rāmacarita, king Dharmmapāla is mentioned as "the light of the race of the Sea."[2] Thus the Rāmacarita corroborates the tradition embodied in Ghanarāma's work to some extent. It shows that the origin of the new line of kings was remembered by the people long after their accession and even after their fall. The descent from the Sea most probably indicates that the forefathers of this line of kings came from the Sea and in the absence of a plausible account of their ancestry became known as the children of the Sea-God.

[1] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 350.

[2] Mem. A.S.B., Vol., III, pp. 2-3 and 20.

CHAPTER II.

Gopāla I and Dharmmapāla.

Gopāla I was most probably an elderly man when he was called to the throne. Nothing is stated definitely about him or the events of his reign in any of the numerous Pāla inscriptions. In the Khalimpur grant of his son Dharmmapāla we find that he married Deddadevī, the daughter of the king of the Bhadra country.[1] The Bhadras have been variously placed in Middle, Eastern or Southern India in the Bṛhat Saṁhita.[2] The Mungir grant of Devapāladeva mentions him as the type of a well-conducted king.[3] In the rest of the copper-plates of the Pāla dynasty the verse quoted below is used about Gopala I:—

Jitvā yaḥ kāma-kārī-prabhavam = abhibhavaṁ śāśvatīṁ prāpa śāntiṁ,
Sa śrīmān lokanātho jayati Daśabalosnyaś = ca Gopāladevaḥ.

We find this verse in the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, Dinajpur grant of Mahīpāla I, Amgachi grant of Vigrahapāla III, and the Manahali grant of Madanapāla. No inscriptions of this king either on stone or on plates of copper have been discovered as yet, as has been stated by Mr. V. A. Smith.[4] According to Mr. V. A. Smith, Gopāla I was the king of Bengal, who was defeated by the Gurjara king Vatsarāja. But in my humble opinion the Gurjara and Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasions must have taken place before the accession of Gopāla I. In the next reign we find that the king of Bengal was acknowledged supreme by all kings of Northern India. Now Gopāla was elected king by the people of Bengal and his position consequently was not very strong within his own possessions. He was the son of a military adventurer, and he must have wanted a long and peaceful reign to consolidate his power. The Gurjara king Vatsarāja must also have reigned for a pretty long time as he is mentioned in a Jaina work, which we shall examine later on, to be the contemporary of a king who was overthrown by the son of Gopāla. Most probably Gopāla I had a shorter reign than Vatsarāja, who had overrun Bengal before the accession of the former, but lived long enough to see the former's son conquer his former possessions.

Length of reign and successor.

According to Tārānātha, Gopāladeva is said to have reigned for 45 years and Mr. V. A. Smith puts accession to the year 732 A.D.,[5] but as we shall see later on when we come to the first definite date of this dynasty, that this is a little premature. Gopāladeva ascended the throne about 750 A.D. and was most probably succeeded by his son Dharmmapāladeva after a very short reign.

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[1] Epi. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 248, v. 5. [2] Ind. Ant, Vol. XXII, pp. 174—5. [3] Ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 255.
[4] Ibid. Vol. XXXVIII, p. 245. [5] J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 76.

Dharmmapāladeva, the second king of the Pāla dynasty, was the real founder of the greatness of his line and the Empire over which his successors ruled. He was also the leading figure in Northern Indian politics in the last half of the eighth and the first half of the ninth centuries A.D. Most probably Bengal enjoyed some respite from foreign invasions during the reign of Gopāla I, and after him, his son felt strong enough to take part in the disputes of the contemporary monarchs of Northern India, and to conduct long campaigns. Before proceeding to discuss the events of his reign we should consider his date which is the first fixed point in the History of Bengal during this period. The chronology of the Pālas of Bengal was for a long time in a hopelessly confused state. Leaving aside the earlier theories about the dates of the Pālas we find even in recent times widely divergent theories about the date of Dharmmapāla. In the XVth Volume of his reports the late Sir Alexander Cunningham fixed the date of Dharmmapāla's accession in 831 A.D. In his article[1] on the Cambay plates of Govinda III, Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar places Dharmmapāla in the earlier part of the tenth century.[2] Dharmmapāla's date seems to have become fixed from synchronisms, which have been given for the first time in the preface of the Rāmacarita of Sandhyākaranandi by the learned Editor. The synchronisms have also been noticed almost simultaneously by two other scholars—Mr. V. A. Smith[3] and Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar.[4]

Dharmmapāla.

The first question about the true date of Dharmmapāla was raised incidentally in 1891 by the late Dr. Kielhorn on a passage in the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapala:—

Jitv = endra-rāja-prabhṛtīn = arātīn = upārjjitā yena Mahodaya Śrīḥ, dattaḥ punaḥ sa valin = ārthayitre Cakrayudhāy = ānativāmanāya.[5]

At that time Dr. Kielhorn was unable to identify the kings Indrarāja or Cakrāyudha. The discovery of the Khalimpur grant supplied some additional facts and the well-known verse :—

Bhojair-Matsaiḥ sa-Madraiḥ Kuru-Yadu-Yavan = Āvantī-Gandhāra-Kīrair = bhupair = vyālola-mauli-praṇati-pariṇataiḥ sādhu saṅgīryamānaḥ,

Hṛṣyat Pañcāla-vṛddh-oddhṛta-kanakamaya-svābhiṣekodakumbho dattaḥ śrī-Kānyakubjas = sa-lalita-calita-bhrulatā-lakṣma-yena.[6]

For a long time nothing could be made out of the historical allusions in the two verses quoted above. It was known to the scholars that a certain verse of the Jaina Hari-vaṁśa-purāṇa referred to a king named Indrarāja who was a contemporary of Vatsarāja and was living in the year 705 of the Śaka era, i.e. 783 A.D.[7] But so far nobody was able to connect Indrāyudha with the Indrarāja of the Bhagalpur grant. Some time before November 1896, a stone inscription was discovered in some excavations which were being carried

1 Arch. Survey Rep., Vol. XV, p. 150.
2 Epi. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 33.
3 J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 252.
4 Epi. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 26, note 4.
5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, pp. 187-88.
6 Epi. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 248.
7 Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 141, Peterson's 4th report on the search of Skt. MSS. in the Bombay Presidency.

on near the city of Gwalior, and a pencil rubbing of which with a photograph was handed over to the late Dr. Kielhorn by Dr. A. F. R. Hœrnle. A summary of this inscription was published by Dr. Kielhorn and it became known that Nāgabhaṭa II, son of Vatsarāja of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra family, conquered a king named Cakrāyudha, "whose low state was manifested by his dependence on another (or others)," and defeated the Lord of Vaṅga.[1] The Cakrāyudha mentioned in this inscription is evidently the same Cakrāyudha who received the sovereignty of Mahodaya from Dharmmapāla of Bengal, and this identity is made doubly certain by the phrase "*parāśrayakṛta-sphuṭa-nīca-bhāvaṁ.*" The inscription has since been edited by Pandit Hīrānanda Sāstrī of the Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, and the verses about the conquests of Nagabhaṭa II run thus:—

Trayy = āspadasya sukṛtasya samṛddhim = icchur = yaḥ kṣatradhārā-vidhi-vaddha vali-prabandhaḥ,

Jitvā parāśraya-kṛta-sphuṭa-nīca-bhāvaṁ Cakrāyudhaṁ vinayanamra-pūrvvarājat. —verse 9.[2]

As a confirmation of the above statement came the verses of an unpublished grant of Amoghavarṣa I, now in the possession of Prof. Śrīdhara R. Bhandarkar, according to which during the victorious march of Govinda III, Dharmma and Cakrāyudha submitted of their own accord to that king:—

Himavat = parvvata-nirjjhar = āmbu turagaiḥ pītañ = ca gāḍhaṅ-gajair-ddhanitaṁ majjan-turyakair = dviguṇitaṁ bhuyopi tat-kaṇdare, svayam = ev = opanatau ca yasya mahatas = tau Dharmma-Cakrāyudhau Himavān-kīrttisarūpatām-upagatas-tat = kīrttinārāyaṇaḥ.—verse 23.[3]

As Nāgabhaṭa is mentioned in the preceding verse there remains no doubt about the identity of Dharmma and Cakrāyudha and the Cakrāyudha and the King of Bengal of the Gwalior inscription. He is the very same person who was seated on the throne of Mahodaya or Kanauj by Dharmmapāla of Bengal and who was defeated by the Gurjara king Nāgabhaṭa at the same time as the Pāla king. The mention of Nāgabhaṭa in the preceding verse makes this identification doubly certain:—

Sa Nāgabhata-Candragupta-nṛpayor-yaśo(?) r-yaṁ raṇe svahāryam = apahārya dhairya-vikalān-ath-onmulayan.

Yasor-jjanaparo nṛpān-svabhuvi śāli sasyān-iva puṇaḥ punaratiṣthipat-svapada eva c = ānyān = api.—verse 22,[4]

So it is evident that the Kings Nāgabhaṭa II and Govinda III were the contemporaries of Dharmmapāla and Cakrāyudha. We possess a certain date for Nāgabhaṭa II, in the Buchkala inscription; the Vikrama year 872=815 A.D.[5]

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[1] Nachrichten von der Konigl. Ges. der Wiss. zu Gottingen, Phil. Hist. klasse, 1905, p. 301.

[2] Ann. Rep. Archl. Surv., 1903—04, pp. 281 and 284.

[3] J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXII, pt. LXI, p 118. [4] Ibid. [5] Epi. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 198.

Govinda III's certain dates range from 794 to 813 A.D.[1] Consequently Dharmmapāla must be placed in the last decades of the eighth and the first decades of the ninth century A.D.

The events of Dharmmapala's reign.

The most important event in the reign of Dharmmapāla is his conquest of Northern India. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva had driven the Gurjara invaders back into the desert and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa occupation of the country most probably did not last long, otherwise there would not have been any necessity of a fresh invasion under Govinda III. The whole of Northern India most probably relapsed into that restless state which necessitated the election of a strong ruler in Bengal On his accession, an able man like Dharmmapāla practically found the whole country at his mercy. The ancient race of Bhaṇḍi had been ousted from the throne by Vatsarāja, Nāgabhaṭa's father, and a king named Indrāyudha was reigning at Mahodaya or Kanauj in the Vikrama year 705=783 A.D. It may be that he also belonged to the family of Bhaṇḍi. When we remember that according to the verse of the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, Dhrammapāla ousted a king of Kanauj named Indrarāja and gave the kingdom to Cakrāyudha, we feel certain that this Indrāyudha is no other than the Indrarāja of the Bhagalpur grant.

Dharmmapāla's Northern Indian campaign must have begun some time after 783 A.D. In the Jaina Harivaṁśa Purāṇa we find that in the year 705 of the Śaka era Indrāyudha was ruling in the North, Śrī-Vallabha in the South, the Lord of Avanti in the East, and Vatsarāja in the West:—

Śākeṣvabdaśateṣu saptasu diśāṁ pañchottareṣūttarāṁ
Pātīndrāyudhanāmni Kṛṣṇanṛpaje Śrīvallabhe dakṣiṇāṁ;
Pūrvaṁ Śrīmad-Avantī-bhubhṛti nṛpe Vatsādirāje parāṁ
Sorya nāmādhimaṇḍale jayayute vīre varāhe vati.

We know already from the Wani and Radhanpur grants that Dhruva, Śri Vallabha and Vatsarāja were contemporaries. In the year 783 Dhruva must have been in his old age, and long before that he must have driven Vatsarāja back into the desert country from Kanauj and Bengal as the latter is only mentioned as ruler of the West. Again, as Indrarāja or Indrāyudha was reigning in the North in 783 A.D., so Dharmmapāla's Northern Indian campaign must have taken place after that year. As has been already stated above, Dhruva and Vatsarāja seem to have had very long reigns. The invasion of Northern India by these two kings seems to have taken place during the earlier parts of their reigns. Bengal most probably enjoyed about fifty years' respite from foreign invasions before Dharmmapāla came to the throne. Though Indrāyudha, the contemporary of Dhruva and Vatsarāja, was dispossessed of his throne by Dharmmapāla, yet it appears that both of these kings died before Dharmmapāla's accession, as their sons, Nāgabhaṭa II and Govinda III, are mentioned in the inscriptions as his contemporaries. The first act of Dharmmapāla

[1] Ibid., Vol. VII, App. II, p. 3.

after his accession seems to have been the invasion of Kanauj. The exact cause of this invasion has not been revealed to us by any of the records discovered up to date. Most probably the existence of the weak kingdom on his western frontier tempted him to lead an invasion into the heart of the middle country. The result of this invasion is already well known. Indrāyudha, the old king,—old he must have been as he was to some extent the contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva and the Gurjara Vatsarāja,—was deposed. Dharmmapāla set up a nominee of his own, named Cakrāyudha, who was most probably the king of the Pañcāla Country. The last supposition is based on the fact that in the Khalimpur grant it is stated that the Elders of the Pañcāla Country rejoiced at his election. This selection finally proved to be a very costly one for Dharmmapāla. In the famous historical verse of the Khalimpur grant we find that the Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avantī, Gandhāra, Kīra, Bhoja, Matsya and Madra kings had to agree to the selection of Cakrāyudha as the king of Kanauj or Mahodaya. This means, in plain language, that Dharmmapāla had to defeat these kings, and then to force his nominee on them. Consequently we must acknowledge that Dharmmapāla conquered or overran Eastern Punjab and Sindh (*Kuru* and *Yadu*), Western Punjab and the North-Western Frontier Provinces (*Yavana* and *Gandhāra*), Kangra (*Kīra*), Malwa (*Avantī*), and North-Eastern Rajputana (*Bhoja* and *Matsya*). The Madras are mentioned in the Mahābhārata as living outside the pale of Aryan civilization, and most probably the country meant is some part of Afghanistan.[1]

Conquest of Kanauj and displacement of Indrāyudhā.

The accession of Cakrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj was not satisfactory to Nāgabhaṭa II, the king of the Gurjaras. We know from the 9th verse of the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja I, that Nāgabhaṭa II defeated Cakrāyudha. According to the 10th verse of the same inscription he is said to have defeated the King of Bengal also:—

Dūrvvāra-vairi-vara-vāraṇa-vāji-vārayān = augha-saṁghaṭana-ghora-ghan—āndha-kāraṁ,

Nirjjitya Vaṁgapatiṁ = āvirabhūd = vivasvān = udyan = n-iva tri-jagad-eka-vikāśa-kośaḥ.—verse 10.[2]

It is evident that Dhammapāla tried his best to support his protegee. In so doing he must have suffered a serious reverse at the hands of the Gurjara king. In this condition both Dharmmapāla and Cakrāyudha sought the help of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor Govinda III. This is proved by the 23rd verse of the unpublished grant of Amoghavarṣa I in the possession of Mr. S. R. Bhandarkar. Being solicited by the most influential king of Northern India and his subordinate, the king of one of the oldest cities in India, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch led a campaign against the powerful Gurjaras. The result of this campaign has already been stated above while quoting the 23rd verse of the unpublished grant of Amoghavarṣa I.

[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXV, p. 17.

[2] Arch. Survey Rep., 1903-04, p. 281.

The defeat inflicted upon the Gurjaras by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor had a very lasting effect. Govinda III made his nephew, the Mahāsāmantādhipati Karkarāja II of the Gujarat Branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, a door-bar for the country of the Gurjaras, which we learn from the verse of the Baroda grant of Karkarāja quoted above. Besides the unpublished grant of Amoghavarṣa I, we have further evidence of the defeat of a Gurjara king by Govinda III. In the Radhanpur grant of Govinda III it is stated that the Gurjara king fled on hearing of the approach of Govinda III, as the rainy season flies away on the approach of autumn;—

Saṁdhāy=āśu śilīmukhāṁ sva-samayāṁ va(ba)nāsanasy=opari prāpʻaṁ vardhita-vaṁ(baṁ)dhujīva-vibhavaṁ padm-ābhivṛddhy-anvitaṁ.

Sannakṣatram=udīkṣya yaṁ śarad-ṛtuṁ parjanyavad=Gurjaro naṣṭaḥ kv= āpi bhayāt=tathā na samaraṁ svapne=pi paśyed=yathā.—verse 15.[1]

The dream of having a capital at Kanauj, which had impelled more than one Gurjara King to invade Northern India, was over. The Mahāsāmanta became such an efficient door-bar that the Gurjaras were confined to the desert tracts of Rajputana for more than two generations. Dharmmapāla and Cakrāyudha were left in undisputed possession of their territories. Further mention of this triangular struggle between the Pālas, Gurjaras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is to be found in two inscriptions of Mahendrapāla, edited by the late Dr. Kielhorn just before his death. In these grants it is stated that Vāhukadhavala, a feudatory of the Gurjara Emperor Mahendrapāla, but a Cālukya by descent, defeated a king named Dharmma. Now as Vāhukadhavala was the third in ascent from Balavarman, the contemporary of Mahendrapāla, it is probable that he was a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II, who, as we have seen above, was the contemporary of Dharmmapāla of Bengal. So it now appears to be certain that the king Dharmma defeated by Vāhukadhavala was no other than Dharmmapāla of Bengal, who was fighting for his lost prestige in Northern India. In his article on the Una grant of Mahendrapāla, Dr. Kielhorn says that as Balavarman was a contemporary of Mahendrapāla and lived in 893 A.D., so his grandfather Vāhukadhavala must be the contemporary of Bhoja I.[2] But this is hardly possible as king Dharmmapāla must have preceded Bhoja I to some extent at any rate. As Balavarman, as well as his son, Avanivarman II, were the contemporaries of Mahendrapāla so it becomes certain that Balavarman was advanced in age when Mahendrapāla came to the throne. So Balavarman himself must be taken to be the contemporary of the Emperor Bhoja I. Consequently Avanivarman I becomes the contemporary of Rāmabhadra and Vāhukadhavala of Nāgabhaṭa II. This statement is amply supported by the fact that Nāgabhaṭa II had a long war with Dharmmapāla of Bengal. Vāhukadhavala is also said in Mahendrapāla's grants to have defeated the Karṇṇāṭa Army. As Dr. Kielhorn has suggested, the Karṇṇāṭas mentioned are really Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Most probably Vāhukadhavala defeated some portion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces during the Northern Indian campaign of Govinda III.

We know from the Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarṣa I, that some time during

[1] Epi. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 244.

[2] Epi. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 3.

the campaign of Dharmmapāla and Govinda III against Nāgabhaṭa II, the Pāla and Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings fell out and in the struggle which ensued Dharmmapāla was defeated. This must have taken place after the defeat of Nāgabhaṭa II by the confederate armies:—

Kerala-Mālava-Gauḍān = sa-Gurjjarā[ṁ]ś = Citrakūṭagiridu[r]-ggasthān baddhvā Kāñcīśān = atha sa Kīrttinārāyaṇo jātaḥ.[1]

Length of reign, and relations.

Dharmmapāla must have reigned for at least thirty-two years as his Khalimpur grant is dated in that year. Tārānātha says that he ruled for sixty-four years, which is impossible as we shall see in the following pages. The late Dr. Kielhorn was also of opinion that Dharmmapāla had a long reign.[2] In the Monghyr grant it is stated that Dharmmapāla married the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief Parabala, a lady named Raṇṇādevi.[3] Recently Dr. Kielhorn has published an inscription found on a pillar at Pathari, in the Native State of Bhopal in Central India. According to this inscription a king of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas named Parabala was reigning in the Vikrama year 917=861 A.D.[4] This Parabala is most probably the father-in-law of Dharmmapāladeva. So if Parabala married his daughter to the Pāla king, the latter must have had reigned for a very long time. Parabala and his father were very long-lived men. His father Karkarāja defeated a king named Nāgāvaloka, who was a contemporary of Chāhamāna Guvāka I of Sākambharī and one of whose grants is dated in the year 813 of the Vikrama era=756 A.D.[5] Dharmmapāla had a son named Tribhuvanapāla, who is mentioned in the Kha'impur grant as the *dūtaka*, and who seems to have died during the lifetime of his father as Dharmmapāla was succeeded by his second son Devapāladeva after a reign of about forty years.

No coins of Dharmmapāla have been discovered as yet, and the only other inscription of Dharmmapāla besides the Khalimpur grant is a small votive inscription of the 26th year of his reign, found at Bodh-Gaya in the Gaya district of Bengal. The sculpture, on which the inscription has been incised, was removed to the Indian Museum in 1895 when Mr. Broadley's collection of antiquities was sent to Calcutta by the order of the Government of Bengal. The inscription was published in 1908 by Pandit Nilmoni Chakravartti, Professor of Pali and Sanskrit in the Presidency College, Calcutta. It records the erection of a four-faced Mahādeva in a place called Campaśāyatana, by a man named Keśava, the son of a sculptor named Ujvala, and the excavation of a tank at the cost of three thousand drammas, in the 26th regnal year of Dharmmapāla.[6] His Khalimpur grant was issued from Pāṭaliputra. It is well known that he is the king of Bengal repeatedly referred to in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Gurjara records. In the Monghyr grant of his son Devapāla, Dharmmapāla's followers are said to have bathed at Kedāra, and at the mouth of the Ganges during his expeditions, and this bears out the statements made in the

[1] Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 103. [2] Nach. Kon. Ges. der Wiss. zu Gottengen, 1905, p. 303.
[3] Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 255. [4] Epi. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 250. [5] Ibid., p. 231, note 4.
[6] J.A.S.B., Vol. IV, New Series, p. 102.

Khalimpur grant. This grant was issued in his 32nd year and records the grant of the villages named Krauñcaśvabhra, Māḍhāsāmmalī and Pālitaka in the Vyāghrataṭī *maṇḍala* of the Mahantāprakāśa *viṣaya*, and Gopippalī of the Āmraṣaṇḍikā *maṇḍala* of the Sthālikkaṭa *viṣaya*, all of which were situated in the Pauṇḍravardhana *bhukti*, to the temple of the god Nunna-Nārāyaṇa at Śubhasthalī, at the request of his feudatory, the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Nārāyaṇavarmman, which was communicated to the king by the Prince Tribhuvanapāla.

CHAPTER III.

The Struggle with the Pratīhāras.

For a long time after the Northern Indian campaign of Govinda III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Bengal enjoyed immunity from Gurjara invasions. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas had barred the Gurjaras so effectively in their desert country, that for the next two or three generations, the Gurjara kings were obliged to remain content with their former boundaries. It was not till the reign of the Gurjara Emperor Bhoja I, Mihira or Ādivarāha, that we hear of a Gurjara invasion of Bengal. After his succession to the throne, Devapāla was engaged in several lengthy campaigns, and pushed his conquests as far as the Himalayas in the North and the Vindhya Hills in the South :—

Bhrāmyadbhir = vijaya-krameṇa karibhiḥ svām = eva Vindhy-āṭavīm = uddāma-plavamāna-vāṣpa-payaso dṛṣṭāḥ punar = bāndhavāḥ. Kambojeṣu cā yasya vāji-yuvabhir = dhvast-ānyarāj-aujaso heṣā-miśrita hari-heṣita-ravāḥ kāntāś-ciram vikṣitaḥ.—ll.—19-20.[1]

He met with considerable success in his wars, and we find a corroboration of this statement in an inscription incised at the request of the grandson of his minister, Darbhapāṇi Miśra. The Badal pillar inscription records that " By his (Darbhapāṇi's) policy the illustrious prince Devapāla made tributary the earth as far as Revā's parent, whose pile of rocks are moist with the rutting juice of elephants, as far as Gauri's father, the mountain which is whitened by the rays of Īśvara's moon, and as far as the two oceans, whose waters are red with the rising and the setting of the sun ":—

Ā Revā-janakān = mataṅgaja-madastimyac-chila-saṅghater = ā-gaurī-pitur = īśvar endu-kiranaiḥ puṣyat = sitimno gireḥ,

Marttaṇḍās-tamay-oday-āruṇa-jalād-ā-vārirāśi-dvayān = nītyā yasya bhuvaṁ cakāra karadāṁ Śrī-Devapālo nṛpaḥ.—verse 5.[2]

In the very same inscription another verse refers to the campaigns of the same king and mentions the names of his antagonists in detail. This verse has been assigned to Vigrahapāla I by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Śāstrī,[3] but in my humble opinion it refers to the king Devapāla, for the simple reason that the verse referring to Śūrapāla, the next king after Devapāla, according to the Badal pillar inscription, is placed after it. According to this inscription both Darbhapāṇi and his grandson Kedāramiśra were the contemporaries of Devapāla. Someśvara, the son of Darbhapāṇi and the father of Kedāramiśra, was

[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 255. [2] Epi. Ind., Vol. II, p. 162. [3] Mem. A.S.B, Vol. III, p. 8.

most probably a general.[1] Kedāramiśra continued as minister under Śūrapāla I or Vigrahapāla I, and his son Guravamiśra was the minister of Nārāyaṇpāla. The second verse in the Badal pillar inscription about the campaigns of Devapāla runs as follows:—

Utkīlit-otkala-kulaṁ hṛta-hūṇa-garvvaṁ kharvvīkṛta-draviḍa-gurjjaranātha-darppaṁ,
Bhū-pīṭham=abdhi-raśan=ābharaṇamvubhoja Gauḍeśvaraś=ciram=upāsya dhiyaṁ yadīyāṁ—verse 13.

"Attending to his (Kedāramiśra's) wise counsel the lord of Gauḍa long ruled the sea-girt earth, having eradicated the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hūṇas, and scattered the conceit of the rulers of Draviḍa and Gurjjara."

Devapāla, his wars.

The invasion of Utkala is a new point, but the fight with the Hūṇas perhaps is the same as that with the Kambojas referred to in the Monghyr grant. We know from an independent source that there was a war with the Drāviḍas, i.e. the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. In the Nilgund inscription Amoghavarṣa I, it is stated that he was "worshipped by the lords of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, Mālava and Veṅgi":—

Ari-nṛpati-makuṭa-ghaṭṭita-caranas=sakala-bhuvana-vandita-śauryyaḥ,
Vaṁg-āṁga-Magadha-Mālava-Veṁgīśair=arccito=tiśayadhavalaḥ 7-8.[2]

Amoghavarṣa I seems to have been the contemporary of Devapāla as we know that his father Govinda III was of Dharmmapāla. The first three names: Vaṅga, Aṅga and Magadha, must refer to one and the same kingdom as we know from inscriptions that Vaṅga, Aṅga and Magadha were under Devapāla, viz. the Monghyr grant and the Ghosrawan inscription. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion was most probably over within a very short time, like those under the predecessors of Amoghavarṣa I, and at its close, in spite of the reverses, Devapāla was left master of Northern India. The war with the Gurjaras was either followed by the invasion of Amoghavarṣa I, or itself followed that. In either case it is quite clear that the Gurjara king Rāmabhadra suffered this reverse at the hands of this king of Bengal, for neither in the Gurjara copper-plate grants nor in their stone inscriptions are any victories assigned to him.

During the reign of Devapāla, a Brāhmaṇa named Vīradeva, an inhabitant of Nagarahāra, came on a pilgrimage to the Mahābodhi and paid a visit to the Yaśovarmmapura Vihāra. During his stay in Magadha, Devapāla heard of him and he was made the principal abbot of Nālandā.[3] The Monghyr grant was issued to record the grant of a village named Meṣika, in the Krimilā *Viṣaya*, and the Śrī-nagara *bhūkti*, to a brāhmaṇa named Vihekarāta, of the Aupamanyava gotra and the Āśvalāyana *Śākhā*, in the 33rd year of the king. The *dūtaka* of the grant was the king's son Rājyapāla. There is a vast mass of MSS. literature

[1] Epi. Ind., Vol II, p. 162, verse 9. [2] Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 103. [3] Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 309.

in Bengal recording the descent of Brāhmaṇas. For the most part these MSS. are carelessly copied and hardly reliable, save for the names and descent of Brāhmaṇas. These records are said to contain historical allusions. Devapāla is mentioned in one of these genealogical works, the old Kārikā of Hari-Miśra-Ghaṭaka.[1] But it is quite possible that the name is a modern interpolation, added to prove the authenticity of the work. The śloka itself as quoted by Babu Nagendra Nātha Vasu runs as follows :—

Inscriptions and Mss. records.

Kṣmāpāla-pratibhūr-bhuvaḥ patir-abhūd Gauḍe ca rāṣṭre tataḥ,
Rājā-bhūt pravalaḥ sadaiva śaraṇaḥ Śrī-Devapālas=tataḥ.

The Prince Rājyapāla was made a Yuvarāja before the grant of the copper-plate in the 33rd regnal year, but he must have died during the lifetime of his father as we find that the king Devapāla was succeeded by Vigrahapāla I, the son of his cousin Jayapāla and the grandson of Vakpāla, the younger brother of Dharmmapāla. In the Badal pillar inscription, the next king after Devapāla is named Śūrapāla. But these two names belong to one and the same person as we shall have to see later on. In the Monghyr grant the date is given as the 33rd regnal year, but according to Tārānātha, Devapāla is said to have reigned forty-eight years. This is most probably incorrect, though we find that both Darbhapāṇi and his grandson Kedāramiśra were his ministers and contemporaries. Devapāla's successor was Vigrahapāla I or Śūrapāla I, whose father Jayapāla had led the expedition against the king of Utkala or Orissa at the request of his cousin and conquered Prāgjyotiṣa for him.[2] Vigrahapāla I is no doubt the same as the Śūrapāla mentioned in the Badal pillar inscription because it is the only name mentioned between Devapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla, and again in the Bhagalpur grant, Vigrahapāla's name is the only one mentioned between Devapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla. Moreover in the Manahali grant of Madanapāla we do not find the name of Śūrapāla before or close to the name of Nārāyaṇapāla. Had there been a different prince of the name of Śūrapāla, his name would surely have been mentioned in it as that inscription contains almost all the names of the Pāla dynasty. Only two small inscriptions of Śūrapāla I have been discovered as yet. Both of them are dated in the second year of this king and record the erection of images at the Vihāra in Uddaṇḍapura by an old Buddhist monk named Pūrṇadāsa. These two inscriptions have been assigned to Śūrapāla II on palæographical grounds by Prof. Nilmoni Chakravartti but that is hardly tenable, as inscriptions of Mahīpāla I and Rāmapāla are written in Proto-Bengali character and it is hardly possible that the inscriptions of Rāmapāla's brother should be written in the acute-angled form of Nagari characters. The name of the Vihāra was read by Prof. Chakravartti as Uddaṇḍacuṛa,[3] but in reality it is Uddaṇḍapura.[4] Uddaṇḍapura is the ancient name of the modern town of Bihar. It

His successor and relations. Length of reign.

Vigrahapāla I or Surapāla I.

[1] J.A.S.B., Pt. I, 1896, p. 21.
[2] Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 305, v. 6.
[3] J.A.S.B., N.S., Vol. IV, p. 108.
[4] Mem. A.S.B., Vol III, p. 13.

is mentioned as Adwand Bihar in the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri of Minḥāj-ud-dīn[1] and as Uddaṇḍapura in another mediæval inscription in the town of the Gaya in Bengal.[2] The Tibetan historian Lama Tārānatha mentions it as Otantapura,[3] which is the nearest approach to the Sanskrit Uddaṇḍapura. Śūrapāla I or Vigrahapāla I married Lajjādevi, the daughter of the Haihaya king of Tripuri.[4] Vigrahapāla's father, Jayapāla, was a Hindu by inclination, as after his father Vak-pāla's death he is said to have performed the funeral ceremony according to Hindu rites. Umāpati, a learned Brahmana of Kāñjivilvī, is said to have got the Mahādāna on that occasion. The fact is recorded in a commentary on the *Chandogapariśiṣṭa* named *Pariśiṣṭa-prakāśa* by Umāpati's grandson, Nārāyaṇa :—

Kṣmāpālāj=Jayapālataḥ sa hi Mahāśrāddhaṁ prabhutaṁ.
Mahādānaṁ c-arthi-gaṇ=ārhaṇ=ārdra-hṛdayaḥ praty-agrahīt puṇyavān.—verse 8.[5]

The name of the village where Umāpati lived is given as Kāñjivindā in the 2nd verse, but it is clearly a mistake for Kanjivilva, the name of a well-known town. Nothing is known about the other relatives of this king, besides his son Nārāyaṇapāla who succeeded him. The votive inscriptions mentioned above were incised in the 2nd year of the king and most probably Vigrahapāla I or Śūrapāla I had a very short reign.

Nārāyaṇapāla succeeded to the throne in very troublesome times. The Gurjaras, after their long confinement in the desert, were issuing again for the conquest of Northern India, and this time they were destined to succeed and to make Mahodaya or Kānyakubja their capital. Bhoja I succeeded his father Rāmabhadra and at the beginning his kingdom seems to have consisted of the ancestral lands of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. Step by step Bhoja advanced towards the North. Kanauj or Mahodaya became his capital as several of his grants were issued from that place. It is not known from whom the Gurjara king wrested Kanauj, and it may be that it was taken either from the Pālas or one of their contemporaries. Nothing is known about the state of Uttarāpatha or Northern India about this time, but it is certain that the Pālas lost much of their territorial possessions during this period. Bhoja I invaded Bengal and defeated the king disastrously. The war with Bengal is mentioned in his Gwalior inscription:—

Bhoja I and his war with the Palas.

Yasya vairi bṛhad=baṅgān=dahataḥ kopa-vahninā.
Pratāpād=arṇṇasāṁ rāśīn=pātur=vvaitṛṣṇam=āvabhau.—verse 21.[6]

This invasion must have taken place late in the reign of Bhoja I, as it must have taken him some time to be seated on the throne, advance towards Kanauj, conquer it and then invade Magadha and Vaṅga. The invasion is recorded in another Pratīhāra inscription found at Māndor in Jodhpur. Kakkuka, whose brother Bauka's

1 Tabaqat-i-Nasiri (Bib. Ind.), p. 491.
2 Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. III, p. 128.
3 Ibid.
4 Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 305, v. 9.
5 Eggeling-Cat., Skt. MSS. in Ind. Office Lib., Pt. I, pp. 92-3.
6 Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., 1903-04, pp. 282-84.

inscription is dated Vikrama Samvat 918=861 A.D., states that his father Kakka gained fame in a fight with the Gauḍas at Mudgagiri:—

Tatopi Śrīyutaḥ Kakkaḥ puttro jāto mahāmatiḥ.
Yaśo Mudgagirau labdhaṁ, yena Gauḍaiḥ samaṁ raṇe.—verse 24.[1]

Kakka seems to have accompanied Bhoja in his expedition against Bengal. As his son Bauka was alive in 861 A.D.,[2] Bhoja I and Kakka must have invaded Bengal a few years earlier, and this invasion must have taken place during the earlier years of Nārāyaṇapāla.

The statements of the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja I and the Mandor inscription of the Pratīhāra Kakkuka lead one to believe that there was a great war between the first Pratīhāra Emperor Bhoja I and the Pāla Emperor Vigrahapāla I or Nārāyaṇapāla of Gauḍa and Vaṇga. This fact coupled with the discovery at least of three inscriptions mentioning the reign of the Emperor Mahendrapāla, the son of Bhoja I, in Magadha of Southern Bihar and one copper-plate in Tirhut, proves that the Province of Magadha was for a time added to the vast Empire of the Pratīhāras, either during the war of Bhoja I or after it.

We have positive evidence of the fact that the city of Gayā was in the possession of Nārāyaṇapāla up to the seventh year of his reign, because in that year a man named Bhāṇḍadeva erected a monastery for ascetics in that city. Up to the seventeenth year of Nārāyaṇapāla, Mudgagiri was in his possession as his grant was issued from that place in that year. From this grant we learn that at least a part of Tīrabhūkti or Mithilā continued to be in the possession of Nārāyaṇapāla.[3] The Pratīhāra Kakka most probably gained renown during the siege of the famous fort of Mudgagiri or Mungir.

Invasion of Amoghavarṣa I.

It appears that during the long reigns of Amoghavarṣa I and Bhoja I,—and they were to some extent contemporaries,—the Gurjaras had not come into collision with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. In the Sirur and Nilgund inscriptions of Amoghavarṣa I, that monarch claims to have been worshipped by the kings of Vaṇga, Aṅga, Magadha, Mālava and Veṇgi:—

Ari-nṛpati-makuṭa-ghaṭṭita-caraṇas=sakala bhuvana bandita śauryyaḥ.
Vaṅg-Āṅga-Magadha-Mālava-Veṁgīśair=arccito=tiśayadhavalaḥ.[4]
-verse 6 *Nilgund inscription and verse* 5 *Sirur inscription.*[5]

The kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga and Magadha were most probably one and the same person, one of the Pālas, either Vigrahapāla I or Nārāyaṇapāla. Amoghavarṣa I must have invaded Magadha and Vaṅga through Orissa, or otherwise he must have come into conflict with the Gurjaras who were then occupying most of Northern India, but of this no record has been discovered up to date.

But as we have seen above, the Gurjaras succeeded in annexing Magadha and most probably Tīrabhūkti or Tirhut permanently to their dominions and succeeded in keeping them till the rise of the Cedis under Karṇṇadeva, when Mahīpāla I

[1] J.R.A.S., 1894, pp. 3 & 7. [2] Ibid., 1895, p. 515. [3] Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 306, l. 30.
[4] Epi. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 103. [5] Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 205.

annexed Magdha to his territories. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion was not a lasting one, like the previous ones, and, at the close of the war, the Gurjjara-Pratīhāras re-occupied Magadha.

According to the Bhagalpur grant, up to the seventeenth year of the king Mudgagiri was in his occupation. After that nothing is known about him. He was succeeded by his son Rājyapāladeva. The names of the other relations of the king are not known. The earliest record of Nārāyaṇapāla is the Gayā inscription of the seventh year. This is at present in the courtyard of the Viṣṇupāda temple in Gaya City. Its discovery was announced by the late Sir Alexander Cunningham in his reports, with a drawing.[1] As this inscription has never before been properly edited, I edit it from the original:—

Inscriptions of Narayanapala.

1. *Om namo Puruṣottamāya namaḥ || Oṁ jayati jagati nāthaḥ prasphurac=cārumūrttir =jagad-ari-vinihantā Śrī-mad=eko murāris=tadanu-muni-janoya[ṁ] sthira-saṁkleśa-rāśiḥ sphura-*
2. *-d=amala-guṇāyāṁ dhyāna-vṛttau sthirātmā || Prodbhūt-āti-darppa-pravala-mana-saṁtrāsa-hetu-svabhāvaṁ Kṛtv-aitan-nārasiṁghaṁ sphuṭa-vikaṭa-saṭam rūpam =aty-ugra-raudraṁ | ye-*
3. *-n=odīrṇṇaḥ pṛthivyām khara-nakhara-karair=bhedito daityarājaḥ Śrī-mān= lokaikanātho bhuvana-hita-vidhātā pātu yuṣmān=sa viṣṇuḥ || Śrī-mān=aśeṣa-śubha-saṁbhṛta-cāru-mū-*
4. *-rttiḥ bhadraḥ sunirmmala-dhiyāṁ pravaro Śrīgrāha (?) | Prāptodayādita kule sukṛti vabhūva yo Vāmadeva iti sarvva-jagat=pratītaḥ | Tasy=ātmajaḥ priya-tamo viduṣāṁ samā-*
5. *-sīt yaṁ Sīḥadevam-iti vandhu-jano juhāva [|] Tasyābhavat=sutavaro varadharm-mavṛttiḥ sammānito gurujanair=api Vappadevaḥ || Sarvvārtha-siddhikaraṇ-aika -nidhāna-bhūtā sau-*
6. *-ndarya-garbha-rucir-āmala-rūpa-saṁpat patnī ca tasya kamal=eva sadā praśastā khyātā bhavaj=jagati Vallabhadevy=at=īṣṭā || Tābhyām=ajanyām=ajāyata suto-mala-*
7. *-dharmma-vṛttir=vvāk-kāya-citta-kṛta-saṁyamano-bhimānī[|]Brahm-opavīta-carite vrata-saṅgata-śrīḥ yo Bhāṇḍadeva iti pūrvvam=iha pratītaḥ || Vidyul=lolām kṣaṇa-pariṇatīṁ*
8. *saṁskṛtānāṁ viditvā janmottrāsād=amala-bhuvana prāptum=abhyudgatena [|] yen=āty=artham sukṛta-matibhis=sevite dhyāna-mārgge ceto-nyastaṁ [su]vima-lamalaṁ jñānam=āsvādanā-*
9. *-ya || Ten=āneka-dvija-jana bhuvi prema-vṛttyā Gayāyāṁ Śrī-mād=eṣo yatiṣu vihita[ḥ] sad-guṇ-āvāsa-vāsaḥ jñātaṁ śreyo yad=amala-guṇaṁ vrahma-cāryāśra-meṇa tenā-*
10. *stvataj=jagad=amalinaṁ kṣīṇa-samkleśa-rāśiḥ || Cātur-vvidyaṁ-samastaṁ prasa-mita-kaluśaṁ vrahma-saṁnyasta-vṛttiṁ Śrīmantaṁ sat=kriyātmā prathita-pṛthu-guṇaṁ prārthaya-*

[1] Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. III, p. 120, No. 6, pt. XXXVI.

11. *-ty-eṣa maunī Bhuyāl=lokoṣ mita-śrīḥ para-kṛta-sukṛtaiḥ pālane rakṣaṇe ca tat= karttavyaṁ bhavadbhiḥ sthiravamala-guṇaḥ syānnivāya-yathāyaṁ || Sad=vṛtt- =āmala-vṛ-*

12. *-ttibhiḥ sphuṭataraṁ jātādaraiḥ sarvvataḥ sarvvān=etā[n] bhāvina[ḥ] pārthivendrā bhūyo bhūyo jācaty=eṣa maunī sāmāny=oyaṁ dharmma-śetur=nārāṇ [āṁ] kāle kāle pā-*

13. *-laneyo bhavadbhiḥ [||] Vyāṅgānārya-vahis=tapodhana-janaiḥ sthātavyam=atr= āśrame | Ity=etat=vratadhāribhir=niyamitaṁ bhuyād=yathā-nānyathā | Kart- tavyaṁ tad=ih=āmalaṁ pri-*

14. *-yatamair=viprair=Gayāvāsibhiḥ || Sphuratu kīrttir=iyaṁ guṇa-śālinī sakala -satva-hit-odaya-hetave tapati yāvad=ayaṁ bhuvi bhāskaro himaka-*

15. *-reṇa sah=āmala-dīdhitiḥ | Śrī-Nārāyaṇapāladeva iti prāpt-odayo bhūpatiḥ bhūto bhūmi bhūjā [ṁ] śirobhir-amala yasy-ocita [ṁ] śāsanaṁ rājñas=ta-*

16. *-sya guṇ-āmalasya mahataḥ samvatsare saptame Vaiśākhyāṁ śubha-sambhṛtena vidhinā labdha pratiṣṭhīta-maṭha.*

The language of the inscription is very incorrect Sanskrit, like that of the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts of Nepal, and the record itself has been very carelessly incised. The purpose of the inscription is to record the erection of a monastery for Brāhmaṅical ascetics by a man named Bhāṇḍadeva in the seventh year of the king Nārāyaṇapāladeva, in the month of Vaiśākha. It opens with an invocation to Viṣṇu, in his Man-lion (Narasiṁha) incarnation and curiously enough it is at present outside the small temple of Narasiṁha, in the courtyard of the Viṣṇupāda temple, which, as we shall see later on, was certainly built during the reign of Nayapāladeva. It may mean however that the small temple of Narasiṁha was built by Bhāṇḍadeva near the monastery and was rebuilt during the time of Nayapāladeva. The genealogy of the builder is given as follows:—

VĀMADEVA,
married Vallabhadevī,
|
SIHADEVA,
|
VAPPADEVA,
|
BHĀṆḌADEVA.

Another small inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla was found by Pandit Vinoda Vihari Vidyavinoda of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in the Inscription gallery of that Museum. He has published it in the journal of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad.[1] It is incised on a long piece of carved stone, probably the portion of a pedestal. Most probably it came with the other sculptures from the Bihar Museum founded by Mr. Broadley, when that collection was shifted to Calcutta, according to the direc-

[1] Vangiya Sahitya-parishad-Patrika, Vol. XV, p. 13.

tions of the Government of Bengal. There is no record about it in the Office of the Indian Museum. I edit it from an excellent inked impression made for me by Babu Hari Das Datta, of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, at the order of the late Dr. T. Bloch.

(1) *Om Samvat* 9 *Vaiśākha Śudi* 5 *Parameśvara-Śrī-Nārāyaṇapāladeva-rājye Andhra-vaiṣayika Śākya-bhikṣu-sthavira-Dharmmamitrasya*

(2) *yad=atra puṇyaṁ tad=bhavatv-ācāry=opādhyāya-mātā-pitṛ-pūrvvaṅgamaṁ kṛtvā sakala-satva-rāśer=anuttara-jñāna-prāptaya iti* ||

It records the erection of an image in the ninth year of the king Nārāyaṇapāla, in the month of Vaiśākha, by a Buddhist Elder, named Dharmmamitra, an inhabitant of the Andhra country.

The Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāladeva was issued when the king was staying at Mudgagiri and records the grant of the village of Makuṭikā to the temple of Siva at Kalaśapota, which was situated in the Kakṣa *viṣaya*, of Tīrabhūkti, thus proving that up to that time Tīrabhūkti or modern Tirhut was under the Pāla kings. The *Dūtaka* of this grant was the Bhaṭṭa Pūṇyakīrtti, otherwise named Guravamiśra, who erected the *Garuḍa-stambha* at Badal. The other inscription is not dated. It was incised to record the erection of a stone monolith surmounted by an image of Garuḍa by the Bhaṭṭa Guravamiśra, the minister of the king. According to this inscription Guravamiśra was the minister of Nārāyaṇapāla, his father Kedāramiśra that of Śūrapāla, and Devapāla, his grandfather Someśvara, a general, and his great-grandfather Darbhapāṇi, the minister of Devapāla, while his great-great-grandfather Garga was the minister of Dharmmapāla. The synchronism is shown below.

Pāla Emperors.		Ministers
I Gopāla I,		
II Dharmmapāla,	Vākpāla,	Gargga,
		Darbhapāṇi,
III Devapāla.	Jayapāla,	Someśvara,
	Śūrapāla I	Kedāramiśra,
	IV or Vigrahapāla I,	
	V Nārāyaṇapāla.	Guravamiśra.

Nothing is known about Nārāyaṇapala's son Rājyapāla, who succeeded him, save that he married the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess Bhāgyadevī, the daughter of Tuṅga, most probably the same as the Tuṅga Dharmmāvaloka, whose inscription at Mahabodhi was published by the late Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra in his Buddha-Gaya.[1] The verse about the marriage of Rājyapala is to be found in the Bangarh grant of Mahipāla I, Amgachi grant of Vigrahapāla III and the Manahali grant of Madanapāla.

[1] Buddha-Gaya, p. 195, pl. XL.

We learn from the position of the Badal pillar that the *Varendrī* or Northern Bengal was included in the kingdom of Nārāyaṇapāla, and after the loss of Magadha and Tīrabhūkti his son must have succeeded to a very small principality which was situated either in Rāḍhā (Western Bengal) or in the Vaṅga (Eastern Bengal) as we know from later records that about this time a Mongolian tribe invaded Northern Bengal through modern Sikkim or Bhutan and occupied Gauḍa. Later on we shall see that Gauḍa was in the occupation of Mongolians in the Śaka year 888=966 A.D. So the invasion must have taken place some fifty or hundred years earlier. These Mongolians are named Kāmbojas in a Sanskrit inscription. In the Mungir grant of Devapāla and the Badal pillar inscription, Devapāla is said to have fought the Kāmbojas, but this may refer to the Western Kāmbojas. The Mongolian or Kāmboja invasion of Northern India must have taken place just after Nārāyaṇapāla as no Pāla records have been found in Northern Bengal till the accession of Mahīpāla I.

Magadha was annexed by the Gurjara-Pratihāras to their dominions, and after Nārāyaṇapāla we find the names of the Gurjara princes in the votive inscriptions of Magadha. For a long time scholars have been at a loss to assign a place to a king named Mahendrapāla, several of whose inscriptions have been found in the Gayā District. All along he has been considered to be one of the Pālas of Bengal. The late Dr. F. Kielhorn also thought that he was one of the Pālas, and mentions him in a footnote in his list of the Pāla kings of Bengal.[1] Mr. V. A. Smith, in his recent article on the Pālas of Bengal, goes so far as to assert that he was the successor of Govindapāla, whose inscriptions are dated Vikrama Samvat 1232 and 1235, i.e. 1175 and 1178 A.D.[2] Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasād Śastrī thinks that Mahendrapāla may have belonged to the Pāla dynasty.[3] Two inscriptions of this king are definitely known to have been discovered in the Gayā District. One of these were found at Rām-gayā, on the other side of the river Phalgu, just opposite the temple of Gadādhar at Gayā, while the other was found at Guneriya, a village near the Grand Trunk Road. Major Kittoe spoke of a third inscription of this king, but of that we shall have to speak later on. The first of the inscriptions of this king, the one at Rāmgayā, was examined by the late Sir Alexander Cunningham, and the first line was deciphered by him. According to him, the record is incised on the pedestal of the figures of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. Following Cunningham's description, the image was at last found in the walls of a modern temple of Śiva at Rāmgayā, and after great difficulties, a clear impression was secured. It was evident even at the first sight that the record was considerably older than the inscriptions of Govindapāla, Rāmapāla or even Mahīpāla I. The figures of the ten avatāras are now completely hidden by whitewash, but the pedestal has been cleared of it, and it was found that the record had been incised on the right half of it. Acute-angled characters of the ninth century A.D. had been used in it, and on no account can it be placed later than the tenth century. As the record has only been partially edited before, I take the opportunity of placing it on record :—

[1] Epi. Ind., Vol. VIII, App. p. 18, note 2. [2] Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXVIII, p. 246.
[3] Mem. A.S.B., Vol. III, p. 16.

(1) *Oṁ Samvat* 8 | *Śrī-Mahīndrapāla* | *rājyābhiṣe-*
(2) *-ka* | *Saüḍi Riṣi putra Sahadevasya.*

"Om, the year 8 (from) the coronation of Mahīndrapāla. (The gift) of Sahadeva, the son of the Riṣi (*Ṛṣi*) Saudi (*Sauri*)."

Mahendrapāla, in the ninth or tenth centuries A.D., immediately suggests the name of the son of Bhoja I, the great Pratihāra Emperor Mahendrapāladeva. A comparison with the Asni inscription of Mahīpāla confirmed me in the opinion that no other person than the great Pratihāra monarch was being referred to. The forms of *P* and *J* are very much similar to those used in Asni inscription and the Ghosrawan inscription of Devapāla. Moreover, the form of the name is identical with that used in the Asni inscription, where we find the name as *Mahīndrapāla*, and not Mahendrapāla as in other inscriptions. Dr. Fleet read this name as Mahīṣapāla.[1] I saw a beautiful impression of this inscription in the Allahabad exibition of 1910-11, and there the name is clearly legible as Mahīndrapāla. Another inscription of Mahendrapāla is to be found at Gunariya, near the Grand Trunk Road, in the Gayā District, which was brought to notice by Major Kittoe. Kittoe's drawing of the inscribed portion of the sculpture is very clear and the record can be edited from it:—

(1) *Ye dharmmā hetu prabhavā hetun=teṣāṁ ta-*
(2) *-thāgato hy=avadat teṣāṁca yo nirodho evaṁ vā-*
(3) *-dī mahāśramaṇaḥ* | *Samvat* 9 *Vaiśākha.*
(4) *śudī* 5 *Śrī-Guṇa-*
(5) *-carita Śrī-Mahīndrapā-*
(6) *-ladevarājye devadha-*
(7) *-rmmeyaṁ . . .*

Kittoe found a third inscription of this king somewhere in Bihār, but as he did not state the exact locality, it is no use searching for it. Some day it will come up as a new discovery of some one who chances to stumble on it. According to Major Kittoe this inscription was dated in the 19th year of the king:—

"One mentions the fact of the party having apostatized, and again returned to the worship of the Śākya, in the 19th year of the reign of Śrī Mahendrapāladeva." There are two votive inscriptions of Mahendrapāladeva in the British Museum. One of these records the erection, most probably, of an image by a Buddhist monk named Kusuma in the ninth year of Mahendrapāla.[3] The nature of the contents of the other inscription is not known, but it is dated in the second year of Mahendrapāladeva. It may be that the third inscription mentioned by Major Kittoe, has found its way, by some means or other, into the British Museum. As for the reading of the date, there need not be any difficulty about that, as Kittoe's readings are invariably faulty. So we have definite proof that in the eight and ninth years of the king Mahendrapāla, Magadha formed an integral part of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Empire, which at that time extended from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal.[4]

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[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 174. [2] J.A.S B., Vol. XVII, 1848 pt. I, p. 238.
[3] Nachr. v. d. Konigl. Ges. d. Wis. z. Gotting., phil.-hist. Kl. 1904, pp. 210-11 [4] Epi. Ind., Vol IX, p. 4

No inscriptions of Rajyapāla have been discovered as yet, and so nothing definite can be stated about the length or the events of his reign. According to the inscriptions of the later Pālas, he was succeeded by his son Gopāla II.

The British Museum possesses a Manuscript of the Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā written in the 15th year of Gopāla II at the monastery of Vikramaśilā. Its colophon runs thus :—

Parameśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-paramasaugata-Maharājādhirāja-Śrī-mad-Gopāladevapravarddhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rajy-etyādi samvat 15 *āsmine dine* 4 *Śrī-mad Vikramaśīla-deva-vihāre likhiteyaṁ bhagavati.*[1]

We possess two inscriptions of Gopāla II, and from these we learn that Magadha was temporarily recovered by the Pālas during the reign of this monarch. The first of these inscriptions was discovered by the late Sir Alexander Cunningham, at Bargaon in the Patna District, the ancient Nālandā.[2] It records the fact that an image of the goddess Vagīsvarī, at Nālandā, was covered with gold leaf by some unnamed personage in the first year of Gopaladeva.[3] The second inscription was discovered amidst the ruins of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh-Gayā and records the erection of image of Buddha by a person named Śakrasena during the reign of Gopāladeva, no year being mentioned. These inscriptions prove that some time during the reign of Gopāla II, South Bihār or Magadha was temporarily occupied by the Pālas. The reason of this sudden enterprise is not far to seek. During the long reign of Amoghavarṣa I, whose certain dates extend from 817 to 877 A.D., there was no war between the Gurjaras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[4] In fact the only war between Bhoja I and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was his war with the Rāṣṭrakūtas Dhruvarāja II of Gujarat some time before 867 A.D., in which Bhoja I himself was worsted.[5] After Bhoja I, Mahendrapāla succeeded to an empire which had reached its greatest extent at that time, from Punjab to the borders of Bengal, and from the foot of the Himalayas to Saurāṣṭra.[6] Mahendrapāla's reign was a very short one, as his certain dates range from 893 to 907 A.D. He had two wives and was succeeded by Bhoja II, his son by Dehanāgā.[7] Most probably there was some dispute about his succession, which may have been contested by his half-brother Mahīpāla II. Bhoja II was assisted to the throne by the Cedi Emperor Kokkalla I, which is referred to in the Bilhari inscription :—

Jitvā kṛtsnāṁ yena pṛthvīm = apurvvaṁ-kīrtti-stambha-dvandvam = āropyate sma,
Kaumbhod-bhavyāndiśyasau Kṛṣṇarājaḥ Kaurveyāñ = ca Śrī-nidhir-Bhojadevaḥ—verse 17.[8]

We find a corroboration of this statement in the Benares grant of the Cedī Emperor Karṇadeva :—

Bhoje Vallabharāje Chitrakūṭa-bhūpāle,
Śaṅkaragaṇe ca rājani yasy = āsīd = abhayadaḥ pāṇiḥ—verse 7.[9]

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1 J.R.A.S., 1910, pp. 150-51.
2 Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. I, p. 36, pl. XIII. 1.
3 J A.S.B., N. S., Vol. IV, p. 105.
4 J.R.A.S., 1904, pp. 647-8.
5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 181.
6 Epi. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 4.
7 Ind. Ant., Vol XV, p. 110.
8 Epi. Ind., Vol. I, p. 256.
9 Epi. Ind., Vol. II, p. 306.

So the Cedi Emperor also set up the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II, whose surname was Vallabharāja, on the throne of his father Amoghavarṣa I. Kṛṣṇa II defeated the Gurjaras and at the same time led an invasion into Bengal:—

Tasy = ottarjjita-Gurjaro hṛta-haṭa-llāṭ-odbhaṭa-śrīmado
Gauḍānāṁ vinaya-vratārppaṇa-gurus = Sāmudrā = nidrāharaḥ,
Dvārasth = Āṁga-Kaliṁga-Gāṁga-Magadhair = abhyarccit = ājñaś = ciraṁ sūnus = sūnṛtavāg = bhuvaḥ parivṛḷaḥ Śrī Kṛṣṇarājo-bhavat.
-verse 13, Deoli plates of Kṛṣṇa III, and verse 15, Karhad plates of the same.[1]

The Gurjara king defeated by Kṛṣṇarāja II seems to be Bhoja II. He was succeeded very shortly by his half-brother Mahīpāla, under whom the area of the Gurjāra-Pratīhāra Empire became very circumscribed. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II also had a very short reign and was succeeded by his grandson Indra III. His certain years range from 902 to 911, and as those of Bhoja II are almost the same, it is almost certain that he was the king who was defeated by Kṛṣṇa II. After the accession of Mahīpāla, whose certain dates range from 914 to 917, Indra III invaded the Gurjara Empire, crossed the Yamunā, occupied Kānyakubja, and most probably destroyed the city.[2] Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has already proved that at that time Kṣitipāla or Mahīpāla was the reigning sovereign at Kanauj. In this campaign, Narasiṁha, a feudatory of Indra III, pursued the Gurjara king Mahīpāla as far as the confluence of the Ganges. Narasiṁha, according to the Karṇṇāṭaka-Śabdānuśāsana by Bhaṭṭa Kalaṅkadeva, "snatched from the Gurjara king's arms the goddess of victory, whom, though desirous of keeping, he had held too loosely. Mahīpāla fled as if struck by thunder-bolts, staying neither to eat nor rest, nor pick himself up, while Narasiṁha pursuing, bathed his horse at the junction of the Ganges and established his fame."[3] The mention of the confluence of the Ganges as the extremity of Narasiṁha's pursuit of Mahīpāla, without any mention of the Gauḍa king, most probably indicates that the Eastern frontier of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Empire at that time extended up to the junction of the Ganges with the Sea. This is not to be wondered at as it is now certain that Magadha formed an integral part of the dominions of Mahīpāla's father Mahendrapāla. During this war Gopāla II of Bengal may have taken the opportunity of recovering some of the traditional possessions of his family and pushed the Western frontier as far as the eastern banks of the Sone This re-occupation of the Magadha may have been temporary, and Mahīpāla may have recovered the possession of his Eastern Provinces, with the help of the Candella Yaśovarmman.[4] As no inscriptions of Gopāla's successor Vigrahapala II have been discovered, we are not in a position to say definitely whether Magadha continued to be a province of the Pāla Empire or was re-annexed by the Gurjaras. A MS. of the Pañcarakṣā written in the 26th year of Vīgrahapāladeva II is preserved in the British Museum collection : the latter part of its colophon runs thus :—

[1] Ibid., Vol. V, p. 193; ibid., Vol. IV, p. 283.
[2] Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 38.
[3] Karnnataka-Sabdanusasana, ed. Lewis Rice, p. 26.
[4] Epi Ind., Vol. I, p. 122.

Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Paramasaugata Mahārājādhirāja-Śrīmad-Vigrahapāladevasya pravardhamāna-vijayarājye-[*about* 15 *indistinct akṣaras*] *Samvat* 26 *Āśāḍha dina* 24 ||[1]

Before closing this chapter it should be noted that about this time an independent kingdom was established in Eastern Bengal. The existence of this kingdom was made known by the discovery of two copper-plate grants of Devakhaḍga, the last king of this dynasty. From these copper-plate grants it is now known that the dynasty reigned for three generations :—

Khaḍgodyama.
|
Jātakhaḍga.
|
Devakhaḍga.

Nothing is known about their dates save and except that the grants were issued in the thirteenth year of Devakhaḍga. The learned Editor of the plates has assigned them to the eighth or ninth century A.D.[2] But on comparison with the inscriptions of the Pāla Emperors it is found that their correct date would be the first half of the tenth century A.D. These two plates are the earliest inscriptions from Eastern Bengal proper, and the record next in order was incised so late as the reign of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal.

[1] Bendall, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 232, J.R.A.S., 1910, p. 151.
[2] Mem. A.S.B., Vol I, p. 86.

CHAPTER IV.

The Second Empire.

The period which follows is entirely different in character, the principal actors having changed. The great Gurjara-Pratīhāra Empire was rapidly dissolving and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings were gradually becoming weaker. Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Gurjara invasions became things of the past. New actors were appearing in the political arena. The invasion of the Great Coḷa Conqueror left a deep impression on north eastern India. It gave Bengal a new dynasty of kings and indirectly hastened the ruin of the Pāla Empire. After the Badal pillar inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla, there is no other inscription which can throw light on the history of Northern Bengal for three generations, i.e. till the time of Mahīpāla I. About this time some Mongolian tribes occupied the whole of the Northern Bengal and either massacred the old inhabitants or gradually forced them back southwards. A monolithic pillar now standing in the grounds of the place of the Mahārājas of Dināpur bears a record of one of these Mongolian kings, who also claimed to be the lords of Gauḍa (*Gauḍeśvara*). At present the whole of Northern Bengal is strewn over with pre-Muhammadan ruins and so far the general theory had been, that these temples, monasteries and towns were ruined at the time of the Muhammadan occupation of the country. But recently a plausible theory has been started by Mr. Ramā Prasād Canda, B.A., on the basis of Dināpur pillar inscription, according to which the ruin of these ancient cities of Northern Bengal should be differently interpreted. The inscription on the Dināpur pillar was brought to notice in 1871 when it was published with a rude lithograph.[1] The late Dr. Bloch examined the inscription during one of his tours and hastily gave a reading which I am afraid cannot be supported. Mr. Canda obtained some very clear and beautiful rubbings of this inscription during one of his many visits and submitted a paper on it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[2] According to Mr. Canda, the Koch, Mech and the Palias of the present day are the descendants of the Mongolians who invaded and settled in North Bengal during the latter half of the ninth and the tenth century A.D. The inscription on the Dināpur pillar, which forms the basis of Mr. Canda's paper, records the erection of a temple of Śiva during the reign of a king of Gauḍa of the Kāmboja race, in the year 888 of some unspecified era. The date is expressed as a chronogram : *Kuñjara-Ghaṭā-varṣeṇa*, which probably means 888. This date cannot be referred to the Vikrama era as in that case it would be equivalent to 831 A.D., which is too early to suit the characters used in this inscription. Neither can it be referred to the

Kamboja or Mongolian invasion of North Bengal.

The date in the Dināpur inscription.

[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. I, pp. 127 and 227.

[2] J.A.S.B., N.S , Vol. VII, p 619.

Gupta era as in that case it would be equal to 1207 A.D., which is certainly too late. The Kalacuri-Cedī era has never been found to have been used in Bengal. The Śaka era suits best though it has but been sparsely used in the North-East. In that case S. 888=966.A.D. falls just after the reign of Devapāla, the Pratihāra King of Kanauj. At that time the invaders must have settled down so that the invasion itself must have taken place some time earlier. Northern Bengal was in the undisputed possession of Nārāyaṇapāla at the time of the incision of Guravamiśra's record. So this invasion must have taken place some time between 850-950 A.D. The irruption of these Mongolian hordes must have taken place through the Himalayas, and most probably they were dispossessed of their former homes in the hills by some other invaders. So the Pālas after Nārāyaṇapāla, i.e. Rājyapāla, Gopāla II, and Vigrahapāla II, were having a rather bad time of it with the Gurjara Empire in the West and occasional Rāṣṭrakūṭa raids thrown in, and with Barbarian hordes advancing in untold numbers through the mountain passes of the North. No wonder that Magadha was annexed to the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Empire. At the time of the invasion of Indra III, the Eastern Frontier of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Empire most probably extended right up to the modern Bhagirathi, and its confluence near Saugor Island. North Bengal must have remained in the possession of the Mongolian kings up to the end of the tenth century A.D. In the beginning of the eleventh century we find that the Pālas have recovered possession of Northern Bengal, and from this time onwards right up to the end of the second Pāla Empire, Northern Bengal continued to be in their possession. At the time of the Dinajpur inscription the Pālas seem to have been deprived of Gauḍa and consequently the Mongolian king became *Gauḍeśvara*. The name Kāmboja itself is of great interest. Thus far the Kāmbojas or Kamvojas were known to be a northern tribe who lived side by side with the Greeks in Afghanistan and the Western Punjab, as shown by the phrase "*Yona-Kāmbojesu*" in the XIII Rock Edict of Asoka.[1] The occurrence of the name in a Bengal inscription does not mean that the Kāmbojas, whole or part, immigrated into Bengal from the Punjab across the whole of Northern India, because that would have been an impossibility in those days, but shows that all Mongolians were called Kāmbojas, and that people with Mongolian features crossed over into Bengal through the Northern Mountains and as Kāmbojas. They may or may not have been a part of the people who became known during the Maurya period as the Kāmbojas.

Kāmboja kings of Gauda.

The occupation of Gauḍa by a barbarian tribe, at a time when the whole of Magadha was in the possession of the Gurjaras, shows that the kings of the Pāla dynasty between Nārāyaṇapāla and Vigrahapāla II and Mahīpāla I were kings in name only. Most probably they ruled over an insignficant kingdom surrounded by a large number of petty monarchies. The Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Coḷa I shows that the ancient Gauḍa and Vaṅga had become divided into a large number of small kingdoms. The exact state and extent of the Pāla dominions under

[1] Epi Ind., Vol. II, p. 465.

Vigrahapāla are not known. Most probably he lost even what had belonged to Gopāla II as his son Mahīpāla I is said to have recovered his paternal kingdom. His only recorded war seems to have been conducted in Eastern Bengal. In the Āmgāchi and Dināǰpur grants there is a verse about this :—

Deśe prāci pracura-payasi svaccham=āpīya toyaṁ svairaṁ bhrāntvā tad=anu malay-opatyakā-candaneṣu,

Kṛtvā sāndrais=taruṣu jaḍatāṁ śīkarair=abhra-tulyāḥ prāley-ādreḥ kaṭakam=abhajan yasya senā-gajendrāḥ.—verse 11 *Dinajpur grant of Mahīpāla.*[1]

But this is not very certain, as in the Amgāchi grant of Vigrahapāla the verse is attributed to Vigrahapāla III.[2]

After the death of Vigrahapāla II, Mahīpāla succeeded to what remained of the first Empire of the Pālas. In his Dināǰpur grant he is said to have recovered the kingdom of his father :—

Hata-sakala-vipakṣaḥ saṅgare vāhu-darppād=anadhikṛta-viluptaṁ rājyam=āsādya pitryaṁ

Nihita-caraṇa-padmo bhūbhṛtāṁ murdhni tasmād=abhavad=avani-pālaḥ Śrī-Mahīpāladevaḥ.[3]

Mahīpāla I conquers Magadha

After the recovery of his paternal kingdom, Mahīpāla I must have turned his attention to the West. In his sixth year Nālanda was included in his kingdom as a manuscript copied at that place in that year of the king has been acquired for the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Śāstrī. Magadha seems to have continued in the possession of the king for a long time. In the eleventh year of the king an image of Buddha was dedicated in or near the temple of the Mahābodhi at Bodh-Gaya, and in the same year the great temple at Nālanda was restored, as it had been burnt down in a fire. After the conquest of Magadha, Mahīpāla seems to have attacked Tīrabhukti or Mithilā which continued in the possession of the king at least till his 48th year. His kingdom seems to have extended as far as Benares and continued to be included in it till 1020 A.D. In that year, two persons were deputed by the king, named Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla, to execute some repairs near the Buddhist city. The state of the Gurjara kingdom of Kanauj favoured the occupation. Only a few years before it had been devastated by Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazni, and after his departure, the king Rājyapāladeva had been deposed and murdered by the Indian Princes for having submitted to an alien conqueror. At that time Trilocanapāla was seated on the throne of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and most probably his power did not extend beyond the confluence of the Yamunā.

and Mithilā.

Occupies Benares.

In spite of the victories during the earlier part of his reign, Mahīpāla I suffered some very severe reverses from the time of the rise of the Cedis, under Gāṅgeyadeva

[1] J.A.S.B., 1892, pp. 80 & 83. [2] Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 101, and J.A.S.B., 1892, p. 83, note 26.
[3] J.A.S.B., 1892, pp. 8—84, ll. 23-24.

and Karṇadeva and the invasion of the Coḷa king Rājendra Coḷa I. The invasion of the Coḷa king took place before the 13th year of that prince, i.e. before 1025 A.D. Rājendra Coḷa earned the *viruda* of "*Gaṅgegoṇḍā*" or "Gangā-vijayī" by pushing as far North as the Ganges during this raid. The Tirumalai Rock inscription of the great conqueror records the Northern Campaign in detail. It is said that the king seized the "Oḍḍa-*viṣaya*" which was difficult to approach. This is clearly the Odra *Viṣaya* of the copper-plate inscriptions of Orissa. Then he entered "Koṣalaināḍu," i.e. the Kośala of the inscriptions of the Soma-vaṁśī kings of Orissa.[1] Next in order comes the subjugation of Daṇḍabhukti. The province has been identified by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Śastrī with the modern province of Bihar, because the ancient name of the town of Bihar was called Otantapuri by the Tibetans and Adwand Bihār by the Muhammadans. But this identification is scarcely tenable. The place is mentioned in the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandi where a person named Jayasiṁha is said to have been its ruler and is said to have aided Rāmapāla in his wars in Northern Bengal. This man is said to have defeated Karṇa-Keśarī, the king of Orissa.[2] Most probably Daṇḍabhukti was the march-land between Orissa and Bengal, corresponding to the modern British districts of Midnapur and Balasore, and the man had defeated the king of Orissa in one of his expeditions against Bengal. It is more probable for a king of the march-lands to come into conflict with the king of Orissa than for the ruler of Magadha. Moreover the order in which the names of the countries are mentioned prevents us from supposing that Bihar is the country mentioned as we shall see later on. From Daṇḍabhukti the king passed on to Bengal, attacking and occupying the province of "Takkaṇa-Ḷāḍam." This name has been taken to be the equivalent of "Dakṣiṇa Ḷāṭa" by the late Dr. Kielhorn, which is the ancient name of Southern Gujarat.[3] But Messrs. Hultzsch and Venkayya take it to mean "Dakṣiṇa Virāṭa" or Southern Berar.[4] Mr. Venkayya is a great authority on Tamil, and he supposes that "the Tamil term "*Iḷaḍa*" does not correspond to Sanskrit *Lāṭa* (Gujarat) but to *Virāṭa* (Berar)". But nowhere did it strike the learned scholars that the order in which the countries are mentioned, prevents us from supposing that either Berar or Gujarat is mentioned. In fact the country mentioned is Southern Rāḍhā. Mr. Venkayya will find, on re-considering the question, that *Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā* is a better equivalent for Tamil *Takkana-Lāḍam* than *Dakṣiṇa-Virāṭa*. Immediately after "Takkana-Lāḍam" we have the mention of *Vaṅgāla-deśa*, which all authorities agree as being equal to Vaṅga or Eastern Bengal. No sane man would turn from Orissa to conquer Southern Gujarat or Berar and then return to the East to conquer East Bengal,

Invasion of Rājendra Cola I.

Conquest of Odra and Kośala.

Daṇḍabukti and Southern Rāḍhā.

Uddandapura,

[1] Epi. Ind., Vol. III, p. 323. [2] Mem. A.S.B., Vol. III, p. 36.
[3] Epi. Ind., Vol. App. p. 120, No. 733, Vol. VIII. App. II, p. 22, No. 11.
[4] Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy, Madras, 1906-07, p. 87f.

after which he turns back to the West to defeat Mahīpāla in North Bengal and again rushes to North Gujarat or Berar to conquer it. The more natural explanation is that Rājendra Coḷa defeated Raṇaśūra, the ruler of Southern Rāḍhā, and then passed on through that country to invade Vaṅga. From very early times a part of Bengal has been called Rāḍhā. It occurs in a dated inscription of the Indo-Scythian period as Rārā. This inscription is at present in the Indian Museum, in Calcutta, but it was discovered in Mathurā in the United Provinces. The record mentions the erection of a Jaina image in the year 62 of the Kuṣana era = 150 A.D. at the request of a Jaina monk who was an inhabitant of the country of Rārā.[1] In comparatively modern times the name has been found on two copper-plate inscriptions :—

Rāḍhā as an ancient name.

(1) The newly discovered grant of the Sena king Vallālasena, found at Sitāhāṭi, near Kāṭwā, in the Burdwān district of Bengal, where we find that the village granted, Vāllahiṭṭi, was situated in the North Rāḍhā (*Uttara-Rāḍhā-maṇḍale*).[2] The very name Uttara-Rāḍhā occurs in the Tirumalai inscription as we shall see later on. Besides this, the kings of the Sena dynasty seem to have ruled in the Rāḍhā country :—

Vaṁśe tasy=ābhyudayini sadācāra-caryā-niruḍhi-prauḍhāṁ
Rāḍhām-akalita-carair=bhūṣayantosnubhāvaiḥ,
Śaśvad=viśv-ābhaya-vitaraṇa-sthūla-lakṣyāvalakṣaiḥ kīrtty-ullolaiḥ snapita-viyato jajñire rājaputrāḥ.—verse 3.[3]

There being a Uttara-Rāḍhā we can say from immediate inference, that there was a Dakṣina-Rāḍhā, which in Tāmil becomes "Takkana-Lāḍam."

(2) Besides this the Kenduāpatna plates of Narasiṁhadeva II of Orissa, dated Śaka 1217 = 1296 A.D., show very clearly that Rāḍhā and Vārendrī were well-known names of divisions of Bengal :—

Rāḍhā-Vārendra-yavanī-nayan-āñjan-āśru-pūreṇa dūra-viniveśitakālima-śrīḥ,
Tad-vipralambha-karaṇ-ādbhuta-nistaraṅgā Gaṅgāpi nūnam-amunā Yamun= ādhun = ābhūt.—verse 84.[4]

At the time of the Coḷa invasion a king named Raṇaśūra was ruling Southern Rāḍhā. In Bengal there is a tradition that a dynasty of kings with the affix Śūra ruled in Bengal before the Pālas. We have no reliable evidence for this. But three kings of this family, at least with the word Śūra affixed to their names, have been mentioned in epigraphs. These are: Raṇaśūra, of the Tirumalai inscription; Lakṣmīśūra, a king of a division of Bengal named Apara-Mandāra, a contemporary of Rāmapāla, who was the headman of all feudatories of Forest lands (*samastāṭavika-sāmanta-cakra-cuḍāmaṇiḥ*) ; a man named Damaśūra, who is mentioned in a newly-discovered inscription of the time of Gopāla III, found at Manda in the Rājshāhi district of Bengal. After conquering Southern Rāḍhā, the Coḷa king did not proceed to subdue the northern portion of it, but on the other hand, passed eastwards towards Vaṅga,

[1] J.A.S.B., N.S., Vol. V, p. 239.
[2] Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad Patrikā, Vol. XVII, p. 235.
[3] Ibid., p. 235.
[4] J.A.S.B., Vol. LXV, 1895, p. 270.

which was then ruled by a king named Govinda-Candra. This king has been wrongly identified with a king named Govinda-Candra or Govi-Canda, about whom some songs are current in the State of Kuch-Bihar and the Rungpur district of Bengal. The king of that name mentioned in the Tirumalai inscription is expressly stated to be the King of Eastern Bengal, and so there is very little chance of identifying him with the local hero of Rungpur. After conquering Eastern Bengal, Rājendra Coḷa turned towards the West and faced Mahīpāla, who had been rightly identified by the late Dr. Kielhorn with the Pāla king Mahīpāla I, who was defeated. The inscription is so worded that one at once understands that by defeating Mahīpāla, the king was able to reach "*Uttira-Lāḍam*" and the Ganges. *Uttira-Lāḍam* for the same reasons as have been stated above in the case "*Takkana-Lāḍam*" should be taken to be Northern Rāḍhā, which is actually mentioned as a maṇḍala in the Sitāhāṭi grant of Vallālasena. Moreover there is no evidence to prove that Berar or Virāṭa was divided into two parts at any time. Again from Bengal Rājendra Coḷa reached Uttara-Rāḍha and after that the Ganges. It is a far cry from Berar to the Ganges, but the sacred river which added lustre to the conquest of Rājendra Coḷa I in the eyes of the Southern people actually forms the Northern boundary of Rāḍha. The divisions of Bengal across the great river are known as Mithilā and Vārendra, the latter of which is mentioned in the Rāma-carita,[1] and at least three copper-plates. So now it is clear that the Ganges formed the Northern boundary of the conquest of Rajendra Coḷa I. Curiously enough he did not attempt to cross the Ganges to the other side. The Tirumalai inscription being a *Praśasti* does not mention such details. But the desired details are supplied by an ancient manuscript discovered by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Śāstrī and now in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In 1893 the Mahāmahopādhyāya published notes on a find of ancient Sanskrit manuscripts among which was a drama named Caṇḍa-Kauśika, by Ārya Kṣemīśvara. This play was enacted before the king by his order, and it contains a verse in which the king Mahīpāla I is compared with Candragupta and a people named Karṇāṭakas, to the Nandas. So this contemporary work gives the credit of defeating the Karṇāṭakas to Mahīpāla I. The Karṇāṭakas seem to be the southerners who invaded Bengal under Rājendra Coḷa I. It appears that though Mahīpāla I was defeated by Rājendra Coḷa when he crossed into Rāḍhā from East Bengal, he prevented him from crossing the Ganges into Varendra or Northern Bengal, and so the Coḷa conqueror had to turn back from the banks of the Ganges. The manuscript on which Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Śāstrī relies is not a modern one, as it was copied in 1331 A.D.[2] The invasion of the Coḷa king did not change the political divisions of the country, but it left one permanent mark in the shape of a body of settlers, who occupied the thrones of Bengal and Mithilā as the Sena and Karṇāta dynasties during the latter days of the Pālas.

Conquest of Eastern Bengal.

Defeat of Mahīpāla and conquest of Northern Rādha.

The Coḷa invasion took place, as has been stated above, before the thirteenth

[1] Mem. A.S.B., Vol. III, p 55.

[2] J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, p. 250.

year of the king, i.e. 1025 A.D. The very next year we find that the Wheel of Law at Benares is being repaired, and a new temple (*Gandha-kūṭī*) built by the brothers Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla under the orders of the king.

The record of these events is found in an inscription discovered amidst the ruins of Sārnāth near Benares more than a hundred years ago.[1] It is incised on the pedestal of an image of Buddha, which is at present in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. This image was dedicated in the Vikrama year 1083=1026 A.D. Very soon after this Benares was taken away from the Pālas by the Cedī Emperor of Gāṅgeyadeva who invaded North-Eastern India about this time and had occupied it six or seven years ago. Some time before 1881 A.D., some metal images were found near a village Imādpur in the Muzaffarpur district of Bengal,[2] which were pronounced by Dr. Hoernle to have been dedicated in the 48th year of Mahīpāladeva.[3] As these images were found in Tirhut or Tīrabhukti, it is natural to conclude that Mithila was in the possession of the Pālas up to the 48th year of Mahīpāla I. But six years before the erection of the temple of Sārnath, Mithilā passed out of the hands of the Pālas. In the year 1020 A.D. Gāṅgeyadeva was in possession of Tīrabhukti or Mithilā. A copy of the Rāmāyaṇa copied in that year v. s. 1076 mentions Tīrabhukti as being in the possession of Gāṅgeyadeva:—

The struggle with the Cedi Empire.

Conquest of Mithilā.

Saṁvat 1076 *āṣāḍha badi* 4 *mahārājādhirāja puṇyāvaloka-somavaṁśodbhava-Gauḍadhvaja-Śrīmad-Gāṅgeyadeva-bhujyamāṇa Tīrabhuktau kalyāṇavijayarājye.*[4]

Very soon after Benares passed into the hands of the Cedīs. Karṇṇadeva, the son of Gāṇgeyadeva, was in possession of Benares in 1042 A.D. (Kalacurī-Cedī year 793).[5] Tīrabhukti or Mithilā was never recovered by the Pālas. The only Pāla records referring to this Province are the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyāṇapāla and the Imādpur image inscription of Mahīpāla I.

Mahīpāla I was succeeded by his son Nayapāla, who is called Nyāyapala on the authority of some unpublished record, by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Śastrī. According to Tārānātha, Mahīpāla reigned for fifty-two years, which is most probably correct as the Imādpur images were dedicated in the 48th year of the king. Of the relations of the king we only know the names of the brothers Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla, who were most probably nearly related to him besides his son Nayapāla. The long reign of Mahīpāla I is very fruitful in inscription and manuscript records. The earliest of these is the manuscript of Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, now in the University Library at Cambridge. The colophon runs thus :—

Successor and length of reign

Parameśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka-paramasaugata-mahārājādhirāja Śrīman-Mahīpāladeva pravarddhamāna-vijayarājye samvat 5 *Āśvine Kṛṣṇe.*[6]

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1 As. Res., Vol. IX, p. 204. 2 Proc. A.S.B., 1881, p. 98. 3 Ind. Ant, Vol. XIV, p. 165, note 17.

4 Cat of Sans. MSS. in the Durbar Liby., Nepal. Hist. Intro., p. 18, and No. 1079 (kha), p. 34.

5 Epi. Ind., Vol. II, p. 300.

6 Bendall's Cat. of Buddhist Sans. MSS. in the Univ. Liby., Cambridge, p. 101.

The date next in order is to be found in a manuscript of the same work, collected by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Śāstrī, for the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The reading of the colophon as revised by the late Dr. Theodor Bloch runs as follows:—

Deyadharmmeyaṁ pravaramahāyānayāyinaḥ Tāḍivāḍi-Mahāvihārīya āvasthitena Śākyācārya-sthavira-Sādhuguptasya yad = atra puṇyan = tad = bhavatv = ācāry = opādhyāya-mātā-pitṛ-puraṅgamaṁ kṛtvā sakala-satva-rāśer = anuttara-jñāna phal = āvāptaya iti. Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Paramasaugata Śrīmad-Vigrahapāladeva-pādānudhyāta Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Paramasaugata Śrīman=Mahīpāladeva-pravarddhamāna-Kalyāṇavijayarājye ṣaṣṭha-sambatsare abhilikhyamāne yatrāṅke samvat 6 Kārttika-Kṛṣṇa-trayodaśyān = tithau maṅgalavāreṇa bhaṭṭārikā-niṣpāditam=iti || Śrī Nālandāvasthita-Kalyāṇamitra-Cintāmaṇikasya likhita iti.[1]

This colophon proves that in the sixth year of Mahīpāla Nālanda was in his possession, and thus a part at least of Magadha was included in his dominions. Next in order comes an inscription incised on the pedestal of an image of Buddha, in the attitude of touching the earth (*Bhūmisparśa mudrā*). This image is now being worshipped as one of the five Pāṇḍus, in a small shrine just in front of the entrance of the great temple at Bodh-Gayā. The inscription consists of three lines, in an imperfect state of preservation, the first part of each line having lost a number of letters. It is dated in the eleventh year of the reign of Mahīpāla, presumably the first, as the letters still show signs of acute angles at their lower extremities. It has been referred to by Cunningham.[2] The text runs :—

1. *Deya-dharmmoyam ..... tad-bhavatv=ācāry=opādhāya-mātā-pitṛ-pūrvvaṅgamaṁ kṛtvā sakala-satva-rāśer=anuttara-jñān=āvāptaya-iti || Mahā-*
2. *[rājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Pa]ramabhaṭṭāraka-Paramasaugata-Śrī-mān=Mahīpāladeva-pravarddhamāna-vijayarājye ekādaśame samvatsare abhilikhya[māne]*
3. *..... pañcamyān=tithau gandha-Kūṭī-dvaya-sahitā.....karitāv=iti.*

The name of the donor of the two temples (*Gandha-Kūṭīdvaya*) and the image is unfortunately lost. As the name of the month in this inscription is illegible it is impossible to state whether it was incised before or after Bālāditya's Nālandā inscription of the same year which has been placed next in order. This inscription was discovered by Broadley among the ruins of the great Vihāra at Nālandā where it was found on a door-jamb. According to this inscription the great temple at Nālandā was restored after being burnt down by a man named Bālāditya, a Jyāvisa of Telāḍhaka (modern Telara) who had emigrated from Kauśāmbī, in the eleventh year of Mahīpāladeva.[3]

The restoration of the Great Vihāra at Nālandā.

[1] Proc. A.S.B., 1899, p. 69. [2] Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. III, p. 122, No. 9, pl. XXXVII, No. 5.
[3] J.A.S.B., Vol. IV, p. 106, No. IV, pl. VI.

The conquest of Northern Bengal must have taken place some years earlier. In his ninth year Mahīpāla granted the village of Kuraṭapallikā, with the exception of Cuṭapallikā, in the Gokalikā *maṇḍala*, Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya* of the Pauṇḍravarddhana *bhukti* to a Brāhmaṇa named Kṛṣṇādityaśarmaṇ. It has been proved by another inscription, the Maṇahali grant of Madanapāla, that the Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya* was situated in Northern Bengal, as both inscriptions have been discovered in the Dināj-pur district.[1] An inscription incised on the pedestal of a colossal image of Bud-dha, still in situ, at Tetrawan, an ancient site six miles from Bihār in the Patna District of Bengal, contains the name of Mahīpāla, the rest having become illegible.[2] Most probably it was dedicated during the reign of Mahīpāladeva. The images discovered at Imādpur in the Muzaffarpur district of Bengal in 1881 were most pro-bably dedicated in the 48th year of Mahīpāla I,[3] as Mahīpāla II had a very short reign. The 48th year of Mahīpāla I must have fallen before 1020 A.D., as in that year the Cedī Emperor Gāṅgeyadeva was in possession of Tīrabhukti or Tirhut. The last inscription of Mahīpāla is the Sarnath inscription of the Vikrama year 1083. This inscription was either posthumous, or incised when the city of Benares had passed from the hands of the Pālas to those of the Cedīs. The repair of the Wheel of Law and the building of the temple seem to have begun some time before and the work was completed either after Mahīpāla's death or in his last year, when he had lost Benares and Tirhut. Mahīpāla was succeeded by his son Nayapāla, called Nyāyapāla by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Śāstri, on some unknown authority. His minis-ter's name was Vāmaṇabhaṭṭa, who is the Dūtaka of the Bangarh grant of this king called the Dināj pur grant by Dr. Kielhorn.

Nayapāla succeeded the throne of the Pālas some time between 1025—30 A.D. At that time the extent of the Pāla Empire had been considerably diminished by the loss of Benares and Tīrabhukti. Gāṅgeyadeva was succeeded by his son Karṇa, who with the help of some Southerners overran the whole of Northern India. The Nāgpur praśasti of Udayāditya of Mālava speaks of him as one who, joined by the Karṇāṭakas, had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean :—

Nayapāla Acc. 1025—30 A.D.

Tasmin=vāsava-vandhutām=upagate rājye ca kuly=ākule
Magnasvāmini tasya vandhur=Udayādityo-bhavad-bhūpatiḥ
Yen=oddhṛitya mahārṇṇav=opama-mılat=Karṇṇāṭa-Karṇṇa-prabhum=urvvīpā-lakadarthitām bhuvam=imāṁ Śrīmad-Varāhāyitaṁ—verse 32.[4]

According to the Bheraghat inscription of Alhaṇadevī, we find:—

Pāṇḍyaś=caṇḍimatām=mumoca Muralas=tatyāja garvva-grahaṁ
Kuṅgaḥ sadgatim=ājagāma cakape Vaṅgaḥ Kaliṅgaiḥ saha,
Kīra Kīravadāsa pañjaragṛhe Hūṇaḥ praharṣaṁ jahau
Yasmin=rājani Śaurya-bibhrama bharaṁ vibhraty-apūrvva-prabhe—verse 12.[5]

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[1] Ibid , 1893, pt. I, p. 77.
[2] Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. III, p. 123.
[3] Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 105, note 17.
[4] Epi. Ind., Vol. II, p. 185.
[5] Ibid., p. 11.

Karṇṇadeva is said to have subdued or held in check the Pāṇḍyas, Muralas, Kuṅgas, Vaṇgas, Kaliṅgas, Kīras and Hūṇas. In the Karanbel inscription of Jayasiṁhadeva it is stated that Karṇṇa was waited upon by the Coḍa, Kuṅga, Hūṇa, Gauḍa, Gurjara and Kīra princes:—

Nīcaiḥ sañcara Coḍa-Kuṅga kim=idaṁ phalgu tvayā valgyate Hūṇ=aivam raṇituṁ na yuktam=iha te tvaṁ Gauḍa garvvan=tyaja,

m=aivaṁ Gurjjara garjja Kīra nibhṛto varttasva sevā-gatān=itthaṁ yasya mitho-virodhi-nṛpatīn dvāstho vininye janaḥ.—L. 11—12.[1]

According to the Cedī inscriptions Karṇṇa subdued or defeated the king of Gauḍa, whoever he might be. Mr. Monmohan Cakravartti first of all pointed out mentions of a war between Nayapāla and the king of Karṇya. The term "king of Karṇya" seems to be a translation of the Sanskrit word "Karṇarāja," "the king Karṇa." The form Karṇya seems to be a mistake.[2] In his article on the Kṛṣṇadvārika temple inscription of Nayapāla Mr. Cakravartti has pointed out that Atīśa mediated between Nayapāla and the king of Karṇya about the year 1035 A.D. So the Cedi Emperor Karṇadeva, who is in reality the same person as the king of Karṇya of Tibetan literature, must have invaded Magadha some time before 1035 A.D.[3] The incidents of the campaign are mentioned in Rai Śarat Candra Dās Bahadur's article on the Life of Atīśa:—

Karṇadeva, the Cedī, invades Magadha.

"During Atīśa's residence at Vajrasena a dispute having risen between the two, Nayapāla, king of Magadha, and the Tīrthika, king of Karṇya of the West, the latter made war upon Magadha. Failing to capture the city, his troops sacked some of the sacred Buddhist institutions and killed altogether five (men) ..... Afterwards when victory turned towards (Nayapāla) and the troops of Karṇya were being slaughtered by the armies of Magadha, he took the king of Karṇya and his men under his protection and sent them away..... Atīśa caused a treaty to be concluded between the two kings. With the exception of the articles of food that were destroyed at the time of war, all other things which had fallen in the hands of the parties were either restored or compensated for".[4]

Nayapāla must have reigned at least fifteen years as two of his inscriptions were incised in that year. The first is the Kṛṣṇa-dvārikā temple inscription, referred to above, which records the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu by a low class Brāhmaṇa named Viśvāditya, the son of Śūdraka and the grandson of Paritoṣa, in the fifteenth year of king Nayapāladeva. The verses were composed by a veterinary named Sahadeva and the engraving was done by the artisan Saṭṭasoma, son of Adhipasoma. The second inscription was discovered by Mr. Parameśvar Dayāl, then Court of Wards Head Clerk in Gayā, in 1884, inside the small temple of Narasiṁha in the Viṣṇupāda compound. It was pointed out by him to Mr. Cakravartti,[5] and to the late Dr.

Length of reign, Inscriptions and MS. Records.

[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 217.
[2] Jl. Bud. Text Soc., Vol. I, p. 9.
[3] J.A.S.B., 1900, pt. I, p. 192.
[4] Jl. Bud. Text Soc., Vol. I, p. 9, note.
[5] J.A.S.B., 1900, pt. I, p. 191, note 1.

Bloch in 1902.[1] But as this inscription has never been properly edited I am taking this opportunity of transcribing it :—

(1) *Oṁ Lakṣmīś=cirañ=jayati vāri-nidher-aneka-manthā-kulād-adhigatā puruṣottamasya | Snihyat=tirovalita-sammada ghūrṇṇamāna-netrāvalokana nirasta-samasta vighnā ||*

(2) *S=eyaṁ vrahmapurī Gay=eti jagati khyātā svayaṁ vedhasā sthātuṁ brahmavidāṁ pur=īva ghaṭitā mokṣasya saukhyasya ca | vrumaḥ kiñ=ca bhavanti yatra pitaraḥ pretā-*

(3) *-layāvāsinaḥ pādaspṛṣṭa-jala-pradāna-vidhinā nāk=āṅganā-nāyakāḥ || Asyāṁ vabhūva puri vakragati-dvijihva-samrāḍ-bhujaṅga-ripur-acyuta-pādasevī | yo*

(4) *nāma viṣṇur-rathavad[2]-dvijarājavaryaḥ prītyā satāṁ ca Paritoṣa iti prasiddhaḥ || Tasmād=vidher=iva vabhūva sanatkumāraḥ Śrī Sūdrako vimala-vuddir=anekavidyaḥ |*

(5) *Bhūy-opi yena vidhin=aiva kṛtā Gay=eyaṁ vāhvor-valena suciraṁ paripālitā ca || Tasmād=ajāyata sutaḥ sutavad=dvijānāṁ yo-bhūt suvismaya-rasāvahakartaka-.*[3]

(6) *ś=ca || Viśvāpakāraka-nirākṛtaye-vatīrṇṇaḥ Śrī Viśvarūpa iti kīrttita viśvarūpaḥ || Yaṁ prāpya c=ārthijana-vṛndam-akalpa-dānam=āpurbhavat*[4] *pulakajālam—ana-*

(7) *-nta-modaṁ | Sphīti-sphurad=dhana-kṛtārthatayā durāpa-cintāmaṇi-grahaṇakaṁ na kadāpi dadhmau || Yen=āsurāri-caritena mahodayena yantī rasātalam-ivāvani-*

(8) *-r=uddhṛt-eyaṁ | Śrī-mad-Gayā-kali-mala-dvija-rāja-pakṣa-saṁkṣobha-kampitatanur=bhuja-vikrameṇa || Yasmai viśuddha-caritāya nisagra*[5]*-sauryarāśi-priyāya vi-*

(9) *-nay-āmala-bhūṣaṇāya āvālyataḥ prabhṛti deva-manuṣya-loko vaddhāñjaliś=cirataraṁ spṛhayāṁ cakāra || Ten=emāñ=ca GADĀDHAR=ĀDI-nilayavyājena tāḥ kī-*[6]

(10) *kīrttayaḥ svetaṅśor=iva raśmayaḥ sughaṭitā[ḥ] santāpa-śāntyai sadā Yatrāmbhonidhi vīcivad=daśadiśām prakṣālan-aikacchaṭāḥ pātāla-prativāsi-ghora-timi-*

(11) *-ra-pradhvansa-dīpā iva || Etāḥ santu Gayāpurī sutaruṇī bhūṣāvalī kīrttayo yāvac =candra-divākarau ca gaganaṁ Śri-viśvarūp-āhvayaḥ Kartāsāṁ ca tathā pu-*

(12) *-rāṇa-puruṣān rājño-pi dhikkṛtya sad-yen-ākasmika-vismay-aika-rasiko loko muhur=murcchitaḥ | Dākṣiṇyād=uparuddhena prītis-timita cetasā | Praśastir-e-*

(13) *-ṣā vihitā VAIDYA ŚRĪ-VAJRAPAṆIṆĀ | Vijñāna-kauśal-ollāsa-jātanaipuṇa karmmaṇā praśastir = eṣā likhitā Sarvvānandena dhīmatā | Kṣīrāmbho-nidhi- mekha-*

(14) *-lā-maṇi-guṇ-ālaṁkāritāyā bhuvo bharttuḥ ŚRI-NAYAPĀLA-DEVA-nṛpate rājñāśrīyaṁ vibhrataḥ saṁvṛtte tarasaiva PAÑCA-DAŚAME RĀJYASYA SAMVATSARE kīrttiḥ siddhim = upāgatā bhagavataḥ*

(15) *Śrī-mad-GADĀDHĀRIṆAḤ |*

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[1] Proc. A.S.B., 1902, pp. 66-67. [2] *va* added afterwards. [3] Or—Kautaka—
[4] Read—manalpa-dānam = āvirbhavat— [5] Read nisarga— [6] The last syllable of this line is superfluous.

The main object of the inscription seems to be the recording of the ancestry and the name of the donor as well as the date of the building of the Temple of Gadādhara and several other minor temples of Viṣṇu. As the inscription itself was found in the temple of Narasiṁha which is only few paces behind that of Gadādhara at Gayā it seems certain that the ancient materials which have been profusely used in the modern temple of Gadādhara are the remains of the temple built by Viśvarūpa in the fifteenth year of the reign of Nayapāladeva.

The Kṛṣṇa-Dvārikā temple inscription referred to above also records the erection of temple of Viṣṇu in the fifteenth year of Nayapāla :—

Saptāmvu-rāśi-visarat (ac-ch) ślatha mekhalāyā asyā bhūvaḥ kati na bhūmi-bhujo-vabhūvuḥ,

Siddhiṁ na kasyacid=agād=yad=analpa-kalpais=ten=ātra Kīrttanam=akāri Janārdanasya,—verse 17.[1]

The modern temple of Kṛṣṇa-dvārikā is built almost entirely of ancient materials and it is quite possible that these materials are the only remnants of Viśvāditya or Viśvarūpa's temple. The only other existing record of Nayapāla is in the colophon of a manuscript of Pañca-rakṣā in the collection of the Cambridge University :—

Deyadharmosyam = pravara-mahāyāna-yāyinyāḥ Paramopāsikā-Rājñī-Uddākāyā yad=atra puṇyan=tad=bhavatv=ācāry=opādhyāya-matā-pitṛ (pūrvaṅgama) ṅ-kṛtvā sakala-satva-rāśer-anuttara-jñān=āvāptaya iti ‖ Paramasaugata-Mahā-rājādhirāja-Parameśvara Śrī-man=Nayapāladeva-pravarddhamāna-vijayarājye samvat 14 *Caitra dine* 27 *likhit-eyaṁ bhaṭṭārikā iti.*[2]

Nothing else is known about Nayapāla and his relations. He was succeeded by his son Vigrahapāla III. Nayapāla's reign most probably did not extend beyond the date of the Kṛṣṇa-dvārikā and Gadādhara temple inscriptions and seems to have come to an end some time between 1045 and 1050 A.D. It is said in a commentary on Cakradatta that Cakrapāṇi Datta was the kitchen superintendent of king Nayapāla.[3]

Vigrahapāla III : his war.

At the beginning of his reign Vigrahapāla came into conflict with his father's antagonist, the Cedi Emperor Karṇa. Karṇa's power at that time was at its lowest ebb. He was being constantly defeated by the neighbouring princes. He had a very long reign, his own with that of his son having covered a century. In the height of his power he had overrun the whole of Northern India but in his old age he suffered many reverses. He was defeated by the Candella Kirttivarman,[4] by Udayāditya of Mālava,[5] by Bhīmadeva I of Anahilvād, who is eulogised by the grammarian Hema-candra for having defeated Karṇa in battle,[6] and by the Western Cālukya Someśvara I, which is recorded by the poet

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[1] J.A.S.B., 1900, pt. I, p. 184. [2] Bendall's Cat. Skt. MSS. in the Univy. Liby., Cambridge , p. 175. No. 1688.
[3] Cakrapāṇi, Ed by Śivadāsa Sena, Calcutta, B. S. 1302, p. 407.
[4] Epi. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 220, 326, 130, 132.
[5] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 192. [6] Bühler— Über das Leben des Jaina Monchs Hema—Chandra, p. 69.

Bilhaṇa in his *Vikramāṇka-deva Carita*, where Karṇa is mentioned as the god of death to the Lord of the Kalañjara mountains, e.g. the Caṇḍellas.[1] In his last war with the Pālas, Karṇa was defeated and sued for peace. Vigrahapāla III married the aged king's daughter Yauvanaśrī. Karṇa's war with Vigrahapāla and his subsequent relationship was made known to us by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Śāstrī's unique dīscovery, "The Rāmacarita of Sandhyākaranandi":—

Marriage with Princess Yauvanaśrī, the daughter of Karṇa.

Anyatra | yo Vigrahapālo Yauvanaśriyā Karṇasya rājñaḥ sutayā saha Kṣauṇīmudūḍhavān | Sahasā valen=āvito-rakṣito raṇajitaḥ saṅgrāmajitaḥ Karṇo Dāhal =ādhipatir=yena | Raṇajita eva parantu rakṣito na unmūlitaḥ—Commentary on verse 9.[2]

It is evident from the commentary the Karṇa suffered a severe reverse at the hands of his future son-in-law and that though defeated he was not "uprooted," i.e. deprived of his kingdom. It may be that the proud Cedī gave his daughter to Vigrahapāla to avert a calamity. Vigrahapāla III probably had a very short reign, not exceeding thirteen years. Had he lived longer the Pāla Empire may have lasted for some time. His sons were continually quarrelling among themselves and reigned for very short periods. The subordinate princes eagerly availed themselves of the opportunity of throwing off the yoke and the Pāla princes never gained the opportunity of subjugating the territories lost at this time.

Three inscriptions of Vigrahapāla III have been discovered as yet, of which one is on a copper-plate and the other two on stone. The copper-plate is the well-known one from Āmgachi in the Dināǰpur District. The inscription has been edited many times but the first twenty lines edited by the late Prof. Kielhorn[3] and the remaining portion by Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle[4] are the only reliable versions. A fresh edition of this important inscription is very urgently wanted I hope to take up this work ere long and compare it with the Bangarh grant of Mahīpāla I as suggested by Mr. V. A. Smith.[5] The Āmgāchi plate records the grant of half of the village named Brāhmaṇī in the Koṭivarṣa viṣaya of the Pauṇḍravarddhana bhukti to a Brāhmaṇa named Khoddhata-devaśarmaṇ on the ninth day of Caitra in the 13th year of the king.[6] On the other two inscriptions of this king, the Akṣayavaṭa inscription is the most important. It was noticed by Cunningham in the third volume of his Reports. The late Dr. Th. Bloch published a summary of its contents but at that time the last lines of the inscription were covered with plaster and so he missed the name of the king and the date. After frequent trials I succeeded in removing the plaster and copying the entire inscription. The central part of the inscription has suffered seriously and is only partly legible. Otherwise the inscription is quite clear. It records the erection of a liṇga (Vaṭeśa) at Akṣayavaṭa and another called Prapitā-

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[1] Vikramaṇka deva-carita, I, 102 3, XVIII, 93.
[2] Mem. A.S.B., Vol. III, p. 22.
[3] Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 97.
[4] Ibid , Vol. XIV, p. 166.
[5] Ibid., Vol. XXXVIII, p. 240.
[6] Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 168.

maheśvara close by, in the fifth year of the reign of Vigrahapāladeva. As the record has never been properly edited before I do so from the original stone:—

(1) *Oṁ Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya || Dayābhāṇḍāgāraṁ niravadhi-jagad-doṣa-vijayi sphuraj=jñāna-jyotiḥ prasara-nihata-dhvānta-nicayaṁ | Kim-apy-antaḥ sāntaṁ sahaja-sukha-pīyuṣa-laharī.....*

(2) *-ra hṛdayamaṅgho haratu vaḥ || Āsandhāyā-kalaṅkān=prati-vapuṣa iva brāhmaṇān=avja-janmā svargga-dvār-ādhirohām=amṛta-pada-sukha-prāptaye pretya bhājaḥ | Sākṣāt saṁsāra-bhūṣāva.....*

(3) *Śrīmad-bhūmiṁ śaśvat=trailokya-lakṣmī=nilayam=iva purīṁ Śrī Gayām=eṣa cakre || Gayāyām=etasyāṁ puri sakala-saundarya nilaye dvijātīnāṁ mānyo dvija-pada-sarojāka.....*

(4) *-ma premnā parama-paritoṣasya jananād=abhūd=dhanyaḥ Śrīmān sa khalu Paritoṣ-āhvaya iti || Tasmād=abhūj=jalanidher=iva śītaraśmiḥ Śrī Śūdrako vimalakāntir=ananta-lakṣmī [ḥ].....*

(5) *kaṇṭha-sravābhirāmam=ānanditāni yaśasā bhuvan-āntarani || Āsādy=āmara-rāja-rājya-padavīṁ devībhir=ākrīḍitaṁ divy-ātmatvam=anaṅga-darppa-dalan=odgār-aika-modaṁ vapu [ḥ.....*

(6) *-nti (?) kautuka-rasān=marttyo' vatīrṇṇas-tato jāto deva-kumāra-murttirasamaḥ Śrī Viśvarūp=āhvayaḥ || Yo vidhvasta-samasta-vairi-nivahaḥ sphuryat=pratāp-ānalaḥ saujanyasya nidāna.....*

(7) *-ma keli-drumaḥ | sāndrānandamayo nisargga-madhura-vyāhāra-ratnākaro dīn=ānātha-vipanna-cāraṇa-gaṇa-trāṇāya cintāmaṇiḥ || Gaṇḍasthale mṛgamad-āmala-patra-bhaṅgān svairaṁ.....*

(8) *-lekhanībhīḥ | Adyāpi yasya sura-kinnara-gīyamānāṁ devyaḥ śilāsu vijaya-stutim=ālikhanti || Dharmmeṇ=otsvasitaṁ mudā vihasitaṁ saṁloka maryā-dayā trayyā visphuritaṁ.....*

(9) *-ttribhir-jjṛmbhitaṁ | yasmin-āsvāmini sarvvataḥ samudaye tepy-arthinaḥ sāhasaṁ sāndrānandamayāḥ sva-dainya-virahān-nṛtyanti pūrṇṇāśayāḥ || N=occaiś-caṇḍa-karo na c=āpi vigata.....*

(10) *ten-āstam yāti jalātmabhiḥ pratihato n-ānyair=apūrṇṇo bhavaḥ | Jihvāgreṇa vināgasaḥ prati muhūrtt-āpya sthirān-agrahīn-naivāsaṁga-digamvar-aika nirato yo viśvarūpaḥ..||.....*

(11) *-marādhipo pi cakito Vrahmāpi yad-vismito devo Viṣṇurapi sphuṭaṁ vihasito Rudropi romāñcitaḥ | Uddāma-prasarat-prasanna-vahule yat-kīrtti-kallolinī -gambhīr-āmbhasi majja.....*

(12) *-pi saṁvodhita || Yad=durggamaṁ sarati dūrataraṁ durāpaṁ yac=cetasā | yaṁ lavdha.....ta....āsīt | sahasra....sramavirāhana caturdasyām-ārambha-rāma iti yaḥ sphuṭatām=upetaḥ || Asyāṁ bhū.....*

(13) *-pā dharmmeṇa maryādayā rājya-Śribhir-alaṁkṛtāḥ punar-amī bhog-aikadā.. .....Śrī-viśvāvidhe (?) eṣa kīrttana-kathā gīya.....*

(14) *Kīrtti....tvām vismayakara.....āpi sauryyād=asau....nta Śrīr-api..... ni..ddhi punar-īdriśī bhavati kiṁ Śrī Viśvarūp=oddhṛta-rekh-eva prati-pa.....,.*

(15) *yat-te..ādbhutā | asy-aiva....Prapitāmahasya mahatīm-asthāpya kīrttiṁ.. . ....tataḥ sādhitaḥ | Uddhṛtārthi-nisargga-dharmma-nirato yo.....*

(16) *.....siddhim-anayat-tām-eva kīrttim punaḥ || Kiṁ vrumaḥ.....yasy-āsādhu-guṇasya nāsti mahataḥ .....kinna.....*

(17) *rāśiḥ suviśṛtavayo yen-ākasmika-vismayena mukhar-ālokaḥ karttur-agri..... ....nivasanaḥ sphurad-dhārāgāraṁ visṛja.....*

(18) *-vyāmvara-saṁcara-tṛptir-vvahu-manoja..... | praśamanaṁ surā-bhāṇḍaṁ jaladaḥ || .....kanakeśvara.....jaladaḥ....Śrī Viśvarūp-āvaro.....*

(19) *tya sadācarau suviditaḥ Śrī-satkulā....sarvvaśaḥ satkulādṛto' kṣayavaṭo devo Vaṭeś-āhvayaḥ || Ity-ādyāḥ sumanonurūpa-racanā-ratnā.....*

(20) *-jñāṁ ca yaḥ | Yen-āty-adbhuta-vikramena tarasā Śrī-mad-Gaya-maṇḍale āsaṁsāram-udagra-dharmma-vijaya-stambhā iv-ōropitaḥ || Ten-ā i.....*

(21) *-la visamaṁ nīhār-āvatārādbhutaṁ || Kirttiḥ Śveta-gabhasti-hasta-racite iti-rājatāṁ devasya Prapitā-mahasya mahatī Śrī-i.....*

(22) *-ti nāmadheya | Sattvaiva dhaninaḥ kimvā vahu vrumahe | kiṁ tv=īdṛg=yadi kirttanaṁ bhagavataḥ ken=āpi niṣpādita Śrī-Viśvāvi.....*

(23) *yaḥ svatvapa-mokṣa (?) | —yāvac-candra-divākarau surasarid-dhātrī nabho-maṇḍalaṁ | karttuṁ Kīrttikadamba (?) s a vijayī-Śri-Viśvarūp-āhvaye....*

(24) *gaṇitum-ālaṁkārito bhagavān bharttur-Vigraha-pāladeva-nṛpate rājyaśrīyaṁ vibhrataḥ | saṁprāpte tarasaiva pañch-gaṇite rajyasya samvatsa re.....*

(25) *Viśvāditya-guṇ-otkṣepa prītis-timita-cetasā*

(26) *Praśastir-vvihitā c=aiṣā Vaidya-Śrī-Dharmmapāṇinā ||.*

The original stone has suffered very much from the effects of weather so that it is almost impossible to decipher the central portions of the lines at the middle of the inscription. The only other known inscription of this king is the Bihar inscription of the twelfth year noticed for the first time by Cunningham.[1] He states that it is inscribed in the pedestal of an image of Buddha and belonged to the Broadley collection. The contents of the Broadley collection, afterwards called the Bihar Museum, were added to those of the Indian Museum at the request of the Government of Bengal in 1895 and the collection was transferred to Calcutta under the supervision of the late Babu Pūrṇa Chandra Mukharji. But this inscription could not be traced in the Indian Museum either by the late Dr. Bloch or by his successors. Mention should be made in this connection of an inscription on a stone on which the present image of Gadādhara at Gayā now rests. It seems to have been discovered by the late Babu Pūrṇa Chandra Mukharji and pointed out by him to the late Dr. Bloch.[2] As the image of Gadādhara cannot be moved without wounding the religious susceptibilities of the Hindu population of Gaya, only the first five lines could be copied :—

(1) *Oṁ namo mārttaṇḍāya || Jāgartti yasmin-nudite prayāti c-āstantu śete*

[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 121, No. 7.

[2] Annual Report of the Archl. Survey, E. Circle., 1901-2, p. 2.

janatā samastā | Trailokya dīpaṁ tam-ananta-mūrttim-avyāhatābhaṁ. śaraṇaṁ prayāta || (1).

(2) *S-eyaṁ vrahmapurī Gay-eti jagati khyātā svayaṁ vedhasā sthātuṁ vrahma-vidāṁ pur-īva ghaṭitā mokṣasya saukhyasya ca* |

(3) *Vrumaḥ kiñ-ca bhavanti ya!ra pitaraḥ pretālaya-vāsinaḥ pāda-spṛṣṭa-jala-pradāna-vidhinā nāk-āṅganā-nāyakāḥ* || (2). *Asyāṁ va-*

(4) *-bhūva purī vakragati dvijihva samrāḍ-bhujaṅga ripur-acyuta-pādasevī* |
Yo nāma viṣṇu-rathavad-dvijarāja-varyaḥ prītyā satāṁ ca Pa

(5) *-ritoṣa iti prasiddhah* || *Tasmād-vidheriva vabhūva.....*

This inscription has been referred to the reign of Vigrahapāladeva because its writing resembles that of the Akṣayavaṭa inscription.

Nothing is known about the relations of Vigrahapāla III save his three sons Śūrapāla II, Mahīpāla II and Rāmapāla, all of whom succeeded him one after another.

Successors and relations.

The Rāmacarita mentions two uncles of Rāmapāla, Mahaṇa or Mathanadeva and his brother Suvarṇadeva, who belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. So Vigrahapāla must have married another lady of the Raṣṭrakuṭa family whose name has not come down to us. Rāmapāla was the son of the Raṣṭrakuṭa princess and not of the Cedi princess Yauvanaśrī.

CHAPTER V.

The Decline of the Pālas.

After the death of Vigrahapāla III, his eldest son Mahīpāla II ascended the throne of his ancestors. According to the author of Rāmacarita, untoward things began to happen in this reign.[1] He did not act according to the advice of his ministers and was not well disposed towards his remaining brothers Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla. He was told by the people that Rāmapāla was an able Prince, as well as a popular and vigorous administrator, and that he would kill him and take away his kingdom. So, by low cunning, he tried to kill him, and at last succeeded in confining him in a prison.[2] It appears that Mahīpāla's younger brother Sūrapāla was sent to prison at the same time as his youngest brother Rāmapāla:—*Apareṇa bhrāttrā Śūrapālena saha kaṣṭāgāraṁ kārāgṛhaṁ mahattavanam rakṣaṇam yatra.*[3] This Śūrapāla was older than Rāmapāla, because the author of the Rāmacarita states, that Rāmapāla's son succeeded to the throne, though Śūrapāla was Rāmapāla's elder.[4] The brothers were reduced to very great straits while in prison.[5] The author adds in another place that both brothers were sent to prison because Mahīpāla had apprehensions of being dethroned by them.[6] About this time Divvoka, a former servant, by cunning, took away a part of Rāmapāla's paternal kingdom Varendrī.[7] Mahīpāla went to fight against the confederate rebels with the small force at his command and fell in battle. This happened while Rāmapāla was in prison.?[8] Elsewhere it is specified that the Kaivartta King killed Mahīpāla.[9] After Mahīpāla's death Rāmapāla seems to have been set free, but driven out of the country, as the author of Rāmacarita states, that Rāmapāla became careless of his body and mind, because he was kept out of his kingdom.[10] Nothing is known about the period following the death of Mahīpāla II up to the accession of Rāmapāla. Śūrapāla II seems to have been recognized by the adherents of the Pāla Princes as the successor of Mahīpāla II, as he is mentioned by name in the Manahali grant of Madanapāladeva. The importance of this grant lies in the fact that it does not ignore a single king of the Pāla dynasty from Gopāla I to Madanapāla. Thus it might have omitted the names of Gopāla III and Kumārapāla, because these two Princes are not ascendants of Madanapāla and such names are usually omitted in the genealogical part of a copperplate grant. If Śūrapāla II had not actually reigned his name would have surely been omitted from this grant. For a

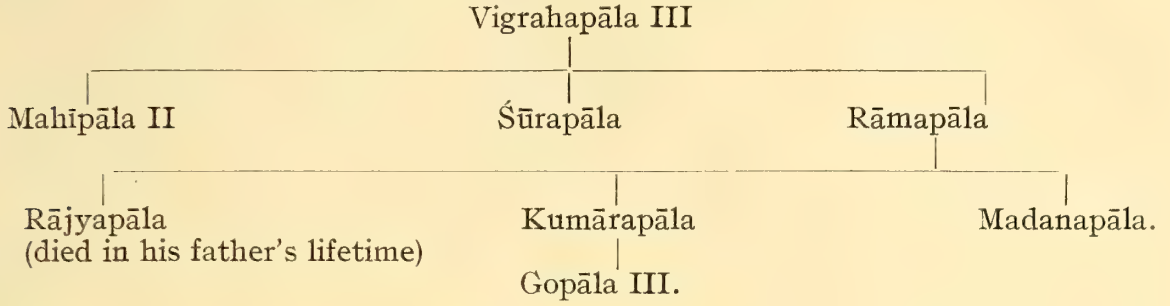
Accession of Mahīpāla II, imprisonment of the Princes Rāmapāla and Śūrapāla. Rebellion in Northern Bengal.

War in Northern Bengal. Death of Mahīpāla II.

Accession of Śūrapala II, ignored by Sandhyākara Nandi but recorded in the Manahali grant of Madanapāla.

[1] Comm. on V 31, p. 29, Mem. A.S.B., Vol. III.
[2] Comm. on V 37, SC. L.C., p. 31.
[3] Comm. on V 33, L.C., p. 29.
[4] Comm. on V 28, L.C., p. 28.
[5] Comm on V 35, L.C., p. 28.
[6] Comm. on V 36, L.C., p. 36.
[7] Comm. on V 38, L.C., p. 31.
[8] Comm. on V 31, L.C., p. 29.
[9] Comm. on V 29, L.C., p. 28.
[10] Comm. on V 41, L.C., p. 32.

similar reason we do not find the name of Rājyapāla, the eldest son of Rāmapāla, who could not have reigned as he died in his father's lifetime:—



The mention of Śūrapāla's accession to the throne or the recognition of his chiefship in the Pāla dominions, may have been omitted by Sandhyākaranandi, either through carelessness, or as not being relevant to his subject. It may also be possible that Śūrapāla was Rāmapāla's rival for the throne, and though he had succeeded temporarily he was overthrown in the long run and perhaps murdered at the instigation of his younger brother. Nothing is known about the extent of Śūrapāla's reign or his death. But it is quite certain that he was succeeded by his younger brother Rāmapāla. In the course of time Divvoka had died and was succeeded by his brother Rudoka. Rudoka was succeeded by his son Bhīma, who on his succession, began to harass the people, living in the tract of land, which was still left in the possession of the Pālas.[1] At that time Rāmapāla was in great straits and thought himself to be without friends.[2] But his son and his advisors sought him, and urged him to take the necessary steps, and he regained courage.[3] The author of the Rāmacarita states in another place that he became very anxious to fight with Bhīma.[4] His first step was to travel round the country to propitiate the feudatories and subordinate kings of his father's kingdom, and he succeeded in gaining over the forest feudatories.[5] During his travels he became convinced that all feudatories were well disposed towards him.[6] By giving away lands along river banks and immense wealth, Rāmapāla succeeded in obtaining horse and foot soldiers and elephants from the feudatories. Śivarāja, the son of his maternal uncle and a Mahāpratīhāra, crossed the Ganges with foot, horse and elephants and entered the enemy's country.[7] This expedition was undertaken either to reconnoitre the enemy's position or as a sort of counter raid. Śivarāja so impetuously attacked Varendrī that the viṣayas and grāmas in Bhīma's country became distressed. Śivarāja began to enquire about the ownership of the lands so that the properties of the gods and the Brāhmaṇas might be protected.[8] He succeeded in driving away Bhīma's followers from Vārendrī proper[9], and then came back to

Rāmapāla is urged by his son and his friends to take the field against Bhīma.

He obtains aid from the feudatories and his cousin Śivarāja crosses the Ganges and enters the enemy's country.

1 Comm. on V 39, L.C., p. 31. 2 Comm. on V 40, L.C., p. 31. 3 Comm. on V 26, L.C., p. 27.
4 Comm. on V 43, L.C., p. 32. 5 Comm. on V 43, L.C., p. 32. 6 Comm. on V 44.
7 Comm. on V 47, L.C., p. 33. 8 Comm. on V 48, L.C., p. 34. 9 Comm. on V 40, L.C.

report to Rāmapāla that his paternal kingdom was free of intruders.[1] Sandhyākara Nandi is silent about the events which followed this raid into Vārendrī. It appears from the second chapter of his work that the effect of Śivarāja's success in Northern Bengal was only temporary, because it became necessary for Rāmapāla to lead another and much bigger army into Northern Bengal, accompanied by his principal feudatories. One particular incident in the life of Rāmapāla has been totally left out by his biographer, which is his enmity and wars with Devarakṣita of Pīṭhī. In the commentary of the 8th verse of the second chapter of his work Sandhyākaranandi hints that Mahaṇa, the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla, recovered the kingdom, as the Boar incarnation had recovered the earth in former days. There is no reference to the enmity which Devarakṣita, the Lord of Pīthī and of Sindhu, bore towards Rāmapāla, which has become known to us from the Sārnāth inscription of Kumāradevi discovered by Messrs. Marshall and Konow in 1906-7.[2] It is stated there, that Mahaṇa, the King of Aṅga, the venerable maternal uncle of the Kings, conquered Devarakṣita in war, and maintained the glory of Rāmapāla, which rose in splendour, because the obstruction caused by his force was removed:—

Taṁ jitvā yudhi Devarakṣitam-adhāt Śri Rāmapālasya.
Yo lakṣmīṁ nirjita-vairi-rodhanatayā dedīpyamānodayāṁ.
verse 7.[3]

The defeat of Devarakṣita and Mahaṇa is also mentioned in the Rāmacarita, where it is said that Mathana or Mahaṇa defeated the King of Pīṭhī from the back of the elephant Vindhyamāṇikya.[4] The relationship between Mathanadeva and Rāmapāla has been explicitly mentioned in the commentary on verse 8, Chapter II of the Rāmacarita, so the references about Mathanadeva in the Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevī are quite clear. He is called the maternal uncle of the King because he was the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla, and perhaps also of Śūrapāla and Mahīpāla II also. Besides these, the sons of his other sisters might have been reigning in other parts of the country also. The mention of the defeat of Devarakṣita by Mathana or Mahaṇa is significant. The Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevī leaves no doubt about the fact that Mathana relieved Rāmapāla by defeating Devarakṣita. Evidently Devarakṣita of Pīthī had taken the part of one of Rāmapāla's rival claimants to the throne or invaded the Pāla dominions at a time when the Pāla kings were weakened by the defection of Northern Bengal, and so he expected to have an easy victory. The materials at our disposal are quite insufficient for the narration of details, but the Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevī proves, that though Mathana had humbled Devarakṣita at first, he had subsequently, owing to some unknown reason, given his daughter Śaṅkaradevī in marriage to him.[5] The probable reason is that either Devarakṣita succeeded in defeating Mathana and a peace was concluded after the marriage, or that Śaṅkaradevī was given to Devarakṣita in order to draw him to the party of Mathana and Rāmapāla. Whatever may be the fact of the case, we are sure that

Devarakṣita of Pīṭhī and Mathanadeva of Magadha.

1 Comm. on V 50, L.C. 2 Annual Rep. of A.S. of India, 1907–8, p. 76. 3 Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, 324–26.
4 Mem. A.S.B., Vol. III, p. 38, Comm. on V 8. 5 Epi. Ind. Vol. IX, p. 322.

Devarakṣita did not continue to be the ruler of Pīthī for a long time, as we find another king in that country when Rāmapāla led his expedition into Northern Bengal. The relationship between the Pālas, the Gāhaḍavālas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Magadha and the rulers of Pīṭhī are shown in the table on following page.

Pīṭhī has been identified by Dr. Sten Konow with the modern Piṭhapuram in the Madras Presidency.[1] But this is perhaps wide of the mark. It is mentioned as a separate principality, the ruler of which makes war upon the Pāla Kings of Bengal, and later on during the war between the Pālas and the Kaivartta King of Bengal, another prince of Pīṭhī is mentioned as a feudatory or as an ally of the Pāla King.

The Position of Pīṭhī.

It was hardly possible for the Pāla Kings after Nayapāla and Vigrahapāla III to wage war with the princes of Piṭhapuram or to demand an acknowledgment of suzerainty from them for any length of time. On the other hand, Pīṭhī should be somewhere near Magadha or a province with a boundary contiguous to the possession of the Pālas. A place named Pīṭhaghaṭṭā is mentioned in an ancient geographical work called Deśāvalī,[2] a copy of which is in the manuscript collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The addition of the word *ghaṭṭā* probably means that his place was situated on the Ganges. This Pīṭha or Pīṭhī was most probably on the western or northern boundary of Magadha and is perhaps represented by the trans-Son districts or Tirhut in the modern days. Some coins bearing the name Paṭha (most probably Pīṭhī) are preserved in the Cabinet of the Indian Museum,[3] but no records are available to prove their find-spots.

Campaign in Varendrī.

The great event of Rāmapāla's reign was his campaign in Northern Bengal, against the descendants of the rebel Divvoka, in which he was assisted and accompanied by a large number of allies and feudatories. A long list of these princes is given, at the beginning of the second Chapter of Sandhyākaranandi's Rāmacarita

Allies and feudatories.

Unfortunately very few of the localities mentioned in this list can be identified at present. At the head of the list is the name of Bhīmayaśas,

Bhīmaysas of Pīṭhī and Magadha

Prince of Pīṭhī and Magadha. This prince is apparently the sucessor of Devarakṣita, as in one of the following verses the commentary describes the defeat of Devarakṣita by Mahaṇa as an already accomplished fact.[4] It may be that Devarakṣita had placed his son Bhīmayaśas on the throne after his defeat by Mahaṇa. The commentary distinctly states, that Bhimayaśas was Lord of Pīthī and Magadha,[5] but in the commentary on the Rāmacarita Mahaṇa is called Lord of Magadha, and Devarakṣita, King of Sindhu and Pīṭhī. Mahaṇa may have been divested of the possession of Magadha by Bhimayaśas of Pīṭhī, after his defeat of Devarakṣita and the marriage of Mahaṇa's daughter with him. It also appears that though Devarakṣita was the Lord of Pīṭhī and Sindhu, his successor Bhīmayaśas was not. The position of Sindhu is doubtful. Bhīmayaśas is said to have

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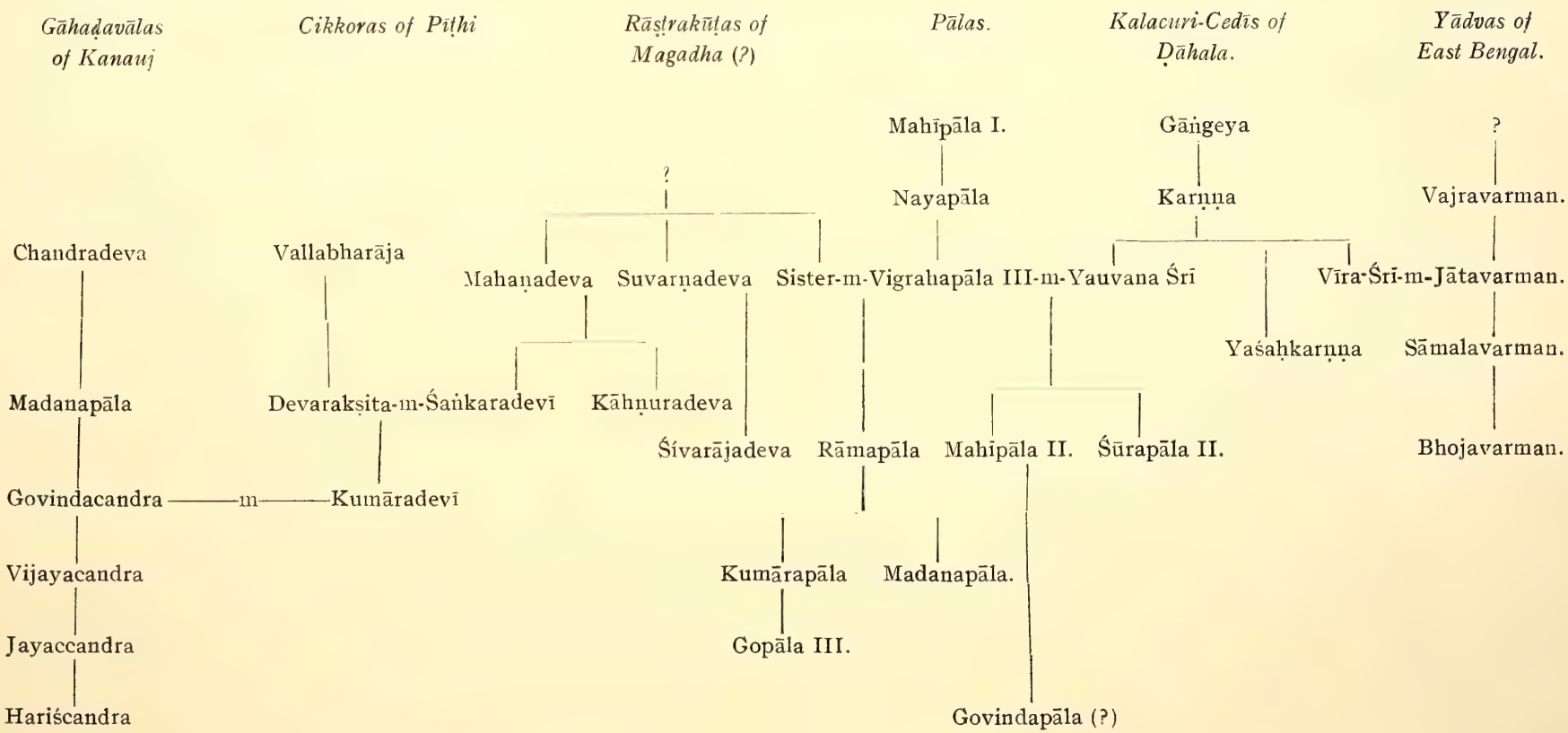
[1] Ibid. [2] J.A.S.B. 1904, Pt. I, p. 178, note 1. [3] V. A. Smith Cat. of Coins, Ind. Mus, Vol. I, p. 263.
[4] Mem. A.S.B., Vol. III, p. 38, Comm. on V. 9. [5] L.C. p. 36, Comm. on V. 5.


Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj
Cikkoras of Piṭhi
Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Magadha (?)
Pālas.
Kalacuri-Cedīs of Ḍāhala.
Yādvas of East Bengal.
Mahīpāla I.
Gāṅgeya
?
Nayapāla
Karṇṇa
Vajravarman.
?
Chandradeva
Vallabharāja
Mahaṇadeva
Suvarṇadeva
Sister-m-Vigrahapāla III-m-Yauvana Śrī
Vīra-Śrī-m-Jātavarman.
Yaśaḥkarṇṇa
Sāmalavarman.
Madanapāla
Devarakṣita-m-Śaṅkaradevī
Kāhṇuradeva
Śivarājadeva
Rāmapāla
Mahīpāla II.
Śūrapāla II.
Bhojavarman.
Govindacandra
m
Kumāradevī
Vijayacandra
Kumārapāla
Madanapāla.
Jayaccandra
Gopāla III.
Hariścandra
Govindapāla (?)

defeated the troops of a king of Kānyakubja, whose name has not been discovered as yet. The position of Pīṭhī is also indicated by this reference. It seems to have been a buffer state between those of Kānyakubja and Gauḍa. The Pratīhāra dynasty was falling, and the kingdom of the proud Gāhaḍavāla was rising on its ruins. It is quite possible that Bhimayaśas of Pīṭhī assisted Candradeva, the Gāhaḍavāla, to obtain the city of Kānyakubja and to overthrow the last Gurjara-Pratīhāra King. The next prince in the order adopted by Sandhyākaranandi is Vīraguṇa of the forest of Koṭā, who is also styled "the over-lord of the Southern thrones." But nothing is known about this king. Dr. Kielhorn's lists of Northern and South Indian Inscriptions do not contain any record which mentions this king of the South. Jaya Siṁha, the Lord of Daṇḍabhukti, seems to have been a man of great importance. The position of Daṇḍabhūkti has already been indicated.[1] It is represented at the present day by the District of Midnapur. So Jaya Siṁha was the march-lord of the South. The commentary very appropriately mentions the defeat of the King Karṇakeśarī of Utkala by this prince. It is more natural for the King of Orissa to fight with a prince, whose land lay on his border, than with one, whose possessions were separated from his by a belt of mountains and forests. The position of Devagrāma in Vāla-valabhī, the king of which, Vikrama Keśarī, comes next in order, is far less certain. The commentary adds: "Devagrāma-prativaddha-vasudhā-cakravāla-vālavalabhī-taraṅga-vahala-galahasta-praśasta hastavikramo."[2] The explanation of this is not quite certain and nothing can be made out beyond what has already been stated by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Sāstri. Vikrama Keśarī was the King of Devagrāma and the surrounding country which was washed by the rivers of Vāla-valabhi. Vāla-valabhī has been identified by Pandit Hara Prasāda Sāstrī with Bāgaḍī, one of the five divisions into which Bengal proper was divided before the Muhammadan conquest, but no reliable authority whatsoever can be cited in support of it. The name Vāla-valabhī itself was unknown in Bengal before the discovery of the Bhuvaneśvara prasasti of Bhavadevabhaṭṭa[3] and has not been found anywhere else except the Rāmacarita. There are hundreds of villages in Bengal bearing the name of Devagrāma, and I do not find any reason to confine it to one of them. Even in the Nadiāh district itself there are several Devagrāmas, and so the attempt to identify it with the materials at present at our command is premature. Lakṣmīśūra is said to be the Madhusūdana of another Mandāra and is described as the head of all Forest feudatories "*Samast-āṭavika-sāmanta-cakracuḍāmaṇiḥ.*"[4] The Mandāra mentioned here seems to be the hill of that name at present in the Bhagalpur district of Bihar. Mandāra hill commands the surrounding hilly and forest country to a great distance, and it may be that its king

Vīraguṇa of the South.

Jaya Simha of Daṇḍabhūkti.

Vikrama-Keśari of Devagrāma in Vāla-valabhī.

The position of Vālavalabhi.

Lakṣmīśūra of Maṇḍāra.

[1] See Ante, p 71.
[2] Comm. on V. 5, Chap. II, p. 36.
[3] Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 205.
[4] Comm. on V. 5, Ch. II, p. 36.

lorded over the Saontals of the Forest. The name of the next prince is suggestive.

Śūrapāla of Kujabaṭī.

Śūrapāla is mentioned as being the chief of Kujabaṭī. The Tirumalai inscriptions mention a feudatory of Mahīpāla I, named Dharmmapāla, who ruled over Daṇḍabhūkti.[1] Perhaps these princes belonged to the minor branches of the Imperial Pāla Dynasty. Rudraśikhara of Tailakampa is mentioned as a great warrior. Perhaps Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Śāstrī's identification[2] of Tailakampa with the modern Telkupi[3] in the Manbhum district is correct, but there is no proof in support of it beyond the resemblance in place names.

Rudraśikhara of Tailakampa.

Mayagala-siṁha of Ucchāla was the king of a country which was partly surrounded by the sea. The commentary mentions "*Aparalohitārṇava*" which means another Red Sea, but it is quite possible that the poet intends to mention the river Brahmaputra which is also known as the *Lauhitya*. Pratāpa-siṁha of Ḍekkarīya is also extolled in the commentary as a great warrior. There is nothing in the commentary to indicate the position of Ḍekkarīya, but it has been identified by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Śāstri with the modern village of Ḍhekura or Ḍhekurī in the northern part of the Burdwan District, on the ground of similarity of names.[4] The commentary on the next verse mentions five princes, and among the names of places over which they ruled only two can be identified:—

Mayagala-siṁha of Ucchāla.

Pratāpa-siṁha of Ḍekkarīya.

(1) Narasiṁhārjjuna, the king of the Kayaṅgala *maṇḍala*;
(2) Candārjjuna of Śaṅkaṭagrāma;
(3) Vijayarāja of Nidrāvala;
(4) Dorapavarddhana of Kauśāmbī; and
(5) Soma of Paduvanvā.

Dorapavarddhana of Kauśāmbi seems to have been a landlord of Varendrī. Kauṣāmbī seems to be the ancient name of the modern Pargana of Kusumba in the Rajshahi District of Bengal. I am indebted to Prof. Jadunath Sarkar of the Patna College for this suggestion. Paduvanvā has been identified by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Sāstrī with the modern Pabna on the ground of similarity of names.

At the bottom of the list of feudatories we find mention of Rāmapāla's cousins on his mother's side, viz. the princes of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, and his eldest son Rājyapāla, who died in his lifetime. Rāmapāla's maternal relations are specified in the next verse, his eldest maternal uncle Mathanadeva, whom we have already met, his brother Suvarṇadeva and their sons, the Mahāmāṇḍalika Kāhṇuradeva, and the Mahāpratīhāra Śivarājadeva.[5]

Rāmapāla's son and cousins.

Rāmapāla, with his allies and feudatories, crossed the Ganges either on boats or by a bridge of boats. The commentary on the next verse states that the great army

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[1] Epi. Ind., Vol. IX, p 232.
[2] Mem. A.S.B., Vol. III, p. 14.
[3] Cunningham's Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. VIII, p. 169.
[4] Mem. A.S.B., Vol. III, p. 14.
[5] Comm. on V, 8, Mem. A.S.B., Vol. III, p. 38.

crossed the Ganges by a 'Naukā-melaka'[1], which has been interpreted by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Śāstri as "a bridge of boats." The commentary on the work does not specify the place where the battle took place, but it is quite certain that the contending armies met somewhere in the south-western part of the modern District of Rājshāhī, or the southern part of the Maldah District. According to the commentary on verse 16, Bhīma was captured alive during the battle, and the soldiers of Rāmapāla received a fresh impetus from the news.[2] The commentary on another verse states that Bhīma was captured on the back of an elephant.[3] Bhīma's army most probably dispersed on the capture of their leader, and Rāmapāla seems to have obtained an easy victory, which was followed by the sack of the town of Ḍamara, the capital of Bhīma.[4] The commentary on another verse states that Rāmapāla destroyed Ḍamara, a small town. The adjective *Upapura* is no doubt applied slightingly because it happened to be the capital of the enemy. Bhīma remained a captive and was placed in charge of a certain Vittapāla.[5] The scattered forces of Bhīma were rallied by one of his friends named Hari. In the ensuing battle Rāmapāla's son contested every inch of ground and at last succeeded in defeating the *Kaivarttas*. Hari was, at last, deprived of his forces, captured and executed with Bhīma. Ḍamara seems to have continued its existence after its sack by Rāmapāla, and even to this day a village named Ḍamaranagara exists close to Rāmapāla's capital. In another verse, Rāmapāla is said to have taken into employ the soldiers of Bhīma.[6] Rāmapāla founded a city named Rāmāvatī at the confluence of the Karatoyā and the Ganges.[7] The site seems to have been selected for Rāmapāla by a chief named Caṇḍeśvara of Śrī-hetu (not Śrī-haṭṭa) and one Kṣemeśvara.[8] The city was beautified within a very short time, and the author has devoted the best part of a chapter to its praise. The only feature, worth mentioning, is a Buddhist Vihāra named Jagaddala-Mahāvihāra, which was built by Rāmapāla in the new city. It is interesting to note that there is a village named Jagaddala close to the ruins of Rāmāvatī. Rāmāvatī continued to be the capital of the Pālas for some time, and Madanapāla's Manahali grant was issued from this place.[9] It continued to be a place of importance for several centuries. In the sixteenth century it gave its name to a fiscal division, and one of the circles in the Sirkar of Lakhnauti was named Ramauti[10] in Akbar's time. Ramauti is an exact transliteration of *Rāmāvatī* as Lakhnauti is of *Lakṣmaṇāvatī*, and the identity of Ramauti with Rāmāvatī has been made certain by the discoveries of Babu Haridās Pālit in the Maldah District. This gentleman has industriously searched the environments of Rāmāvatī and has traced

The campaign, a bridge of boats on the Ganges.

The battle. Capture of Bhīma on the back of an elephant.

The sack of Ḍamara, the enemy's capital.

Rebellion of Hari, defeat, capture and execution with Bhīma.

Foundation of a capital—Rāmāvatī.

[1] L. C. Comm. on V. 10, p. 38. [2] Comm. on V. 16, L.C., p. 40. [3] Comm on V. 20, L.C., p. 41.
[4] Comm. on V. 27, Chap. I, L.C., p. 27. [5] L.C., p. 14; V. 36, Ch. II, p. 45. [6] V. 38, Mem. A.S B., Vol. III, p. 46
[7] V. 10, Ch. III, L.C., p. 47. [8] V. 2, Ch. III, L.C. [9] J.A S.B., 1900, pt. I.
[10] J.R.A.S., 1894, Ain-i-Akbari, Bib. Ind., Vol. II, p. 131.

the following villages bearing ancient names: *Amrauti* or *Ramrauti* (*Rāmāvatī*), Jagadalā (*Jagaddala*), Ḍāmrol (*Ḍamara*).

After the foundation of Rāmāvatī, Rāmapāla engaged in wars with his neighbours. He attacked Utkala and ruled the country up to Kaliṅga,[1] and returned the kingdom of Utkala to the Nāgavaṁśa. His feudatory chief Māyana conquered Kāmarūpa which seems to have been becoming weaker and weaker at this time, as several invasions into that country were led by successive kings of Bengal or their generals, e.g., Māyana sent by Rāmapāla, Vaidyadeva sent by Kumārapāla, Vijayasena and Lakṣmaṇasena. A king of Eastern Bengal sought the protection of Rāmapāla in order to save himself by surrendering to him his best elephants, his coach of state and his armour.[2]

Later wars of Rāmapāla.

Svaparitrāṇanimittaṁ patyā yaḥ prāg-diśīyena ।.
Vara-vāraṇena ca nija-syandana-dānena varmmaṇārādhe ॥.

Rāmacarita III. 44.

This king seems to be one of the Yādavas of Eastern Bengal. Two different powers may have caused him to throw himself under the protection of Rāmapāla: first is an invasion by Pāla forces, and second an invasion of his territories by a new power. Sāmantasena was most probably getting very powerful at this time, and it was he who seems to have caused the Yādava prince to seek the shelter afforded by Rāmapāla.

In his later years Rāmapāla returned to Rāmāvatī, leaving the cares of the management of the state to his eldest son Rājyapāla.[3] About this time Mathanadeva, the king's maternal uncle, died. The king was residing at Mudgiri (*Mudgagiri* or *Mungir*) at this time,[4] and on hearing of his benefactor's death distributed much wealth to the Brāhmaṇas and entered the sacred river Ganges. Mathanadeva must have become a centenarian at the time of his death, and Rāmapāla himself had become a very old man at the time of his death after forty-six years of reign.

Death of Mathanadeva and Rāmapāla.

Tārānātha states that Rāmapāla reigned for forty-six years.[5] This is not impossible as the Caṇḍimau image was dedicated in the 42nd year of the king. We know the names of three of the sons of Rāmapāla, two of whom succeeded him on the throne. His eldest son, Rājyapāla, was an able man, and assisted his father in gaining the throne, in the wars in Vārendrī, and finally in administering the kingdom in his father's old age. He seems to have died during the lifetime of his father, as we find that Kumārapāla succeeded after Rāmapāla's death. His third son, Madanapāla, ascended the throne after the death or dethronement of his brother Kumārapāla's son Gopāla III. We know nothing about the other relations of Rāmapāla except his

Length of reign. Successors.

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[1] Mem. A.S B., Vol. III, p. 50, Ch. III, V. 45.

[2] Mem. A.S.B., Vol III, p. 50. This has also been translated differently by Mr. Maitra. "A King of Eastern Bengal, who held the title of Varman, sought the protection of Ramapala in order to save himself by surrendering his elephants and chariot."

[3] L.C., p. 51, Ch. IV, V. 6. [4] L.C., V. 9. [5] Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXVIII, p. 246.

maternal uncles, Mathanadeva or Mahaṇadeva and Suvarṇadeva and their sons Kāhṇuradeva and Śivarājadeva. Sandhyākaranandi's father, Prajāpatinandi, was the principal minister of peace[1] and war (*Mahāsāndhivigrahika*), but his principal adviser was Bodhideva, son of Yogadeva, the minister of his father Vigrahapāla III.[2]

Ministers.

The earliest record of Rāmapāla is the Tetrawan inscription recording the erection of an image of Tārā by a certain Bhaṭṭa Īcchara, in the 2nd year of the King's reign. This image was discovered by the late Mr. A. M. Broadley, who read the king's name as Rāmapati.[3] Cunningham published it in one of his reports.[4] The inscription was finally published by Babu Nilmani Chackravartti with a good ink impression in 1908.[5] It consists of two lines partly damaged, and is at present in the Indian Museum.

King's reign. Inscriptions and MS. Records.

The next record in order is a manuscript of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā written at Nālandā in the Magadha *viṣaya*. The manuscript was purchased by Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle from Nepal, during his stay in India,[6] and afterwards acquired by the Bodleian Library.[7] It was written in the 15th year of the king and its final colophon runs as follows:—

1.—*ranuttara jñānāvāptaya iti, Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Paramasaugata Śrimad=Rāmapāladeva-pravarddhamāna-vijayarājye pañcadaśame samvatsare abhilikhyamāne yatrāṁkenāpi samvat* 15, *Vaisākṣadine kṛṣṇasaptamyām* 7 *Asti Magadhaviṣaye, Śrī Nālandāvasthita lekhaka Grahaṇakuṇḍena Bhaṭṭārikāpra-*

2.—*jñāpāramitā likhitā iti.*

Late in the king's reign an image of the Bodhisatva Padmapāṇi was dedicated, at or near the modern village of Chaṇḍimau in the Bihar Sub-division of the Patna District by an inhabitant of Rajagṛiha. This inscribed image was discovered by Cunningham in 1877 or 1878,[8] but he did not attempt to read it. No attempt has hitherto been made by anybody else to read this inscription. The image was found lying among the number of broken ones in the outskirt of the village of Chaṇḍimau in August 1911 and was removed to Indian Museum. A part of the inscription was broken owing to careless packing, but fortunately two inked impressions of the inscription were taken while *in situ*, otherwise it would have become quite impossible to read the date, as the part bearing the numerals for the year have disappeared. This is the most interesting part of the epigraph as it proves conclusively that Rāmapāladeva reigned for a considerable length of time, at least 42 years, which made Tārānātha's statement about his length of reign acceptable. Cunningham read the date as 12, but it certainly was 42. The inscription itself runs as follows:—

The date of the Chandimau Image.

(1). *Ye dharmmā hetu prabhavā hetu* (*ṁ*) *teṣām hy=avadat* (*t*) *eṣām* (*ṁ*) *yo nirod-*

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[1] L.C. p. 55, V. 3. [2] Epi. Ind., Vol. II, p. 348. [3] J.A.S.B. 1872, Pt. I, p. 282.
[4] Cunningham's Arch. Survey Rep., Vol. III, p. 124. [5] J. and P.A.S.B., Vol. IV, p. 109, pl. vii.
[6] J.A.S B., 1900, pt. I, p. 100. [7] Cat. Bodleian Liby., Cambridge, Vol. II, p. 250, No. 1428.
[8] Cunningham Arch. Survey Rep., Vol. XI, p. 169.

dho evaṁ vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ | Śrī-mad = Rājagṛha viniṛggatcḥ Etrahāgrāmāvasthitaḥ || Paramopāsaka paramamahājān (ānuy) āyinaḥ || Vaṇika Sādhu.

(2) *Saharaṇasya Sādhu Bhādulvasutasya yadatra puṇyaḥ || Tad-bhavatv-ācaryopā-dhyāya-mātā-pita purvvaṅgama (ṁ) kṛtvā sakala (satva) rāser-ajñāna phalavāptaya iti | | Paramabhaṭṭāraka Parameśvara Paramasau (?)*

(3) ..... *ta | Mahārajādhirāja Śrī-mad = Rāmapāladevapāda pravarddhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijayarājye samvat* 42 *Āṣāḍha dine* 30.

The date is given in the decimal notation so that there remains no doubt about its reading. The first numeral is certainly 4 and not 1. We find it in a contemporary inscription—the Bodh-Gaya inscription of the 74th year of the Lakṣmaṇasena era.[1] The donor, Sādhu Saharaṇa, was most probably Vaiṣya by caste and a merchant by profession. Nothing was known about Rāmapāla and his times twenty years ago. When Mr. Venis was editing the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva, he was faced with great difficulties for want of materials.[2] The date of Vaidyaveva's grant was fixed by him on conjecture. Recent discoveries have proved beyond doubt, that the grant must be placed half a century earlier. Rāmapāla's date was fixed and the events of his reign made known by the discovery of the Rāmacarita of Sandhyākaranandi.[3] Nothing has been stated about, and the place of discovery of, this unique manuscript, by the discoverer himself, in the introduction to his edition of the Rāmacarita, but I have since its publication learnt on enquiry from him that the manuscript was purchased in Nepal in 1897. The manuscript itself consists of two different parts:—(1) The text, which is complete, and (2) the commentary, which is incomplete but older than the text. It runs up to the thirty-fifth verse of the second chapter of the text. The text of the work is written in Bengali characters of the 12th or 13th centuries on strips of palmleaf. It is,

The text of the Rāmacarita.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Śāstrī observes, written in imitation of the Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya, in *double entendre*.[4] The difficulty of understanding such a work is apparent, and had it been discovered without its commentary, it would have been of no use to historians or antiquarians. The principal value of the discovery lies in the commentary. The commentary is a mine of historical information, and supplies the details of the events of Rāmapāla's reign. The style of the composition of the commentary is highly ornamental prose, which makes it very difficult for one to get at the truth. The text does not end after the death of Rāmapāla but continues to describe the events of the reigns of his successors, Kumārapala, Gopāla III, and Madanapāla. If the second part of the commentary is ever recovered, then an abundance of detail will be available, about the events of the time of the three princes mentioned above. There is very little doubt about the fact, that the author of the poem was obliged to write the commentary on it himself. The masses of details which are called up by the use of single works, would have

The Commentary.

The Author.

[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 346.
[2] Epi. Ind., Vol. II, p. 348.
[3] Proc. A.S.B., 1900, p. 70.
[4] Mem. A.S.B., Vol. III, p. 1.

had no meaning to other persons. The author had great facilities for the collection of information as his father was Rāmapāla's Sāndhivigrahika. The comparison of Rāmapāla with Rāma, the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, seems to have been habitual with the courtiers of the 11th century A.D. A verse of the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva mentions the conquest of Mithilā and a king named Bhīma, and at the same time compares Rāmapāla with Rama:—

Tena yena jagat=traye janaka-bhū-lābhād-yathāvad=yaśaḥ.
Kṣauṇī-nāyaka-Bhīma Rāvaṇa-vadhād-yuddhārṇṇav=ollaṁghanāt ||.

verse 4.[1]

According to Lama Tārānatha, Yakṣapāla was a colleague of Rāmapāla.[2] It is stated definitely that this prince was the son of Rāmāpāla who was the son of Hastipāla and was the last prince of the Pāla family.[3] An inscription of a king (*Narendra*) named Yakṣapāla was found at Gayā by Sir Alexander Cunningham and published by the late Dr. Kielhorn in 1887. But the king mentioned in this record cannot be the same person as that mentioned by Lama Tārānatha as Rāmapāla's son, as the genealogy of this Yakṣapāla is given in the inscription. He is the son of Viśvāditya, who built the temple of Gadādhara,[4] of Akṣayavaṭa and of Prapitāmaheśvara, the grandson of Śūdraka. The family was a very important one during the reigns of Nayapāla Vigrahapāla and his sons. The following inscriptions of the family have been discovered at Gaya:—

Yaksapala of Gaya.

(1) Inscription on the gate of the modern Kṛṣṇa-Dvārika temple, recording the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu by a low class Brāhmaṇa named Viśvāditya in the 15th year of Nayapāladeva.[5]

(2) Inscription inside the small temple dedicated to Narasiṁha in the courtyard of the Viṣṇupāda temple recording the erection of a temple to Gadādhara and several other minor shrines—by one Viśvarūpa of the same lineage as Viśvāditya in No. 1.[6]

(3) Inscription broken into two parts in the wall of small shrine under the Akṣayavaṭa at Gayā, recording the erection of two temples of Śiva—Vateśa and Prapitāmahésvara—by the same Viśvāditya.[7]

(4) Inscription under the image of Gadādhara at Gayā—begins with an invocation to the Sun-god and mentioning Paritoṣa, the grandfather of Viśvāditya.[8]

(5) The Sītalā temple inscription of Yakṣapāla recording the erection of a temple dedicated to various deities and digging a tank named *Uttaramānasa*.[9]

The last inscription was published in 1887 and at that time the late Dr. Kielhorn was of opinion that "the characters of the inscription are Devanāgarī, or to be more particular, a kind of Devanāgarī, which appears to have been current in the 12th century A.D." But if the characters of this inscription are compared with those of the Narasiṁha temple inscription of Nayapāladeva, on the one hand, and the

[1] Epi. Ind., Vol II. p. 351.
[2] Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXVIII, p. 243.
[3] Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 64.
[4] See ante, p. 79.
[5] J.A.S.B. 1900, pt. I, pp. 192-93.
[6] See ante, p. 78.
[7] See ante, p. 81.
[8] See ante, p. 82.
[9] Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 64.

Gadādhara temple inscription of Govindapāladeva, it will be found that the characters of the inscription of Yakṣapala are more akin to those of Krisṇa-Dvārika, Narasiṁha temple and Akṣayavaṭa than to the latter. In my humble opinion the characters belong to the middle of the 11th century A.D. The inscription was edited without a facsimile and could not be traced easily. Kielhorn had stated that it had been found at Satighat in Gayā, but I could not find any Satighat or any old inscription. The inscription was eventually found hidden behind a door inside a small temple, on the side of a paved tank, called the Śītalā temple, close to the river Phalgu, and just behind the Gaya Zilla School. Dr. Kielhorn's edition is transcribed below, with the exception of the last word which he could not read from the rubbings :—

1. *Oṁ namaḥ Sūryāya || Viṣaya-madhūtkara-pūrṇṇaṁ Prāṇi-nikāy-āli viśva-śata patraṁ Aṣṭāśā-dala-ramyaṁ prakāśayan-navatu vo bhānuḥ ||.*

2. *Tīrthaṁ phalgu-taṭ-ādi-tīrtha-ghaṭanā-vyājena sopāninī gantṛṇāṁ paramasya dhauta-tamasāṁ dhāmno Gayā rājate | Śrī maty-aiva ya-*

3. *—yā mahīmaya-milac-citrasya jīv-ātmanā śilp-otkarṣam-amanyat-ātmani vidhiḥ kṛtvā trilokīm-api || Asyāṁ vabhūva ripu-vṛndam-a-*

4. *—nindya-sauryaḥ kurvvan-vana-praṇayi pattra-niketanastaṁ | Śrī Śūdrakaḥ svayam-apujayad-indra-kalpo Gauḍeśvaro nṛpati-lakṣaṇa-puja-*

5. *—yāyaṁ || Tasmād-adbuta-pauruṣāmvudhir-abhūt Śrī-Viśvarūpo nṛpaḥ kīrtti-śrī-matayaḥ svayaṁvaratayā bhejur-yam-ekaṁ patiṁ A*

6. *—dyāpisphurad-ugra-vikrama-kathām-ākarṇṇayad-yasya ca svāsaṁbhūtim-arāti-cakram-asama-ttrāsāt-tadā ślāghate || Laksmīṁ ripoḥ*

7. *sva-bhuja-vīrya-vasīkṛtāṁ yo bhogyāṁ tathā vihitavān dvijapuṅgavānāṁ | Eṣāṁ yathā yuvatayo dyutim-ādadhānā nā-*

8. *—kāṅganā iva virejur-ilātalepi || Yasy-ojvalena yaśasā bhramatā samantāccakre ciraṁ dhavalite vidiśāṁ di-*

9. *—Śāñ-ca lokeṣv-abhiprathayituṁ mṛga-lāñchanaḥ svaṁmeṇāṅkam-ulvaṇa mahar-nniśam-ādadhāti || Yen-ādy-āpi cakāśati prati-di-*

10. *—śaṁ devalayāḥ kāritā bhuyāṅso hima-dīdhiti-dyuti-muṣo mediny-alaṁkāri-ṇaḥ | Murtyāyāmatayā himādri-śikhara-spa-*

11. *—rddh-occhritair-mūrddhabhiḥ kurvvanto viyati skhaladgatiratham prasthā nadustham raviṁ || Dharmmasya hṛdya iva sūnur-ajātaśatrus-tasy-ātha-*

12. *dhairya-nilayo-jani Yakṣapālaḥ | Luptakratau Kaliyugasya vijṛmbhite yaḥ kāmān-bhṛśaṁ kratubhujaḥ kratubhiḥ pu–*

13. *–poṣa || Pluṣṭo-naṅgatayā pareṣv-ayam-ayaṁ bhikṣā-bhujā-nirjjitaḥ sarvveṇ āpy-avalā-valoyaṁ-acirasthāyī mano-bhūr-a-*

14. *yaṁ | Ity-anyo vidhinā manojña tanu-bhṛj-jetā dviṣāṁ yo bhujādaṇḍ-aika pravalaḥ sthiro yudhi sadā mīnadhvajo nirmmi-*

15. *—taḥ || Bhūbhāro rohana-bhūditara-taru-tulām-āśritaḥ kalpa-śākhī kiṁdhenuḥ kāmadhenuḥ kṣititala-parikhā kīrtti-*

16. *—pātraṁ payodhiḥ | Ity-āśann-ādi-dātṛin-prati jagati giro gīyamānā narendre yasminn-abhyarthamānair-vvasubhir-aviratam tarppayaty-arthisā-*

17. *—rthān || Yad-dhṛt-padma-kuṭīraka-praṇayitām-āpādite śrī-patau suprīte vyabhicāranītv-aratayā bhaktyā parikrīḍitaṁ | Arthibhyo vi-*

18. *—niyuktay-āpy-anudinaṁ pātre sucau jātayā mat-svāmi-priyavāsa eṣa iti yaḥ kāmaṁ śriyā saṁśritaḥ || Maunāditya-Sahaśralinga-*

19. *Kamal-ārddhāṅgīṇa-Nārāyaṇa-Dvistomeśvara-Phalgunātha-Vijayādity-āhvayānāṁ kṛtī | sa prāsādam-acīkarad-dviviṣadāṁ Kedāradevasya*

20. *ca khyātasy-Ottaramānasasya khananaṁ sattraṁ tathā c-ākṣaye || Sūrya-candramasau yāvad-yāvat kṣaunī sasāgara | Tāvat śrī Yakṣapālasya rā-*

21. *—jantāṁ bhuvi kīrttayaḥ || Nyāya-vidyā-vidāṁ śreyān-Āgīgrāma kulodbhavaḥ Śrī-Murārir-dvija-śreṣṭhaḥ praśastim-akarod-imāṁ.*

22. *Likhit-āsau Śrī Padmapāniṇā ||*

The characters of this inscription cannot be said to belong to the 12th century A.D., as the form of the test letters are much earlier than those of RĀMAPĀLA. Most probably Yakṣapāla assumed independence during the troublesome times of the reigns of Vigrahapāla III, Mahīpāla II and Śūrapāla II. Perhaps he was contemporary of Rāmapāla during the earlier part of the latter's reign. He is not mentioned in the Rāmacarita, and most probably he was subdued by Rāmapāla's maternal uncle, Mathanadeva, who is styled *Magadhādhipa* in the commentary. He might have continued to reign either as a subordinate prince, or as an independent one, because no evidence is forthcoming to prove that any of the Pāla Emperors after Rāmapāla held any part of Western Magadha or South-Western Behar. Rāmapāla's inscriptions have been discovered in Eastern Magadha, but no Pāla record after the time of Vigrahapāla III have been found in the Gayā or Śhahabad District, except the two inscriptions of Govindapāladeva. Another powerful dynasty of kings, who founded their monarchy on the ruins of the second Pāla Empire, was that of the Varmans of Eastern Bengal.

Four records of this dynasty have come to light as yet:—

(1) Bhuvaneśvara inscription of the time of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva.[1]

(2) The unpublished copper-plate grant of Harivarmmadeva, which has been noticed by Babu Nagendra Natha Basu in *Vaṅgera Jātīya Itihāsa,*" Vol. II, p. 215 and plate. This copperplate grant was seen and examined by the author several years ago. It was obtained from the late Mr. Hari Nath De, and was photographed with the permission of the owner. Very little can be made out of the grant at present.

(3) A manuscript of the "*Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*" written in the 19th year of Harivarmmadeva, recently acquired by me.

(4) The Belabo grant of Bhojavarman. According to the genealogy given in the inscription, the Varmans were descended from the race of Yadu. In that race were a lines of princes, who ruled at Siṁhapura, which was in the Punjab, as we know from the Lakkha-mandal-praśasti of the Princess Īśvarā. Vajravarman of that dynasty was the founder of a kingdom in Eastern Bengal. His son, Jātavar-

[1] Epi. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 203.

man, was, as we have seen, the contemporary of Vigrahapāla III, who defeated the Cedī King Karṇṇa in Aṅga, and obtained the hand of his daughter Vīra-Śrī, conquered Kāmarūpa and Govarddhana, and acquired paramount power. His son was Sāmalavarman, about whom we do not know much. The accounts of Sāmalavarman as found in the genealogical works are wholly imaginary. He was succeeded by his son Bhojavarman. The characters of the new grant show that Harivarman and his father Jyotirvarman cannot either be placed before Vajravarman or taken to be his descendants, because most probably Sāmantasena made an end of the Yādava kingdom of Eastern Bengal shortly afterwards. So it appears probable that the two dynasties were to some extent contemporaneous.

The first inscription has indeed been published by the late Dr. Kielhorn, but no facsimile was published at that time. A complete analysis of the characters of these three records or an attempt to fix the date of Harivarman would be out of place here. I intend very shortly to publish another paper on the inscription and the chronology of the Varman kings. It might suffice here to say that the copperplate of Harivarmmadeva, though in a very bad state of preservation, gives us the name of the king and his father. The last line of the first side and the first line of the second contained the following sentences:—

Mahārājādhirāja-Srīmad-Jyotirvarmmadeva-pādānudhyāta Paramavaiṣṇava-Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmad-Harivarmmadeva kuśalī.

The grant itself was issued from the victorious camp of Vikramapura, and from it we learn that part at least of Eastern Bengal belonged to Harivarmmadeva and that he was preceded by his father Jyotirvarmmadeva on the throne. The characters of the records of those dynasties show that Harivarman cannot be placed in the 12th century A.D. Consequently it must be admitted that his father Jyotirvarmman has to be placed in the earlier decades of the 11th century. The dynasty seems to have continued for three or four generations. We learn from Bhuvaneśvara inscription that Bhavadeva I received the village of Hastinībhiṭṭa from the King of Gauḍa. His son was Rathāṅga, whose son was Atyaṅga, and from him was descended Ādideva, who was the minister of peace and war (*Sāndhivigrahika*) of the king of Vaṅga. It is stated in verse 3 that the family settled in the village of Siddhala in Rāḍhā. Ādideva's son was Govarddhana who was renowned as a warrior and most probably served under Jyotirvarmmadeva. His son Bhavadeva II was the minister of Harivarmmadeva and of his son also.

The newly discovered Belabo plate records the grant of 9 *droṇas* of land in the village of Upyalikā, in the sub-division of Kauśāmvi-Aṣṭagaccha in the *Maṇḍala* or District of Adhaḥpattana, in the Division or *Bhukti* of Pauṇḍravarddhana, to a Brāhmaṇa of the Yajur-deva, named Rāmadevaśarman, son of Viśvarūpadevaśarman, grandson of Jagannāthadevaśarman and great-grandson of Pītāmbaradevaśarman, who was an inhabitant of the village of Siddhala, in Northern Rāḍhā, and had emigrated from Madhyadeśa or Kanauj.

The last line of the Bhuvaneswar inscription of Bhavadeva contained his surname—

Vālavalabhī-bhujaṅga.

Vālavalabhī is mentioned as the name of a country in the Rāmacarita of Sandhyākaranandi. Vikramarāja of Devagrāma in Vālavalabhī had fought with Rāmapāla, in the war, in Varendra.[1] Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Sastri had identified Vālavalabhi with *Bāgḍī*. He translates the passage of the commentary as follows :—

"Vikramarāja, the Rājā of Devagrāma and the surrounding country, washed by the waves of the rivers of Vāla-Valabhī or Bāgḍi, one of the five provinces into which Bengal was divided." The identification stands without any support. From the description given in the commentary on the Ramacarita it appears that Vālavalabhī was pre-eminently a land of rivers, and must be identified either with Eastern or Southern Bengal. The mention of Vikramapura in the copperplate grant of Harivarman does not help us in fixing the chronology of the Varmans. It may be that both dynasties occupied different parts of East Bengal at the same time and may have laid claim to the ownership of the city of Vikramapur. So far we have no positive evidence to prove that Jyotirvarman and Harivarman were descended from the Yādava Vajravarman, and we can only assume that they belong to co-lateral branches of the same family.

The invasion of the great southern conqueror Rājendra Coḷa I seems to have left some permanent marks in Bengal. We learn from the Sītāhāṭī grant of Vallālasena, that the ancestors of Sāmantasena, the grandfather of Vijayasena, lived in the country of Rāḍhā.[2] All Sena inscriptions agree in stating that the Sena kings were descended from a family of Karṇāṭa Kṣatriyas, i.e. from a family which originally came from the Kanarese-speaking districts of Southern India. Though the Cālukya King, Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāna, is said to have invaded Bengal during the lifetime of his father Somesvara I,[3] it cannot be said that the Cālukya Kings effected any permanent conquest in Eastern India. But, on the other hand, Vilhaṇadeva's remarks should be taken with great reservation, as none of the records of the Cedīs of Tripurī or Ratnapura mention any Cālukya invasion of Northern India in the middle of the 11th century A.D. On the other hand, Rājendra Coḷa I defeated the Cālukya King, Jayasiṁha II, at Muyaṅgi or Musaṅgi, and though Cālukyan poets state that the Cālukyas defeated the Coḷas, the definite terms of the Melpāḍi inscription leave no doubt about the fact that the defeat of the Cālukya Kings was decisive, and Rājendra Coḷa I obtained a large amount of treasure from him.[4] Some obscure Karṇāta Chief seems to have followed Rājendra Coḷa I and settled in Western Bengal after the defeat of his Chief on the banks of the Ganges. From him was descended Sāmantasena, who is generally taken to be the founder of the Sena Dynasty. He seems to have succeeded in carving out a small principality for himself in Western Bengal. In the Deopara *praśasti* of his grandson, Vijayasena, it is stated that he, Sāmantasena, defeated his enemies after being surrounded by them.[5]

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[1] Mem. A.S.B., Vol. III, p. 36, Comm. on V, p. 5.

[2] Vangīya Sāhitya Pariṣad-Patrikā, Vol. XVII, Pt. IV, p. 235, v. 3.

[3] *Vikramāṅkadeva Caritam.* (Ed. Bühler, III. 74).

[4] South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, No. 18, p. 27.

[5] Epi. Ind., Vol. II, p. 124.

None of the Sena Princes are mentioned in the list of Rāmapāla's feudatories, and most probably their relations with the Imperial Pālas were not cordial. Sāmantasena, probably, came to power during the disturbances, in the earlier part of the reign of Vigrahapāla III. We know nothing about his son, Hemantasena, who was most probably a very tame vassal of the Emperor Rāmapāladeva.

Officers.

Rāmapāla's minister was Bodhideva, the son of Yogadeva, who was the prime minister of his father Vigrahapāla III. His minister for peace and war (Sāndhi-vigrahika) was Prajāpatinandi, the father of Sandhyākaranandi. Māyana, one of his principal generals, conquered Assam[1] for him, and according to Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī, his Chief Medical Officer was Bhadreśvara.[2]

[1] Mem. A.S.B., Vol. III, p. 50, Comm. on v. 47. [2] Ibid., p. 15.

CHAPTER VI.

The Last Kings.

Rāmapāladeva was succeeded by his second son Kumārapāla about the year 1097 A.D. Immediately after Kumārapāla's accession, rebellions broke out throughout the kingdom. In Assam, which had been conquered for Rāmapāla by the feudatory chief Māyana, Tiṅgyadeva raised the standard of rebellion. Southern Bengal and Western Bengal were overrun by the King of Orissa, Anantavarmman *Coḍagaṅga*. Sandhyākaranandi dismisses Kumārapāla with a single verse:—

Kumārapāla.

Atha rakṣatā (?) *Kumārodita pṛthu-paripanthi-pārthiva-pramadaḥ | Rājyam-upabhujya bharasya sūnur-agamad=divaṁ tanu-tyāgāt.* ||—v. 11.[1]

This most probably indicates that Kumārapāla reigned for a very short time. But during this short reign, he succeeded in obtaining decisive victories in Assam and in Southern Bengal with the aid of his Minister Vaidyadeva, who was the son of Yogadeva, the Prime Minister of Rāmapāla. We learn from the Kamauli Grant of Vaidyadeva that Kumārapāla having learnt of the disaffection of the feudatory chief of Kāmārūpa, named Tiṅgyadeva, deputed Vaidyadeva to overcome him. Vaidyadeva having received a promise of obtaining the kingdom after its conquest, reached Assam by forced marches and defeated Tiṅgyadeva:—

Etādṛśe hari-harid-bhuvi satkṛtasya Śrī-Tiṅgyadeva nṛpater-vvikṛtiṁ niśamya Gauḍeśvareṇa bhuvi tasya nareśvaratve Śrī-Vaidyadeva urukīrttir-iyāṁ niyuktaḥ. ||—v. 13-14.[2]

About this time Anantavarmman *Coḍagaṅga* invaded Western Bengal and overran the country up to the banks of the Ganges:—

Gṛhṇāti-sma karaṁ bhūmer-gaṅgā-gotama-gaṅgayoḥ | Madhye paśyatsu vīreṣu prauḍhaḥ prauḍha-striyā iva. v. 22.[3]

Rāmapāladeva conquered Utkala and Kaliṅga during the reign of either Rāja-Rāja I or his son Anantavarmman. It appears that Anantavarmman invaded the territories of the Pāla Kings immediately after the death of Rāmapāla. It may be mentioned in this connection that Vaidyadeva is said to have obtained a naval victory in Southern Bengal, and it is quite possible that this victory was obtained over the naval forces of Anantavarmman:—

War with the King of Orissa.

Yasy-ānuttara-vaṅga-saṅgara-jaye nauvāṭa-hīhīrava-trastair-ddik-karibhiś-ca yan-na calitaṁ cen-nāsti tad-gamya-bhūḥ Kiñ-c-otpātukake-nipāta-patana-protsarpitaiḥ śīkarair-ākāśe sthiratā kṛtā yadi bhavet-syān-niṣkalaṅkaḥ śasī. v. 11.[4]

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[1] Mem. A.S.B, Vol. III, p. 51.
[2] Epi Ind., Vol. II., p. 351.
[3] J.A.S.B. 1896, Pt. I, p. 239.
[4] Epi. Ind., Vol. II, p. 351.

Nothing is known about the extent of Kumārapāla's reign or the date of his death. But he does not appear to have reigned more than two or three years. He was succeeded by his infant son Gopāladeva (Gopāla III) III:—

Pratyarthi-pramadā-kadamvaka-śiraḥ-sindūra-lopakrama-krīḍā-paṭala-pāṇir-eṣa suṣuve Gopālam-ūrvvi-bhujaṁ | Dhātrī-pālana-jṛmbhamāna-mahimā-karpūra-pāṁś-ūtkarair-devaḥ kīrttiṁ-a-yonijaṁ vitanute yaḥ śaiśave krīḍitaṁ.[1] v. 17.

The infant king seems to have been murdered very soon after his accession:—

Api śatrughnopāyād-gopālaḥ svar-jagāma tatsūnuḥ | Hantu (ḥ) kumbhīnasyās-tanayasy-aitasya sāmayikam-etat.[2] v. 12.

A posthumous record of this king has been discovered by Babu Aksaya Kumāra Maitreya at Manda in the District of Rajshahi and presented to the Indian Museum. The palaeography points to the later part of the 11th and the earlier part of the 12th century as its date. The record is full of mistakes and is untranslatable:—

1. *Oṁ sura-sarid-uru-vīcīḥ sīkarau kunda-gauraur-vviracita parabhāgo vāla ca-*
2. *ndr-āvatansaḥ diśatu sivamajansraṁ | śambhu-koṭīra-bhāra kalama-kaṇisa roci-*
3. *rmmaṁjarī piṁjarīsu || Śri-mad-Gopāladevas-tridīva muṣarātaḥ svepva-*
4. *-yā tyakta kāsas-tasy-āhaṁ pāda-dhūli-prathita iti nijaṁ nāḥ | Vuddhām-asthīta-pre-*
5. *-trājñā-pratijño nisita-sarasavai Purasenasakṛsāṣṭau nisyajā-dallirā*
6. *jā tṛidaśapuram-agād-Aiḍadeva kṛtajñaḥ || Svataṁ tvato vadhū ya saṅgarāt prāpya*
7. *Candra-kiraṇ-āmalaṁ yasaḥ krīḍati tṛdaśasundarī Dṛso deva-eva Śūbhadeva nanda-*
8. *-naḥ || Artha tadanuga-gīta-vilāsaḥ dharmmadhvara-masthara-galavāsaḥ Dāmaśūra sasa-*
9. *-maṁ vāhitaveśaḥ sa yayate Śrī-sāmbhāvakadāsaḥ dagdhā yatra madadbhūtāḥ śara-śa-*
10. *-ndhāna-pūritā yatra Bhāvakadāsena Kṛtā kīrṇṇā virājateḥ || Rātokena le-*
11. *khitavya.*

We can recognize only a number of names:—

(1) *Gopāladeva*, (2) *Dāmaśūra*, (3) *Aiḍadeva*, (4) *Subhadeva*, (5) *Purasena*, (6) *Sāmbhāvakadāsa*, (7) *Bhāvakadasa* and (8) *Rātoka*, the scribe.

His murder by Uadanapāla.

The murder of the infant king and the subsequent accession of his uncle Madanapāla seems to point to a parallel of the murder of the infant King Edward V by his uncle Richard III. About this time some dispute seems to have arisen about the succession, and ultimately Madanapāla's party seems to have triumphed. Vaidyadeva ignores Madanapāla completely in the Kamauli copper-plate grant issued in the fourth year of his reign, and so it must be admitted that Vaidyadeva declared his independence after the murder of Gopala III. Till the reign of Madanapāla the Pāla Kingdom consisted of Eastern Magadha and Northern Bengal.

[1] J.A.S.B., 1900, Pt. I, p. 71.

[2] Mem. A.S.B., Vol. III, p. 51.

Taking advantage of the internal dissensions in the Pāla Kingdom, Vijayasena seems to have strengthened himself in Eastern and Western Bengal, and when the weakness of the Pālas under Madanapāla became apparent, he invaded Northern Bengal and succeeded in wresting the southern part of Varendra. Madanapāladeva seems to have continued to hold the northern part of Varendra, as his Manahali Grant was issued in the 8th year of his reign from the royal city of Rāmāvatī.[1]

Conquest of Southern Varendra.

We learn from the Deopārā inscription that Vijayasena attacked the King of Gauḍa with great force:—

Tvaṁ Nānya-Vīra-vijay-īti giraḥ kavīnāṁ śrutvāś-nyathā-manana-rūḍha-nigūḍha roṣaḥ | Gauḍendram-adravad-apākṛta Kāmarūpabhūpaṁ Kaliṅgam-api yas-tarasā jigāya. v. 20.[2]

Most probably Madanapāla is the Gauḍendra mentioned in the verse quoted above. It is stated in the Deopārā inscription that Vijayasena defeated and imprisoned the King of Mithilā named Nānyadeva, so most probably Vijayasena conquered the remaining portion of Varendra before he turned his attention towards the neighbouring district of Mithilā.

Conquest of Northern Varendra.

Vijayasena invades Magadha.

Madanapāla's dominions were confined to the limits of Magadha after this. Vijayasena did not remain content with Varendra. He despatched a flotilla of armed boats for the conquest of the Western regions.

Pāścātya-cakra-jayakeliṣu yasya yāvad-Gaṁgā-pravāham-anudhāvati nauvitāne Bharggasya mauli-sarid-ambhasi bhasma-paṅka-lagn-ojjhit-eva tarir-indu kalā cakāsti. v. 22.[3]

But the expedition does not seem to have been very successful, as otherwise the incident would surely have been mentioned in Sena inscriptions. Madanpāladeva was greatly assisted in his war against Vijayasena by Candradeva, the founder of the Gahaḍavālā Dynasty of Kanauj. The author of the Rāmacarita has gratefully acknowledged this in his work:—

Siṁhī-suta-vikrānten-arjjuna-dhāmnā bhuvaḥ pradīpena | Kamalā-vikāśa-veṣaja vīṣajā Candreṇa vandhunopetām || 20. Caṇḍī-caraṇa-saroja-prasāda-sampanna-vigraha-Śrīkaṁ | Na khalu Madanaṁ s-āṅgeśam-īśáṁ agād jagad-vijayalakṣmīḥ v. 21.[4]

Madanapāla seems to have been defeated by Vijayasena some time after the year 1108 A.D., which is the probable date of his Manahali inscription, when Candradeva was dead. Candradeva must have died before 1104 A.D., as in that year the Basāhi Plates of his grandson Govinda-Candra were issued, and that prince is styled "Mahārājaputra", so it must be admitted that Candradeva had ceased to reign at that time, and his son Madanpāla sat on the throne.[5]

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[1] J.A.S.B., 1900, Pt. I, p. 93. [2] Epi. Ind., Vol. I, p. 306. [3] Ibid., p. 307.
[4] Mem. A.S.B., Vol. III, p. 307. [5] Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 103.

Nothing is known about Madanapāla save that he continued to reign for about eleven years longer. Nothing is known about his sons or successors, their extent of reigns or dominion. About fifty years after Madanapāla's death, another prince of the Pāla Dynasty seems to have reigned in Magadha, but about this we shall have to speak later on.

Inscriptions.

Four inscriptions of Madanapāla have been discovered up to date, of which three are votive inscriptions, incised on the pedestals of images, while the remaining one is on a copper-plate. The earliest inscription is the "Manahali" Grant, which records the grant of a village, perhaps named Kāṣṭhagiri, in the *Kotīvarṣa-Visaya* of the *Paunḍravardhana Bhukti*, to a Brāhmaṇa named Vaṭeśvarasvāmi-śarmman, an inhabitant of Campāhiṭṭi, as dakṣiṇā for having read the Mahābhārata to the great queen (*Paṭṭa-Mahādevī*) Citramatikā, on the 15th day of the month of Caitra, in the 8th year of the King's reign. The order confirming the grant was issued from the city of Rāmāvatī, which had been founded by Rāmapāla.[1] An image of *Ṣaṣṭhī* dedicated in the same year was discovered by Cunningham on Bihar Hill, but it cannot be traced at present.[2] Another image dedicated on the 30th Āśvina of the 19th year of the King was also discovered by Cunningham at Jayanagar, near Lakhisarai, in the Monghyr District;[3] but this image also is missing at present.

Vijayasena.

After conquering Varendra, Vijayasena founded a new capital on the northern bank of the Ganges and named it after himself. The new capital was situated close to Rāmāvatī and its ruins have recently been discovered by the Varendra Research Society.[4] He built a new temple of Siva named "Pradyumneśvara" on the bank of a large tank, the site of which also has been identified by the Varendra Archæological Society. This temple was situated in the village of Devapārā or Deopārā, which is about six miles distant from Vijaypur Milik, the site of Vijayapur, the capital founded by Vijayasena. Vijaypur Milik itself is situated on the banks of the river Ganges, about ten miles due east from the town of Rampur-Boalia.

His conquest.

After defeating the King of Gauḍa, who has been identified with Madanapāla, Vijayasena attacked Mithilā and conquered several Kings, viz., *Rāghava*, *Vardhana* and *Vīra*.[5] He led an expedition to Kāmarūpa and most probably succeeded in overthrowing Vaidyadeva or his successor.[6] We learn from the Deopara Inscription that he defeated the King of Kaliṅga. Most probably Anantavarmman *Coḍagaṅga* led another raid into Western Bengal, but was repulsed by Vijayasena. Vijayasena's dominions comprised of Eastern Bengal, Western Bengal and Northern Bengal. An unpublished copper-plate grant of this King was issued from the victorious camp at Vikramapura, and so it must be admitted that Eastern

His Kingdom.

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1 J.A.S.B., 1900, Pt. i, p. 71. 2 A.S.R., Vol. III, p. 124, No. 16. Epi. Ind., Vol. V. App. p. 87, Note 4.
3 Ibid., p. 125, No. 17, Vol. XV, p. 174; Epi. Ind., Vol. V, App. p. 87, No. 645. 4 Gauḍarājamālā, p. 65.
5 Epi. Ind., Vol. I, p. 309. 6 Ibid.

Bengal formed a part of his kingdom, and also that the Varmman Dynasty had ceased to reign. The kingdom was bounded on the East by that of Nānyadeva in Mithila and that of Madanapāla in Magadha. Vijayasena must have reigned for at least forty years, as his newly-discovered copper-plate grant was issued in the 37th year of his reign. He was succeeded by his son Vallālasena, and the name of his wife Vilāsadevī is known to us both from his own copper-plate grant and that of his son. Only two inscriptions of Vijayasena have been discovered up to date. The most important one is the Deopārā praśasti, recording the erection of the temple of Pradyūmneśvara, which must form the basis of all new accounts of the Sena Dynasty, for some years to come. The other inscription is the newly-discovered copper-plate grant, which was brought to me for decipherment by a friend several years ago, but which I am unable to trace at present. This plate records the grant of a village to a Brāhmaṇa of Śāṇḍilya Gotra as the *dakṣinā* of the *Tulāpuruṣa ceremony* performed by the Queen Vilāsadevi, and was issued from Vikrampura in the 37th year of the King. Vijayasena's death seems to have taken place about the year 1108 A.D. Vijayasena was succeeded by his son Vallālasenadeva, who seems to have been an aged man when he came to the throne. His name is well known throughout Bengal as the founder of Kulinism. But as neither his own copper-plates nor those of his son Lakṣmaṇasena contain any references to Kulinism, even when referring to Brāhmaṇas to whom land was granted, the legend about its origin should be accepted with great caution. The whole system may be of much later origin and of no historical importance at all. Vallālasena's dates, as found in some works on Law and Astronomy, the authorship of which are ascribed to him, are misleading. These dates are found in some verses in the Dānasāgara, a work on Law, and in the Adbhūtasāgara, a work on Astronomy. I have pointed out elsewhere that these verses are not to be found in all manuscripts of these two works, and should, therefore be taken as later additions.[1] According to these verses, the Dānasāgara was compiled by Vallālasena in S. 1091 = 1169 A.D.[2] and the Adbhūtasāgara was begun by him in S. 1090 = 1168 A.D.[3] Mr. Manomohan Chakravartti has discovered another verse in the Dānasāgara, according to which Vallālasena ascended the throne in S. 1081 = 1159 A.D.[4], but these verses are hardly of an historical importance, as they appear to be later additions. If, on later enquiry, these verses can be found in all the manuscripts discovered, even then they cannot be accepted as basis for the construction of a chronology, so long as they are to be found in modern manuscripts. If they can be found in manuscript records of the 12th and 13th century A.D., then only these dates can be accepted as correct. I have tried to show elsewhere that the Bodh-Gayā inscriptions of Aśokacalla[5] prove that Lakṣmaṇasena died before 1070 A.D.,[6] consequently, unless some contemporary

Length of reign: Successors and relations: Inscriptions.

[1] J.A.S.B., Vol. IX (New Series), p. 272.

[2] Ibid., 1896, Pt. I, p. 23; Eggeling's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in India Office Library, p. 545.

[3] Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. during 1887—88 and 1890—91, p. lxxxv.

[4] J.A.S.B. (N. S.), 1906, p. 17, Note.

[5] Cunningham's Mahabodhi, p. 78, and Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 341.

[6] J.A.S.B. (N. S.), Vol. IX, p. 272.

record can be cited as evidence, it cannot be said, on the basis of the verses in the Dān asāgara and the Adbhūtasāgara, that Vallālasena came to the throne in 1159 A.D. and wrote a book on Law ten years later. Only one inscription of this King has been discovered up to date This is a copper-plate grant discovered in January, 1911, at Sītāhāṭi, near Kātwā, in the Burdwan District of Bengal. It records the grant of the village of Vāllahiṭṭa in the Uttara Rāḍhā *Maṇḍala* of the Varddhamāna *bhukti* to a Brāhmaṇa named Ovāsudeva-Śarmman as the *Dakṣiṇā* of the *Hemāśva-Mahādāna* (the gift of a golden horse), performed by the Queen Vilāsadevi, the King's mother, on the 16th Vaiśākha in the 11th year of his reign.[1] The Dūtaka of this grant was the King's minister of peace and war, *Hari-ghoṣa*, who is the only officer of Vallālasena whose name has come down to us. Vallālasena married Rāmadevī of the Calukya family and was succeeded by his son Lakṣmaṇasena. As the initial year of the Laksmanasena era is 1119-20 A.D., so Lakṣmaṇasena must have ascended the throne in that year, consequently, Vallālasena cannot be taken to have reigned more than 12 or 13 years. He seems to have been a peaceably inclined, weak, old man, studious in his habits, and a patron of Brāhmanism. Both he and his father seem to have belonged to the Śaiva sect, as their inscriptions begin with an invocation to Śiva.

Inscription.

Step by step, the Gāhaḍavāla Kings of Kanauj advanced towards the East. Govindacandra seems to have conquered the whole of Magadha in the earlier part of his reign (1114 = 54 A.D.). In 1127 he was in a position to grant a village in the Patna District to a Brāhmaṇa. An unpublished grant, a photograph of which has been kindly lent to me by Prof. Jadunath Sircar, M.A., of the Patna College, records the donation of the village of Pādoli, together with the village of Guṇāve in the Maṇiari *Pattalā*, to a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa Gotra named Gaṇeśvara-Śarman, after bathing in the Ganges at Kānyakubja, on Sunday, the 11th of the dark half of Jyaiṣṭha of the Vikrama year 1183 = 1127 A.D. I have been given to understand by Prof. Sircar that this new inscription will shortly be published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The invasion of Magadha by the Gāhaḍavāla King seems to have led to hostilities between Govindacandra and Lakṣmaṇasena. In the Madanapāḍa Grant of Viśvarūpasena and Ḍdilpur Grant of Keśavasena, Lakṣmaṇasena is said to have erected pillars of victory at Benares (*Vārāṇasī*) and at Allahabad (*Triveṇī*).

Gāhaḍavāla Conquest of Magadha.

The Patna Grant of Govindacandra, V.S. 1183.

Belāyāṁ dakṣinavdher-mmūśala-dhara gadāpāṇi saṁvāsavedyāṁ Tīrotsaṅge triveṇyāh kamalabhava-makhārambha nirvvyājapute yen-occair-yajña-yūpaiḥ saha samara-jayastambhamālā nyadhāyi. v.[2]

The Maṇiari *Pattalā* mentioned in the copper-plate grant of Govindacandra mentioned above has been identified with the modern Muner, a village of considerable importance in the Patna District, which was a well-known place in the 12th century. Bakhtiyar Khilji directed some of his expeditions against this town before the

[1] Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, Vol XVII, Pt IV, pp. 237-38.

[2] J.A.S.B., Vol. VII, p. 43, and Vol. 1896, Pt. I, p. 9.

conquest of Bihar and Bengal.[1] Govindacandra advanced as far as Monghyr in the year 1146 A.D. and granted the village of Tatacavāḍa in the Paṇḍalā *Pattalā*, in Govisāloka, that belonged to Dudhāli in Saruvāra, to a Brāhmana named Ṭhakkura Śrīdhara, after bathing in the Ganges at Mudgagiri (Monghyr) on the occasion of the Akṣayatṛtīya, on Monday the 3rd of the bright half of the Vaiśākha of the Vikrama year 1202, the 15th April, 1146 A.D.[2] Govindacandra was most probably leading an expedition into Bengal when he bathed in the Ganges at Monghyr, and granted the village mentioned above. The expedition was no doubt unsuccessful, because, otherwise, the event would surely have been mentioned in some Gahaḍavāla inscription. The use of the era of Lakṣmaṇasena in two inscriptions at Bodh-Gayā[3] prove that in spite of the efforts of the Gahaḍavāla Kings Eastern Magadha continued to be in the possession of the Senas up to 1193 A.D. Most probably the river Son was the boundary line of the Gahaḍavāla and the Sena Kingdoms.

Govindracandra invades Bengal.

Lakṣmaṇasena, the son of Vallālasena, ascended the throne in 1119 A.D. He was an energetic and able ruler like his grandfather Vijayasena. In the lifetime of his father he led an expedition into Kaliṅga.[4] After his accession to the throne he defeated the King of Benares, i.e., Govindacandra, in battle and conquered Kāmarūpa.[5] In the copper-plate grants of his sons, Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena, he is said to have planted a pillar of victory on the shores of the Southern Ocean, which most probably means that he defeated some Southern King in battle. Nothing is known about his length of reign, but his kingdom consisted of Eastern, Western and Northern Bengal and the eastern part of Magadha. It is also probable that part of Mithilā was included in his kingdom.

Laksmanasena.

Four copper-plate inscriptions and one stone inscription of this king has been discovered up to date. The earliest of these is the Tarpandighi Grant, found in 1874 at Tarpandighi at Gangarampur in the Dinajpur District. It records the grant of the village of Vilvahiṣṭī in the Pauṇḍravardhana *bhūkti* as the dakṣiṇā of the Golden Horse and Chariot ceremonies (*Hemāśva-ratha*) to a Brāhmaṇa named Śrī Iśvara Śarmman.

During the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena the western part of Magadha seems to have passed into the hands of the Gāhaḍavāla Kings of Kanauj. The local rulers practically acquired independence, as an example of which we may cite the name of the Mahānāyaka Pratāpadhavala of Jāpila. The earliest record of this generation is a short rock inscription near the Tutrahi Falls in the Shahabad District, the date of which corresponds to 19th April, 1158 A.D.[6] According to an unpublished inscription at Rohṭasgaḍh, the King set up some monuments on the 27th March, 1169 A.D.[7] In the same district, there is another rock inscription at Tārāchaṇḍī incised in the Vikrama era 1225, corresponding to 1169 A.D. According to another inscription at Rohtaṣgaḍh, the family to which this dynasty belonged is called Khayāravāla *Vaṁśa*

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1 Tabakati-i-Nasiri, Trans. by Raverty, p. 550.
2 Epi. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 98.
3 Cunningham's Mahabodhi, p. 78, and Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 346.
4 J.A.S.B. (N.S.), Vol. V, p. 467.
5 Ibid.
6 Epi. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 311.
7 Ibid., Vol. V, App. p. 22, No. 152.

The relations between this chief and the Gāhaḍavāla Kings of Kanauj has been made clear by the Tārāchaṇḍī inscription of the same prince. This inscription was edited by Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall in 1860.[1] According to this inscription, in Samvat 1225 on Wednesday, the 3rd day of the dark half of Jyaiṣṭha, = 16th April, 1169 A.D., Pratāpadhavala announces that a certain copper-plate recording the grant of the villages of Kalahaṇḍī and Baḍapilā has been obtained by several Brāhmaṇas by bribing one, Deu, the slave of King Vijayacandra of Kānyakubja. The inscription finally adds that the proprietary share of the rent should be collected yearly as before. This inscription shows very clearly that though Pratāpadhavala was semi-independent, he was obliged to recognize the suzerainty of the Gāhaḍavāla King of Kanauj. The villages stated above within his territories could be granted by the King of Kānyakubja to anybody he liked.

After the death of Lakṣmaṇasena three of his sons seem to have come to the throne:—(1) Mādhavasena, (2) Viśvarūpasena and (3) Keśavasena. Nothing is known about the order of succession of these princes and their dates. Elsewhere I have tried to prove that Mādhavasena precedes the other sons of Lakṣmaṇasena, Viśvarūpa, and he in his turn preceded Keśavasena. One copper-plate inscription of each of these princes have been discovered, viz., those of Viśvarūpa and Keśavasena. A copper-plate of Mādhavasena has been preserved in a monastery in the Tehri State.[2]

Viśvarūpsena is known from his now lost Madanapāḍa Grant[3] of the year 14 of his reign. It records the grant of certain lands in the village Piñjakāṣṭhī in the Vikramapura division (*bhāga*) of Eastern Bengal (*Vaṅga*) of the Pauṇḍravarddhana *bhukti* to a Brāhmaṇa named Viśvarūpadeva-śarmman. His brother Keśavasena is also known from his Edilpur Grant[4] of the year 3, which records the grant of certain lands in the province (*pradeśa*) of Eastern Bengal, the division (*bhāga*) of Vikramapura and the *bhukti* of Pauṇḍravarddhana to Īśvaradeva-Śarmman, a brother of the Visvarūpadeva Śarmman of the Madanapāḍa Grant. The Sena Dynasty came to an end with the Muhammadan occupation of East Bengal, and the last kings are not known.

The Fall of the Senas.

In 1161 A.D. we find a king named Govindapāladeva in Magadha. His existence is proved from a stone inscription and six manuscript records. But we are not yet in a position to state clearly whether he belonged to the Imperial Pāla Dynasty or not. Yet the affix Pāla and the Buddhist titles (e.g. *Parama-saugata*) would lead us to believe that he was descended from them. He seems to have come to the throne in 1161 A.D.,[5] as the Gayā Stone Inscription distinctly mentions that his fourteenth regnal year fell in V.S. 1232 = 1175 A.D. A manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* discovered by Hodgson at Nepal, which was copied in the fourth year of the King's reign, mentions the

Govindapāla.

[1] Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. VI, p. 547.
[2] Atkinson's Kumayun.
[3] J.A.S.B, 1896, Pt. I, p. 6, pl. I & II.
[4] J.A.S.B., Vol. VII, p. 43.
[5] Cunningham's Arch. Survey Report. Vol, III., p. 124.

name of Nālanda (?) as the place of copying.[1] So it may be assumed with a tolerable degree of certainty that Govindapāla ruled a portion, probably the eastern one, of Magadha. The records which mention this king contain some curious phrases and will be edited before we come to discuss the events of the king's reign:—

1. The Gaya Stone Inscription of Govindapāla.

This record was found in the walls of a small shrine to the south of the main shrine of Gadādhara, just below the courtyard of the Viṣṇupad Temple at Gayā. It has already been mentioned by Cunningham,[2] who reproduced it in a lithograph, and by Kielhorn.[3] It is incised on the back-slab of an image of a female deity with four hands and consists of fifteen horizontal and one vertical lines. A *lingaṁ* is to be found at the top of the record, which runs as follows:—

1. *Oṁ*[4] *oṁ svasti namo bhagavate Vāsudevaya ॥ Vrahmaṇo dvitīya parārdhe ।*
2. *Vārāha-kalpe vaivaśvata manvantare Aṣṭāviṁśatime yuge kalau pūrvvasaṁ-*
3. *-ndhyāyāṁ saṁvat* 1232 *Vikāri saṁmvatsare Śrī Govindapāla-de-*
4. *-va-gatarājye c ıturddaśa saṁmvatsare Gayāyāṁ ॥ Vaśiṣṭha-gotro-*
5. *-ti-guṇo dvivedaḥ Śrī Ḍallaṇo* [ऽ] *sūta-sūtaṁ mahāntaṁ । Vidyādharaṁ gu*
6. *gulinaṁ Gadābhṛṇ-maṭhe anākāri dhanā dvijānāṁ ॥ bhokṣātham-avdaṁ pra-*
7. *ti-ṣoḷaś-aiva kārṣāpaṇī vṛddhita-eva ladhvāḥ Mūlañ-ca । pañcāsad-i*
8. *-h-āsti sākṣī Padm-ābhidhāno-tha ca Viśvarūpa ॥ Nṛsiṁha Śrī-dharodeva*
9. *Dharo Śrī* (?) *daṇḍa* (?) *nā(ya)kau । Viṣṇu-seva-karau c-aite tapovana-*
   nivāsinaḥ ॥ Rāghavaḥ
10. *Śrīkaro* ऽ *Sūko Dāmodarakaḥ Hīdharau Bhikhodeva nidhirddharmmī c-aite*
    pāla-
11. *-na-kāriṇaḥ । A-candrārkam-imaṁ dharmmaṁ pālayiṣyanti ye sukhaṁ ।*
    pratyavdaṁ te-
12. *-śvamedhasya phalaṁ prāpsanti mānavāḥ ॥ Āśvine śukla-pañcamyāṁ*
    bhojyaṁ yo
13. *vārayed-idaṁ । Labhate sāv-asaṁdigdhaṁ mahāpātaka-pañcakaṁ ॥ praśasti-*
14. *-r-iyaṁ kṛtā Śrī-Yuktendreṇa likhitā c-eyaṁ Kājasīyī-Jaya-kumārābhyāṁ ॥*
15. *Oṁ*[5] *Someśvaro-tra sākṣasti Padmanābho Gayādvija Devarūpasya purato dattā*
    c-aite Kaparddakā ।.

The only peculiarity noticeable in this inscription is the use of the word *gate*. The words giving the regnal year may be taken—

(1) to mean that the *Vikāri Samvatsara* and V.S. 1232 fell in the 15th regnal year, i.e. when the 14th was expired;

(2) to mean that Govindapāla himself was dead, but this was the 14th year from the date of his consecration;

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[1] R. L. Mitra, *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Bib. Ind.), p. xxii Note: but see also the Catalogue of the Hodgson MSS. in the Royal Asiatic Society's Collection—J.R.A.S. (N.S.), Vol. VIII, p. 3.

[2] Cunningham's Arch. Survey Report, Vol. III, p. 125, pl. XXXVIII, No. 18.

[3] Epi. Ind., Vol. V, App. p. 24, No. 166.

[4] Expressed by a symbol. [5] On right side.

(3) to mean that Govindapāla was alive, but that part of the country which once belonged to him, had *then* ceased to do so.

At the time of the Muhammadan conquest, we find similar peculiar wording in inscriptions and colophones of MSS. The second conclusion is obviously wrong, as we know from the colophone of one of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Cambridge University Library (see No. 5 below) that his kingdom was destroyed (*Vinaṣṭa*) in his 38th regnal year; so he could not have died before that date. The first interpretation is also obviously impossible, as there is no evidence in the whole range of Northern India Inscriptions of an "expired regnal year" being used to express a date. The third explanation is the only one applicable to the particular case. We find a parallel case in the Belkhara Inscription of V.S. 1253 [1].

The rest of the records are colophones of manuscripts.

(2) Colophone of a MS. of the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (last page only) recently acquired by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Śāstrī:—

1. *—vāpya ca dhārayitvā vācayitvā—vāpya pravarttānāṁ viharantu sadārthina iti ‖ Ye dharmmā hetu prabhavā*
2. *(he)tun-teṣān-tathāgato hy-avadat-'eṣāñ-ca yo nirodha evaṁ vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ ‖ Deyadharmoyaṁ pravara-mahā-yāna (yāyi-)*
3. *naḥ Khānodakīya Yaśarāpur-āvasthānevaṁ ‖ Dānapati Kṣānti-rakṣitasya yadatra puṇyan-tadbhavaty-ācary-opādhyāya mā*
4. *tā pitṛ pūrvaṁgamaṁ kṛtvā sakala satva-rāśer-anuttara-jñāna-phal-āvāptaya iti Śrīmad-Govindapāladevasy-ātīta*
5. *Samvatsa* 18 *Kārttika dine* 15 *Caṅgaḍa pāṭakāvasthita Khānodakīya Yaśarāpure Ācārya Prajñānu—*

(3) Colophone of a MS. of *Amarakoṣa* in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal:—

1. *-ṣepi tat ‖ Arthāntāḥ ādy-alaṁ prāpt-āpanna-pūrvvāḥ paropagāḥ ı taddhitārthe dviguḥ saṁkhyā-sarvvaṇāma-tad-antakāḥ ı Vahuvrīhir-adig-nāmnām-unneyaṁ tad-udā-*
2. *-hṛtam ı Guṇa-dravya-kriyā-yog-opādhibhiḥ* (portion of the palm-leaf torn out) *r-agāminaḥ ı Kutaḥ karttaryasaṁjñāyāṁ kṛtyāḥ karttari karmmaṇi ı Anādy-ant-āstena rakt-ādy-arthen-ā*
3. *-nartha-bhedakāḥ ı Pada-sañjñakāmiṣu yuṣmad-asmat-tiṅavyayaṁ ‖ Paraṁ virodhi śeṣam tu jñeyaṁ śiṣṭa prayogataḥ ‖ Liṅgasaṅgrahaḥ samāptaḥ ı*
4. *Paramabhaṭṭārak-ety-ādi rājāvalī pūrvvavat Śrī-Govinda-pālīya saṁvat* 24 *Caitra śudi* 8 *śubham-astu sarvva jagatām-iti*[2]

(4) Colophone of a MS. of the *Guhyāvalī vivṛiti* in the collection of the University of Cambridge[3]:—

1. *Yad-alambhi puṇyan-ten-āstu sarvva-jagataḥ kila bodhi-lakṣmīḥ ı Yat sarvva-satva-janit-āśubha-yogatohaṁ syān-nārak-ānala-vṛto*

[1] J.A.S.B (N.S.), Vol. VII, p. 757. [2] J.A.S.B., 1900, Pt. I, p. 100, no. 25.
[3] Bendall's Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge, p. 188.

2. *-nalinī-suhaṁsaḥ ॥ Guhy-āvalī-vivṛtiḥ ॥ Vivṛtiḥ paṇḍita-sthavira-Śrī-Ghanade-vasya ॥*
3. *Govindapāladevānāṁ saṁ* 37 *Śrāmaṇa dine* 11 *likhitam-idaṁ pustakaṁ kā Śrī-Gayākareṇ-eti ॥*

(5) Colophone of a MS. of the *Pañcākāra* in the collection of the University of Cambridge:—

1. *Hemante Ratnasambhavaḥ । Vasante Amitābhaḥ । Grīṣme Amogha-siddhiḥ । Śiśire Vajrasattvaḥ । Dharmma-dhātu Vajrasatvaḥ dvāre Vajrasa-*
2. *-tvaḥ । Sarvva-trailokyam-ekákára-vajrasatvaḥ praśasyate । pañcākār-ātmakaṁ sarvvaṁ trailokyaṁ sacarācaraṁ । yady-api rājyaṁ nirvvika-*
3. *-lpamayaṁ dṛśyate । Jagat pañcaskandha-svabhāvena pañca-Vuddhāḥ pra-kīrttitāḥ । Pañcāvaraṇa-nirmmuktā Vuddhāḥ syuḥ pañca-*
4. *Kaulikāḥ । Kāni pañc-ävaraṇāni jñeyāni kleśas-tathā janma-karmma-saṁjñ-ānam-ajñānañ-ca tath-aiva-ca । pañcāvaraṇāni*
5. *c-aitāni kathitāni tathāgataiḥ । Evaṁ vimṛśyamāṇo bhāvayet satataṁ prāp-ṇotyagrajāṁ vodhim । Samyak-sambuddha-bhāṣitaḥ pañcākā-*
6. *-raḥ samāptaḥ ॥ Parameśvar-ety-ādi rājāvalī pūrvvavat । Śrīmad-Govinda-pāla-devānāṁ vinaṣṭa-rājye aṣṭa-triṁśat-samvatsare* 8
7. *bhilikhyamāne Jyaiṣṭha-Kṛṣṇ-āṣṭmyāṁ tithau Yatra saṁ* 38 *Jyaiṣṭhadine* 8 *likhitam-idaṁ pustakaṁ Kā Śrī-Gayākareṇ-eti*

(6) Colophone of a MS. of the *Yoga-ratna-mālā* by Kāhṇa or *Kṛṣṇācārya* in the collection of the University of Cambridge[1]:—

1. *-de । Mahāsūkṣma-savāg-gocaratvāt । Vajrastathāgatāḥ । Teṣāṁmaṇḍaṁ sāraṁ. । Nabho-ghanam-anābhāṣatvāt । Virajaskaṁ kleśakṣayāt Mokṣadaṁ*
2. *Saṁsārātikrāntavāt । Pitā te tvam-as-īti । Tath-aiva praty-ātma-vedytvāt । Vajrapadmayor-adhiṣṭhānaṁ yen-ādhiṣṭhyate । Yogaratnasya mālā*
3. *-yāṁ kṛtvā Hevajra-pañjikāṁ । yat-puṇyam-ācitaṁ tena nikleśaḥ syād-akhilo janaḥ ॥ Śrī-Hevajrapañjikā Yogaratnamālā sa-*
4. *-māptā ॥ Kṛtir-iyaṁ Paṇḍit-ācārya Śrī-Kahṇa-pādānāṁ-iti ॥ Parameśvar-ety-ādi rājāvalī pūrvvavat । Śrīma-*
5. *-dgovindapāladevānāṁ saṁ* 39 *bhādradine* 14 *likhitam-idaṁ pustakaṁ kā Śrī Gayākareṇa ॥*

(7) A MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* examined by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Śāstrī in 1893. "The work is on palm-leaves pressed between two wooden boards, with sticks inserted through holes in place of strings. One of the boards is besmeared with sandal paste, which has accumulated there for ages. The MS. was evidently an object of worship, and as Prajñāpāramitā is also called Rakshā-Bhagavatī, it appears to have been regarded as a charm for protection against evils. The MS. was copied in the 38th year of Govindapāla, who is styled Gauṛeśvara, i.e. the year 1198 A.D.[2]

[1] Bendall's Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge, p 190.
[2] J.A.S.B., 1893, Pt. I, p. 253.

(8) A MS. of the Prajñāpāramitā of 8000 verses in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland written at Nālanda in the fourth year of the King's reign:—

1. *Mātā-pitṛ-pūrvaṁgamaṁ kṛtvā sakala-satva-rāśer-anuttara-jñāna-phal-āvāptaya iti ‖ Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Paramasaugata Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-mad-Govindapālasya-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare* 4 *Śūny-odaka-grāma-vāstavya Śri-man-Nālanda-*
2. *m-astu sarva-jagatām.*[1]

It will be observed that out of these eight records only two mention the King as living. In No. 8 we find the usual titles and no peculiarity, consequently it can be admitted that Govindapāla reigned for at least four years. In No. 4 though titles have been omitted yet the absence of such formulæ as "*Parameśvaretyādi Rājāvalīpūrvvavat*" at the beginning, and such phrases as "*gatarājye*," "*atītarājye*" and "*vinaṣṭa-rājye*" make it certain that the King Govindapāla was alive in the 37th year from the date of his consecration, i.e. 1197 A.D. This being admitted, we find that the phrases *gata* and *atīta* are used in other records in a peculiar sense, signifying that the reign of the Prince was at an end, in that particular locality, but that it was still continuing at some other place. Thus in the Gayā Inscription of the Vikrama year 1232 the use of the word gata means that Govindapāla's reign had ceased at Gayā, but was continuing somewhere else. The use of the word *Atīta* in the MS. discovered by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Śāstrī, which was copied in 38th year of his reign, signifies that his reign was at an end at the place where the MS. was copied. Only the use of the special word *Vinaṣṭa* in No. 6 signifies that the remnants of his authority was destroyed in that year, as has been correctly interpreted by Bendall,[2] by the Muhammdans under Bakhtyār-Khilji. It appears that Govindapāla ruled lower part of Eastern Magadha close to Nālanda and yet bore the title of *Gauḍeśvara*. He was recognized as the real King by Buddhists in all parts of the country. He managed to continue his reign till 1199, when Cauhān, Gaharwār, Pāla and Sena were all swept away by the whirlwind of Muhammadan invasion.

Extent of Kingdom.

Postscript.

An inscription of the time of Vigrahapāla III was found by me recently on the pedestal of an image of Buddha in the Indian Museum. This appears to be the inscription mentioned by Cunningham.[3] It runs as follows:—

1. *Śri-mad-Vigrahapāla-deva-rājya samvat* 13 *mārgga dine* 14.
2. *Deya* [*dha*] *rmmoyaṁ suvarṇṇakāra Dehekasya | Sāhe sutasya ‖*

"The year 13, the 14th day of Mārggaśīrṣa, of the reign of the illustrious Vigrahapāladeva. The religious gift of the goldsmith Deheka, son of Sāhe."

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[1] J.R.A S. (N.S.), Vol. VIII (1876), p. 3; Astashasrika-Prajnaparamita (Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1888), Preface, p. xxii, Note.

[2] Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge, Introduction, p. iii.

[3] A S R., Vol. III, p. 121, no. 7.

I have since been informed by Pandit Rajani Kanta Chakravartti of Maldah and Babu Aksaya Kumar Maitreya of Rajshahi that Babu Haridas Palit's identification of Amarti with Ramanti is not correct. I am also informed that there are no villages called Jagdalā or Ḍamrol near Amarti in the Maldah District.

R. D. Banerji.

20-7-1914.

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BY

THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

Smithsonian Institution
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Previously published by the same author in Memoirs As. S.B., Vol. III (1914), No. 9, pp. 513–704 :—*Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius, or The First Jesuit Mission to Akbar*, by Fr. Anthony Monserrate, S.J. (Latin Text).

Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain, a Christian Grandee of three Great Moghuls, with Notes on Akbar's Christian Wife and the Indian Bourbons.

By the Rev. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

After publishing in *The Examiner*, Bombay (1912),[1] extracts from the Annual Letters of Goa and Cochin (1618-24), we were asked repeatedly to publish further particulars about the famous Prince, Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain or Alexander, the founder of what was called the "Agra College."

We regret we cannot fully satisfy at this stage the curiosity of our friends. For sixty years and more, the history of the Mīrzā and of his father Sikandar (Alexander) is so closely bound up with that of the Mogor Mission that to write the former would mean exhausting the latter. For the moment, we intend going chiefly through the more accessible printed sources, a piece of work which we attempted a first time as far back as 1907; and, since one of the chief points of interest and surprise in the Mīrzā's history is the high dignity to which he was raised by the Moghul Emperors and his great benefactions to the Mogor Mission, we shall select for publication an important Portuguese document by Fr. Francis Corsi, S.J., which reviews the Mīrzā's history up to the year 1628, and another by Father Anthony Botelho, S.J., summarising the chief events of the Mogor Mission until after the Mīrzā's death.

Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain's father is mentioned clearly for the first time in a letter of Fr. Jerome Xavier to the General of the Society (Lahore, August ?, 1598).

"Quite recently," he wrote, "a violent storm fraught with danger burst over us, and little more was needed for the pestilential and baneful sect lately started by the King [Akbar] to gather fresh strength and overwhelm us. It came about thus. After the death of his Christian wife, a certain Armenian, a Christian,—if a man in such dispositions can yet be called a Christian,—was bent on a sacrilegious marriage with his niece (*ex ea neptem volebat sacrilegiis nuptiis sibi copulari*).[2] I refused to agree to these incestuous nuptials; whereupon, he tried by soliciting the interference or an order of the King to make me consent to, or at least wink at, his union The King had us called for, and, as we suspected the motive of this exceptional summons, we commended ourselves to God, offering Him such prayers and vows as the little time at our diposal allowed, and determined to lay down our lives

---

[1] Cf. *The Examiner*, Bombay, February 3, 10. 17, March 9, 16, 23, 30, April 6, 1912.

[2] Oranus (1601), Hayus (1605), du Jarric (French edn., II. 485) and Louis de Dieu (Historia S. Petri, 1639) have *neptem*=niece, but the Mainz edn. of *Recentissima de amplissima Regno Chinae, item de statu rei Christianae apud Magnum Regem Mogor* (1601), which I have not seen, has "sister," says General R. Maclagan (J.A.S.B., 1896, p. 78, *n.* 1, and compare with p. 44, No. 5). *Sister* is evidently the correct version as the sequel will show. In our present quotation there is question of two sisters.

rather than allow an incest and a crime. Leaving our Brother Benedict [Goës] at home, I went with Fr. Emmanuel Pigneiro [Pinheiro] to the Court. Benedict rarely set foot in the palace, but that night he longed to accompany us, in the hope of sharing the sufferings and crown which our vindication of the truth was likely to gain for us. Accordingly, he remained a long time hanging about the palace, expecting to be informed of our sufferings and torments, and prepared to associate himself in our glorious triumph; but, when he saw that matters took a different turn, he called the Christian children and catechumens together, and in a stirring exhortation encouraged them bravely to die for their faith; then, disciplining himself, he besought Our Lord in a long and fervent prayer to give us strength and courage to resist the impious machinations of our enemies, because the King insistently urged us to yield to the Armenian's criminal and incestuous designs. After expostulating with us, the King asked us what harm there would be for the Armenian in marrying two sisters and following his [the King's] sect, which he had embraced, that so he might obtain as a Moor what he was as a Christian forbidden to do. My answer was that by doing so he relinquished the path leading to Heaven to tread the road which would bring him to hell; wherefore, the Armenian and whosoever embraced such a Law was devoting himself to certain destruction. My bold and intrepid answer was unpalatable to the King. Before the whole of his Court it condemned his new-fangled teaching. Still, he tried to dissemble his annoyance and displeasure, and composed his countenance to conceal the pain and chagrin he felt. Great as was the surprise which my liberty of speech caused among the bystanders, the prestige which it conciliated to the Gospel was greater still, when they saw us willing and eager to shed our blood in its assertion and vindication, an example of constancy little familiar to the Moors, who shrink from the slightest discomfort which the profession and defence of their law may entail. When the Prince [Salīm, Jahāngīr] heard of these proceedings, he was indignant at the Armenian's denial of Christ, and showed by unmistakable signs how he wished to visit upon him the punishment which his dereliction of his faith richly deserved." [1]

In another letter of Fr. Jerome Xavier, dated Agra, September 6th, 1604, we are told that Akbar liberated at the request of the Fathers fifty shipwrecked Portuguese captives. They started from Agra southwards, at the beginning of December (1603), and a certain Armenian, called Iskandar, through whose villages they passed, supplied them with a few rupees each, which enabled them to reach Goa, travelling by way of Ahmadābād and Cambay.[2]

Iskandar was then, we suggest, enjoying the jāgīr of Sāmbhar, where he would have been in charge of the government salt monopoly at the Salt Lake.

Shortly after Jahāngīr's accession to the throne, at the end of 1605, Sikandar came (from Sāmbhar) to Agra to pay his respects to the Emperor and give an account of his administration. Jahāngīr pressed him to become a Muḥammadan

[1] Cf. HAYUS, *De rebus Iaponicis, Indicis et Peruanis, Antverpiae*, MDCV, pp. 871-872, or LOUIS DE DIEU, *Hist. S. Petri*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1639, pp. 133-135.

[2] J.A.S.B, 1896, p. 91.

The circumstances, which led the Emperor to prove false to the good advice he had himself given to Sikandar in 1598, were as follows:—

There was at the Court a young Hindū nobleman, who had allowed himself to be circumcised. He was the son of a great Captain, who had been high in Akbar's favour. One day, Jahāngīr represented to him that, as he was no longer a heathen, he ought to make choice of another religion and become either a Muḥammadan or a Christian. "If you choose to become a Christian," he said, "I shall call the Fathers, who will baptize you." The young man chose to become a Muḥammadan, and the King to mark his satisfaction had him paraded on an elephant throughout the city.

Seeing that what he had done delighted the Muḥammadans, Jahāngīr now wished to obtain the same from Sikandar. "A distinguished Armenian gentleman, he had stood high in the favour of the late King, and he had his two sons brought up at Court with the King's own nephews. The King [Jahāngīr] took it into his head that he would get this Christian to accept the law of Mohammed; but, he remained steadfast in his religion, to the great consolation of the Fathers. He kept them constantly informed of what happened, and, one day, speaking with them: 'What do I desire more here on earth,' he said, 'than to die for the faith of my Saviour, in forgiveness of my sins and in expiation of the scandal I gave!' (Long before, he had, contrary to the law of the Church and the representations of the Fathers, married the sister of his deceased wife). But this Christian together with his two children escaped the danger.

"Subsequently, the King asked for the two children, and, hearing that their father had taken them with him, he had them brought back to the palace and received them in the most friendly manner.[1] A few days later, he asked them what religion they belonged to. The children answered they were Christians. 'Well then,' said the King, 'if you are Christians, eat pork.' They answered that there was no precept among Christians enjoining them to eat pork, though, on the other hand, there existed no prohibition.[2] The King's proposal ended there for the time being.

"The next day, in the morning, these children came to see the Fathers, and related to them all that had occurred. The Fathers encouraged them and taught how they should conduct themselves, in case the King should urge them further. Indeed, so it happened: for, as the Mohammedans did not cease sitting near the King's ears to get him to pervert these children, the King forbade them to go out of the palace, and kept them as if in confinement. When this had lasted some time, he had them brought again before him, and, placing pork before them, he wished to

[1] Sikandar had come to Agra before the flight of Prince Khusrū, which the Jesuits place during the night of April 15th, 1606, a Saturday. Jahāngīr went in pursuit of his rebel son, who was arrested and brought to Lahore. While again in peace at Lahore, Jahāngīr remembered Sikandar's two children. Their forcible circumcision happened before September 25th, 1606, when Fr. Jerome Xavier relates it in a letter from Lahore.

[2] FERNAÕ GUERREIRO, S.J., *Relaçam Annal das cousas qve fezeram os Padres da Companhia de Iesvs....no anno de* 606 & 607 (Lisboa, MDCIX), fol. 153r, remarks that as the children had been brought up by one of the Queens "who reared them in the spirit of Moors with as much aversion for pork as the Moors themselves," the elder boy, Zū-l-Qarnain, could no more be prevailed upon by his father to eat pork.

force them to eat it; but the younger of the two said that, if the Fathers should tell them they must eat it, they would do so. This had been pre-arranged, in the hope that the King would have the Fathers called, in which case they would assist the children and keep up their courage. The King wished to call for the Fathers, when one of his favourites grew so angry at the answer of this little child that he slapped him once or twice in the face, scowling: 'What hast thou to do with the Fathers here, when the King commands?' Seeing this, the King left the Fathers and the pork alone, and said to the children, 'There is nothing to be done. You must become Mohammedans. Recite then the *Calima* (i.e., the profession of faith of the Mohammedans).'[1] The children refused to comply. Hereupon, the King had many rods brought and gave order to scourge them, as is done with malefactors. Terrified at the impending torture, the poor children muttered in a whisper between their teeth what the Mohammedans taught them. And so they were conducted sad and disconsolate to their room.[2]

"The next day, the King sent in someone to circumcise them; but, they would in no way allow it, and started crying so piteously that they were left unmolested this time, until the King should have been informed. Not long after, they were brought before the King. He asked them why they refused to be circumcised. The poor children answered, 'We shall never allow it, because we are Christians.' Our Fathers, who went daily to visit the King, had instructed them thus.

"The King, hearing their bold answer, tried them first with great amiability, and next with grievous threats. Encompassed on every side and seeing that their words were of no avail, one of them approached the King, and, joining his little hands: 'Lord King,' he prayed, 'we beg of thee for the love of *Alazareth Jeam* [read: Ḥaẓrat 'Īsā],[3] that is, of the Lord Jesus, not to have us circumcised.' But the King refused to listen, and, ordering them to be bound hand and foot, he caused them to be forcibly circumcised. This done, 'Recite now,' he said, 'the *Calima*' (or profession of faith of the Mohammedans). They refused with great firmness, whereat the King became so angry that he commanded them without pity to be most cruelly scourged. The elder boy, being only fourteen years old, yielded under the pain[4]; but the younger one, who was eleven years, kept firmer and would not comply. The blows redoubled; yet, he was heard to say only: '*Ah Alazareth Jeam!*' that is '*Oh, Lord Jesus!*' To strengthen himself he held continually a reliquary in his hands. Matters had now come to such a pass that the King was moved to pity and relented; but one of his favourites still gave the lad thirty blows, so hard and cruel that it was enough to make a stout man flinch. In fact, the poor child lost courage under this barbarous treatment and recited what they would.

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[1] The Kalimah: "There is no deity but God; Muhammad is the apostle of God. *Lā Ilāha illā 'llahu; Muḥammadun Rāsulu 'llāh.*"

[2] Some of their relatives went to give an account of this to the Fathers, and one of them, who was resolved to give his life for Christ, removing from his girdle his dagger and a few rupees, remitted them to the Fathers, went to the palace and joined the children. F. GUERREIRO, *op. cit.*, fol. 153r.

[3] F. GUERREIRO (*op. cit.*, fol. 154r) has: "Ah, Hazaraht Ieão" and (fol. 153v): "Alazarath Ieam."

[4] The elder boy was our Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain.

"Triumphant as it were at his victory, the King left orders to dress their wounds. The same night, our Fathers[1] came near the children, entirely unaware of what had passed. They found them stretched on the floor, quite disconsolate and not uttering a word. But, as soon as they perceived the Fathers, 'We are Christians,' they cried out, 'we were circumcised against our will.' The Fathers inspired them with courage to remain steadfast. They did so with such intrepidity that they loudly abused Mohammed in the presence of a Mohammedan priest, and cared no longer for what the King commanded; nay, the elder boy, who had been the weaker one under sufferings, seized a poniard and cut through the skin and flesh of his right arm a cross about a palm in length to triumph with these scars to the spite of the Mohammedans. As they behaved now openly as Christians and cared for nothing, the King, without molesting them further, left them alone."[2]

The heroism of these generous lads had conquered Jahāngīr. He acknowledged it soon after.

"The King, seeing one day the two children, whom (as we have said) he had caused to be circumcised, called them to him and asked whether they wished to be Mohammedans or wanted to remain in the religion of their father. The children answered they would live and die in the faith of Jesus Christ, which they had sucked in with their mother's milk. Hearing this, the King turned to some of his favourites and remarked, 'It is a shame not to remain in one's faith,' and to the children he added, 'Remain free in your religion.'"[3]

We may usefully place here an allusion to the above facts made by Bernier. "He [Jahāngīr] permitted two of his nephews to embrace the Christian faith, and extended the same indulgence to *Zulkarmin* [sic] who had undergone the rite of circumcision and been brought up in the *Seraglio*. The pretext was that Mirza was born of Christian parents, his mother having been wife of a rich Armenian, and having been brought to the *Seraglio* by *Jehan-Guyre's* desire."[4]

Bernier visited Delhi and Agra about 50 years after Zū-l-Qarnain's forcible circumcision, and when to all appearances the Mīrzā was dead. When he writes that his mother, who had died in or before 1598, was brought to Jahāngīr's harem, we are not prepared to accept his statement. We can admit that she frequented the ladies in his or his father's harem as a lady doctor. Bernier's statement must be compared with Fr. Corsi's, that in the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* and others.

One of the many surprising developments in our knowledge of Zū-l-Qarnain is that quite recently an Armenian gentleman, Mr. C. Hyrapiet, writing to *The Pioneer*[5] and commenting on the passage just quoted from Bernier, should have

[1] Fathers Jerome Xavier and Francis Corsi.

[2] Cf. C. HAZART, S.J., *Kerckelycke Historie*, Antwerpen, M. Cnobbaert, II^e Deel, MDCLXVII. The story is given in greater detail by du Jarric, *Troisiesme partie de l'histoire des choses plus memorables*, Bovrdeavs, 1614, pp. 106-111, 115, and in FERNAÕ GUERREIRO's *Relaçam Annval* of 1606 and 1607, Lisboa, MDCIX, foll. 151v-155r; 159r.

[3] Ibid.

[4] BERNIER, *Travels in the Mogul Empire* (1656-1668), A. Constable's edn., Westminster, 1891, p. 287. The French has: "fils de la femme d'un riche Armenien, laquelle Jehan Guire s'était fait amener dans le serail."

[5] *The Pioneer*, Thursday, March 28, 1912, in *The Taj and its designers*. Mr. Hyrapiet must, however, be warned against seeing his compatriots everywhere and in everything.

asked the very pertinent question: "Is Bernier's Mirza Zulkarmin identical with 'Ghool-Kurneyl' (the son of a Mr. Hakoob) of the Armenian writers, said to have been adopted by Akbar as his son (having no issue at the time) during his journey into Kashmir?"

Doubtless "Ghool-Kurneyl" is identical with our Zū-l-Qarnain and what surprises us is that there should be at all Armenian writers referring to Zū-l-Qarnain's adoption by Akbar. What surprises us again is that there should be at all Armenian writings concerning the early history of the Armenians in India. It is wrong to say that Akbar had no issue at the time referred to, but it is quite possible that Sikandar, senior, had the additional alternative name of Hakoob (Yakub). Mr. Hyrapiet does not appear to be acquainted with anything I have written, and I do not remember to have printed before 1912 anything concerning the connection between Akbar and Zū-l-Qarnain or his father. Mr. Hyrapiet possesses therefore independent information, which, if these lines should meet his eyes or those of his friends, I must urge him, as strongly as I can, to make public. He promised us other revelations, which we are awaiting impatiently.[1]

At the beginning of 1608, when Jahāngīr was returning from Lahore to Agra, he had his rebellious son Khusrū blinded, and the same fate befell a captain, his accomplice, who had been the chief instigator in the persecution set on foot against Sikandar's two children.[2]

There is yet another allusion to the two boys trying to gain the Jubilee indulgence granted by Pope Paul V, "the first ever published in India."[3]

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[1] After writing the above I came upon what appears to be Mr. C. Hyrapiet's authority. "Akbar the Great adopted the youthful and promising son of a Mr. Jacob, an Armenian merchant, whom he had met at Kashmere during his 'incognito tours.' This singular adoption was made several years before Jahāngīr was born, whose birth in 1570 he attributed to the advent of Armenians into Agra and their erection, in 1562, of a Christian church there at the express wish of their royal patron." Cf. MESROVB J. SETH, *History of the Armenians in India*, Calcutta, 1895, p. 23. This adoption could not have taken place before 1570, and what authority is there for Akbar's attributing to the advent of Armenians at Agra, and not to Salīm Chishti, the birth of Jahāngīr? How, too, will it be proved that the Armenians had a church at Agra since 1562? And is there more than one Armenian author to state that Zū-l-Qarnain's father was Mr. Jacob, an Armenian merchant? On discovering that Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth was in Calcutta, I communicated with him and urged him to give us Zū-l-Qarnain's history from Armenian sources. He complied very kindly with my request and sent me the text which I publish below under Appendix E.

[2] Cf. *Ragvagli d'alcvne missione fatte dalli Padri della Compagnia di Giesv nell' Indie Orientali*, Roma, Zanetti, MDCXV, p. 15. Guerreiro's *Relaçam* for 1607-08 does not say that the captain blinded at the same time as Khusrū was the chief instigator of the persecution (cf. fol. 8r). Two grandees, one the Minister of Finances (vedor da fazenda) and Governor of Lahore, the other a great captain, were paraded through the streets of Lahore after the capture of Khusrū. Sowed up in the skin of an ox and of an ass, their face turned to the tail of the ass they rode, they were brought into the presence of Jahāngīr, then in a pleasure garden near Lahore. The captain was beheaded; the Governor of Lahore, after several days of cruel torture due to the contraction of the skin, was ransomed for a lakh of cruzados and reinstated. Cf. Guerreiro, *Relaçam* for 1606-07, foll. 149v-150v, and compare with the account in Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VI. 300-301, where the names of the two nobles are given: Husain Beg, who was killed, and 'Abdu-l-'Azīz. ('Abdu-r-Raḥim, according to the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, edn. A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, I. 68-69). The end of the two instigators of the cruel treatment meted out to Zū-l-Qarnain and his brother is related in Guerreiro's *Relaçam* for 1606-07, fol. 159r. One lost his appointment and was kept in an inferior position; the other, the greatest noble of the kingdom, who therefore was called the King's brother, began to languish: he became lame of both legs and lost his memory; finally, the King deprived him of the royal seal, and gave him a small jāgīr to live on.

[3] Cf. *Ragvagli* ... *Op. cit.*, p. 27. I have not found the year when this Jubilee indulgence was proclaimed. I suppose it was in 1610-11. It was not the first in India. St. Ignatius had obtained from Pope Julius III the permission for

I do not insist on the story of Jahāngīr's visiting a boon-companion of his, one "Alexandre," the weaver. The story, picked up by Manucci so many years after the event, may be a popular skit on the humble beginnings of Sikandar, Zū-l-Qārnain's father, and his subsequent good fortune; but it is not improbable that the similarity of name is the only point of contact.[1]

We are not sure either whether the Rev. Edward Terry, Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain at the Court of the Great Moghul (1615-1618), alludes to Sikandar's or Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain's confession of the faith, or to Mukarrab Khān's conversion in 1610. We incline towards the former alternative. Terry writes[2]:

"The Jesuits in East-India...have liberty to convert any they can work upon, unto Christianity, &c. The Mogul hath thus far declared, that it shall be lawful for any one, persuaded so in conscience, to become a Christian, and that he should not by so doing lose his favour.

"Upon which I have one thing here to insert, which I had there by report (yet I was bid to believe it and report it for a truth) concerning a gentleman of quality, and of a servant of the great Mogul, who upon some conviction wrought upon him (as they say) would needs be baptized and become a Christian. The King hearing of this convert, sent for him, and at first with many cruel threats commanded him to renounce his new profession; the man reply'd that he was most willing to suffer anything in that cause which the King would inflict.

"The Mogul then began to deal with him in another way, asking him why he thought himself wiser than his forefathers, who lived and died Mahometans[3]: and further added many promises of riches and honour, if he would return to his Mahometism; he reply'd again (as they say, for I have this by tradition) that he would not accept of anything in the world so to do; the Mogul wondering at his constancy, told him, that if he could have frightened or bought him out of his new profession, he would have made him an example for all waverers; but now that he perceived that his resolution indeed was to be a Christian, he bid him so continue, and with a reward discharged him."[4]

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his religious to proclaim, wherever they were, the great Jubilee celebrated in Rome in 1550. Fr. Melchior Nunez brought this permission with him to Goa in 1551, and the Jubilee was preached at Goa and in the Portuguese fortresses on the West Coast. Cf. A. BROU, *S. François Xavier*, Paris, 1912, II. 274, where see the references. A second Jubilee was published in 1564. Cf. C. C. DE NAZARETH, *Mitras Lusitanas*, Lisboa, 1897, p. 39 *n.* 77.

[1] Cf. W. IRVINE, *Storia do Mogor*, I. 172-173; F. CATROU, S.J., *Hist. génér. de l'Empire du Mogol*, Paris, MDCCXV, pp. 133-134 (English transl., London, Jonah Bowyer, 1709, pp. 193-194). Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth sends me the following: "I find in an extract from a letter written in 1609 by an Armenian Archimandrite, Joseph by name, to another Armenian, a rich merchant at Ispahan, called Khojah Woskan: 'It is now eight years that my brother Skandear [Iskandar, Alexander] went on a commercial tour, they say to the country of Lahore.'" (*Letter of August* 21, 1915).

[2] E. TERRY, *Voyage to East India*, London, 1777, pp. 424-425.

[3] Sikandar, Zū-l-Qarnain's father, was for a time looked upon by the Muḥammadans as a Muslim, because he had married his deceased wife's sister. Even in 1607 this argument was used to enforce the circumcision of his children. As the story here stands, we cannot well refer it to Sikandar or Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain, since both were born of Christian parents. (Cf. *infra* Fr. Corsi's account). On the other hand, there is some difficulty to refer it to Mukarrab Khān, who did not long persevere.

[4] Mukarrab Khān or Shaikh Hasan was a favourite physician of Akbar's who rose to great honours under Jahāngīr. Cf. BLOCHMANN, *Āīn*, I. 543, No. 94. Sent as ambassador to Goa with Father Pinheiro, he left Lahore on September 13,

We learn from Father Corsi that Sikandar, Mīrzā Zū l-Qarnain's father, died in 1613, and we may suppose from the same source that the eldest son, Zū-l-Qarnain, then 20 years old, was appointed to the office of collector of the salt revenues at Sambhar. Anyhow, Zū-l-Qarnain appears to have been in charge there in 1616, when Tom Coryate went from Ajmer to visit the place. "After I had been with the King," he says, "I went to a certain noble and generous Christian of the Armenian race, two days' journey from the Moghul's court, to the end to observe certain remarkable matters in the same place. To him by means of my Persian tongue I was so welcome that he entertained me with very civil and courteous compliments and at my departure gave me very bountifully 20 pieces of such kind of money as the King had done before."[1] A two days' journey would have brought the English traveller to the Sāmbhar Lake, and the salt-pans would have proved a sufficiently attractive sight.

Coryate goes on to relate the following story about one Sikandar, an Armenian who must have been Zū-l-Qarnain's father[2]:—

[P. 492.] "The King likes not those that change their Religion, hee himselfe being of none but of his owne making, and therefore suffers all Religions in his Kingdome. Which by this notable example I can make manifest: The King had a Servant that was an Armenian, by name Scander; to whom upon occasion of speech of Religion, the King asked if hee thought either hee or the Padres had converted one Moore to be a true Christian, and that was so for conscience sake, and not for money: who answered with great confidence, That hee had one which was a perfect Christian, and for no worldly respect would bee other, whom the King caused presently to be sent for: and bidding his Master depart, demanded why hee was become a Christian, who rendered certaine feeble, implicite, Jesuiticall Reasons, and avowed

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1607, arrived at Cambay in April 1608, and after a nine months' stay there, came to Surat, where he found William Hawkins. During his stay in Cambay, at Goga, as appears from the faulty spelling of Gaore (Cf. *Annual Letters from Goa and Cochin*, 1621, in *The Examiner*, Bombay, 1912, March 23, p. 117), Mukarrab Khān's son fell ill. Pinheiro was called. He read over the child the Gospel of St. Matthew, touched him with relics and obtained his cure, with the result that Mukarrab Khān made the vow of having him baptized. From Surat Pinheiro went to Goa and returned to Cambay in June 1609 on a mission to Mukarrab Khan. He was back in Surat in the beginning of October, and arrived at Goa on November 25. Mukarrab Khān, who had remained in Gujarāt, was called to Agra at the end of September 1609. Thrown into prison, liberated, reinstated, he was soon after on his way to Goa with Father Pinheiro, who had rejoined him at Agra. It is therefore in 1610 that he was baptized at Goa by Father Nicholas Pimenta, S.J., under the name of Don João, for Don Aleixo de Menezes, the Archbishop, to whom he came as ambassador, left Goa for Portugal either in December 1610 or on January 31, 1611. Mukarrab Khān was back at Surat by the time Middleton's ships arrived. Cf. W. HAWKINS, *Voyages*, Hakluyt, edn. 1878, pp. 406, 409, 414; ELLIOT'S *Hist. of India*, VI, 320-321; GUERREIRO'S *Relaçam* for 1607-08, foll. 19-22v. In 1620, Mukarrab Khān, Governor of Patna, invited the Jesuits of Hugli to come and open a mission at Patna. His son, baptized at Gaore (Goga), had become a Muḥammadan, while Mukarrab Khān, though he prided himself on being called a Christian, was no honour to his religion, but a mere hypocrite. On the Jesuit Mission at Patna in 1620-22, cf. *The Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta, 1906, pp. 804-805, and *The Examiner*, Bombay, 1912, pp. 117-119; also L. S. S. O'Malley, *Patna* (Bengal District Gazetteers), Calcutta, 1907, pp. 75-76.

[1] Cf. PURCHAS, I. 549. Communicated by Mr. H. Beveridge through the late W. Irvine, March 22nd, 1907. The reference for the new edn. of PURCHAS, *His Pilgrimes*, Glasgow, MacLehose, 1905, is vol. IV, 487.

[2] *Hakluytus Posthumus, or* PURCHAS, *His Pilgrimes*, Vol. IV, Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, MCMV, pp. 492-494.

that hee would never be other: whereupon the King practised by faire speeches and large promises, to withdraw him to the folly of Mahomet, offering him Pensions, meanes, and command of Horse, telling him hee had now but foure Rupias a Moneth Wages, which was a poore Reward for quitting his præpuced faith: but if hee would recant, hee would heape upon him many Dignities: the Fellow answering, it was not for so small Wages hee became Christian, for hee had limbes, and [493] could earne so much of any Mahometan, but that hee was a Christian in his heart, and would not alter it. This way not taking effect, the King turned to threatnings, and menacings of Tortures and Whippings; but the Proselyte manfully resolving to suffer anything, answered, hee was readie to endure the Kings pleasure. Upon this resolution, when all men expected present and severe castigation, the King changed his tune, highly commending his constancie and honestie, bidding him goe and returne to his Master, and to serve him faithfully and truely, giving him a Rupia a day Pension for his Integritie. About two Monethes after, the King having been a hunting of wild Hogges, a beast odious to all Moores, and accustomed to distribute that sort of Venision among Christians and Razbootes, sent for this Armenian, Master of this converted catechumen or Mahometan, to come and fetch part of his Quarrie. The Armenian not beeing at home, this his principall Servant came to know the Kings pleasure, who commanded him to take up a Hogge for his Master, which no Moore will touch; which hee did, and being gone out of the Court-gate, was so hooted at by the Mahometans, that hee threw downe his Present in a Ditch, and went home, concealing from his Master what had passed. About foure dayes after the Armenian coming to his watch, the King demanded of him whether the Hogge he sent him were good meat or no; who replyed, hee neyther heard of, nor see any Hogge: whereat the King remembering to whom this Hogge was delivered, caused the fellow to be sent for, and examining the matter, had it confessed how he threw away the Hogge, and never carryed it home: the King pressing to know the reason, the poore fellow answered how he was mocked for touching it, and it being a thing odious to the Moores, for shame he threw it away: at which he replyed, By your law there is no difference of meats, and are you ashamed of your lawes? or to flatter the Mahumetans, doe you in outward things forsake it? Now I see thou art neither good Christian, nor good Mahumetan, but a dissembling knave with [494] both. While I found thee sincere, I gave thee a pension, which now I take from thee, and for thy dissimulation doe command thee to have a hundred stripes, which were presently given him in stead of his money, and bade all men by his example take heed, that seeing hee gave libertie to all Religions, that which they choose and professe, they may sticke unto."

This story appears to be the same as that related by Father Jerome Xavier, S.J., in a letter from Agra, September 6, 1604: "To show favour to some Portuguese who had arrived, the Prince [Salīm, later King Jahāngīr] asked them if they would like some pork to eat, and they said they would. The Prince ordered a pig to be fetched, and, when it was brought, he gave it to a young Christian and bade him take it to his master, but the young man was ashamed and let the pig escape. At supper, the

Prince, remembering the pig, asked the young man's master if he had received it, to which he answered: 'No, my Lord, and I have neither seen nor heard anything of it.' The Prince thereupon sent for the young man and rated him soundly as a disgrace to his religion, dismissed him from his service, took away what he gave him for his daily maintenance, and ordered that two or three months' arrear of pay owing to him should be forfeited.''[1]

The Annual Letters of Goa for 1619 mention the Mīrzā as the Governor of a province over which Jahāngīr has appointed him. He had in his service more than 200 Christians, and two of the Fathers resided at his court. The name of the province is not given in the Annual Letters of 1619 and 1620, but we find Sāmbhar mentioned in Letters of 1621 and 1624 We read in the Annual Letter for 1619[2]:—

Mission of Mogor.—[P. 131] "Of the four Fathers employed on that Mission, two reside at Agra, the ancient Capital of the King, and two accompany him wherever he goes, because he wants it so.....

[132] "Our harvest of [new] Christians was largest in a certain Province over which the King has appointed as Governor an Armenian Christian, a man of singular virtue, whom all the Christians worship as their Father. His name is [133] Mrizè Zulcarnen [Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain]. He has taken at his Court some two hundred poor people, whom he maintains without regard to expense.[3] His largesses—a bait wherewith he conceals his hook—attract the Gentoos and Maomettans so strongly that he fishes up many into the Church of Jesus Christ, who then abjure their vile Maomet. Having been installed Governor of that Province, he secured at once the services of one of our Fathers, and when he had taken possession of his Province, he called still another.[4] Both have reaped plentiful fruit; so necessary is it for the propagation of the Gospel that it should first pass through the ears of the body. Hence many Gentoos and Maomettans have been regenerated through baptism, and these Neophytes are drawn by the Governor's good example to assist with great devotion at Mass and the divine offices, and they show great fervour in frequenting the Sacraments. He asked the Fathers to establish a Sodality of the Holy Mother of God, and was the first to give his name. Like a bright glowing torch, he leads the way in the observance of the rules, hears Mass daily, takes the discipline on Fridays, and distributes himself the disciplines to the brethren. The women have grown jealous of the piety of the men.

[1] *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 92. Fr. Jerome Xavier heard this story probably at Fatehpur Sikri, where he saw the Prince. At the time of writing Fr. Xavier was at Agra, where Akbar then resided.

[2] The Annual Letter of Goa from which we quote was made up at Goa by means of the letters received from the different houses and Missions dependent on the Province of Goa. It is dated February 1, 1620. The Letter from Mogor recited therefore the particulars of 1619. Cf. *Lettere Annue del Giappone, China, Goa, et Ethiopia. Scritte al M. R. P Generale della Compagnia di Giesu....negli anni* 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619....Napoli, Lazaro Scoriggio. MDCXXI, pp. 131-137.

[3] He had begun to employ them in 1614. Cf. *infra* Fr. Corsi's letter, p. 135.

[4] The Catalogues of the Goa Province mention under Mogor: Fr. Joseph de Castro at Sāmbhar in 1621, and Fr. Gonçalo de Souza at Sāmbhar in 1624. There is a letter (MS.) by Fr. Corsi from Sāmbhar, September 17, 1624.

To our astonishment they lock themselves up on a certain day of the week in a certain apartment, where after the example of the Governess and her court-ladies, they go through the same practices.

"Mrizè did not allow the fire of his charity to remain pent up within the confines of his Province; it blazed forth beyond those limits and reached far-off Palestine. Besides the alms which he assigns every month to the Fathers for their upkeep, to needy Neophytes, widows and orphans (all of whom would certainly have been in extreme want [134] now that the King has withdrawn the allowance which he used to grant to Fathers Jerome Xavier and Manoel Pignero [Pinheiro], his great friends), he sent to Jerusalem valuable presents and a big alms for the maintenance of the Religious in charge of the Holy Places.[1] Moreover, on hearing of the above-mentioned hurricane, and how the churches had been badly damaged all over the North, he sent six thousand rupees, a kind of silver money, for repairing the Church of the Blessed Virgin.[2]

"Our Lord does not allow Himself to be outdone by the Mrizè's great liberality. The following will clearly show how He pours by torrents into his soul virtue upon virtue. He had a son, the heir to all his riches, temporal and spiritual, a boy richly gifted in body and soul, the Court's delight.[3] He fell dangerously ill, and only those who know how much he and his father were loved by all, can say how deeply all were concerned. All felt aggrieved; the mother was inconsolable, while the father's heart was rent asunder, on the one hand by his love for so sweet a boy, one so well deserving of his love, on the other by his supernatural desire to please God, desire not a whit inferior to his natural affection for his child. Understanding that the disease was making progress, he made to God—like another Abraham—a heartfelt sacrifice, and bathed in tears burst forth in the following prayer: 'Lord, Thou gavest me this son; to Thee I return him, to Thee I offer him and consecrate him. Receive him, I beseech Thee, clothed in the white garment of innocence with which he was vested in baptism. I know well how much more happy he will be in Heaven than in the Mogor's Royal palace.' And to show that he spoke from the heart, he forbade severely all his people to call in [135] the aid of sorcerers, and let the child be contaminated by their pagan superstitions: anyone acting to the contrary must lose his head in the attempt. God accepted the Mrizè's prayer. The child died, and the father gave thanks to God from his inmost heart, because He had been pleased to accept the dearest pledge of love which he could offer after himself. Nor did he show less joy

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[1] He sent to the Armenian Fathers of Jerusalem Rs. 6,000; to the Franciscans at Jerusalem, Rs. 1,000; to the Franciscans of Aleppo, Rs. 500; to the Franciscans of Bethlehem, Rs. 500. Cf. *infra* Fr. Corsi's account of 1628. I think I have read in one of the MS. letters that he sent valuable lamps to be put up in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

[2] The hurricane of May 17, 1618, which ravaged the coast between Bombaim and Agaçaim, destroyed 15 churches of the Franciscans, 5 of the Dominicans, 3 of the Augustinians, 7 of the Jesuits, and 5 of the secular Priests Cf. FREY LUIS DE CACEGAS, *Hist. de S. Domingos*, Lisboa, 1767, III, L. 2, C. 8; FARIA Y SOUSA, *Asia Portuguesa*, III, P. 3, C. 17: Casimiro Christovão de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas*, Lisboa, 1897, pp. 121, 607, and our notes from the Annual Letter of Goa for 1618 in *The Examiner*, Bombay, 1912, p. 48. The money sent by Zū-l-Qarnain was probably employed in rebuilding the Church of *Nossa Senhora da Vida* of Bassein.

[3] The Moghul Court's, doubtless.

when he heard that the chief Maomettan's little son, who lay mortally ill, had with his father's consent received baptism from our Father.[1] Mrizè ordered to bury the child in the church,[2] and, to surround the ceremony with all possible pomp, he made it a point to be present with all the Christians then in that town. This gave the followers of the false Prophet so much to talk about and wonder at, that they formed a much higher opinion of baptism than theretofore.

" This faithful servant of God is so greatly favoured by the Divine Majesty that all the affairs of his government are daily crowned with increased success. Plenty has chosen his house as her abode, as a treasure-house wherein she pours and empties out her cornucopia. He is the eye of the King; for him to ask is to obtain; his name is famous everywhere; in fine, he is so full of heavenly grace that it redounds marvellously on those of his household.

" His wife was in the throes of a dangerous parturition. Mrizè, taking from his neck the cross studded with relics which he used to wear, had it hung from the neck of his consort, and behold! presently she gave birth to a most pretty boy. The good Mrizè recognized in this a special favour of God, a reward for the generous oblation he had made of his other son to the Divine Majesty. To celebrate [136] so happy an event, not merely the birthday of an heir, but a great miracle obtained through the Holy Cross, he began the festivities by releasing all the prisoners and paying off their debts.

" The followers of Maomet dare not, under so powerful a protector of the Christian law, set their face against it: on the contrary, they respect it, and many are the Gentoo slaves whom they restore to liberty on condition of their becoming Christians."

Mission of Mogor.[3]—[P. 161]—" Five of our Fathers are cultivating this vast kingdom. One of them is always following the King and his army; another resides at Agra, the capital, with a great part of the Christians. The other three are near Prince Mirza Zulcarne, the father, pillar and mainstay of this Christianity. All have had ample occasion to labour for Christ, one excepted, who for reason of illness was sent back to [Portuguese] India. . . . .

" The Christians who live under Prince Mirza make daily [165] marvellous progress in holiness and virtue. The Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, instituted last year at his request, goes on better and better. The members of it are already every month

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[1] Probably Aṣaf Khān, brother of Nūr Jahān, Jahāngir's brother-in-law, and Shāh Jahān's father-in-law, is meant here. He was the staunchest friend and protector of the Fathers throughout the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. His action should not surprise us, however remarkable in itself. It may be compared with the case of the baptism of Mukarrab Khān's son. The child meant may also be the son of Prince Parwīz, who after the disgrace of Prince Khusrū, was the heir-apparent. He had a son, five years old, who died at Agra in 1618. Cf. A. ROGERS and H. BEVERIDGE, *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, II. 110, 110 *n.* 1.

[2] At Agra, or Lahore, rather than at Sāmbhar.

[3] This extract is from the Annual Letter of Goa for 1620, which is not dated, but must have been written at Goa at the end of 1620 or in the very beginning of 1621. Cf. *Lettere Annve d' Etiopia, Malabar, Brasil, e Goa, dall' Anno* 1620 *fin' al* 1624... Roma, Francisco Corbeletti, MDCXXVII, pp. 161, 164-170. There is a French translation: *Histoire de ce qui s'est passé en Ethiopie, Malabar, Brasil, et es Indes Orientales*... Paris, S. Cramoisy, MDCXXVIII, in which the letter of Goa for 1620 will be found at pp. 171-216.

approaching the Sacraments of Confession and Holy Communion, whereas formerly they did so only once a year. Their example provokes among the rest of the Christians a greater frequentation of the Holy Sacraments. Foremost in all works of piety is the good Prince Mirza. Not only does he by his edifying example excite all his people to every kind of good work, but he assists them liberally and lavishly with frequent and copious alms. He does not allow that those of the Sodality should miss the Saturday and Sunday meetings. He is never absent himself from the Sodality meetings, or from the exercise of the discipline, which he takes with the rest every Friday in honour of Our Lord's Passion. He insists that the children be twice a day at the Catechism, we mean the Christian Doctrine, and to excite them to fervour in an exercise so holy and so beneficial to their souls he proposes fine pious prizes. This Lent[1] he obtained from the Father who is with him and takes care of all those Christians that the exercise of the discipline should take place twice a week, so that during this more sacred season they might be doubly mindful of the Saviour's sufferings. It happened at that time that for necessary reasons the Father was called away by the Superior of that Mission. This departure grieved the good Prince [166] deeply, because he would now be deprived of the opportunity of frequently going to confession, as was his custom. When the Father had gone, he took the resolution of abstaining from meat during two months (the time of the Father's absence), and he observed this resolution so strictly that even the Saracens wondered, when they saw him, even at solemn banquets, regularly refusing to touch meat. Nay, happening to travel in Lent, he kept the fast most punctually, and during the many days that the journey lasted he would eat only once a day, at noon. He continued likewise his usual bodily penances and mortifications, and when Holy Week had come, he celebrated it with all the ceremonies and devotions which he would practise at home.

"No sooner was the good Prince apprised of the arrival of the two Fathers sent from Goa, than he sent fifty persons on horseback to escort them and serve them during the rest of the journey. When they had come nearer, he went himself a great part of the way to meet them with his ordinary body of cavalry and infantry, a large number, not to speak of his elephants and other things of truly regal pomp. Presently, when he came within sight of them, this Christian Prince dismounted, cast himself on the ground, and, kissing reverently the hands of the two Fathers, asked their blessing; [167] after which he conducted them to his palace with every demonstration of honour and pleasure. Too great for words was the ecstasy of this good Lord when the Fathers presented him from the Father Provincial of Goa with the patent giving him a share in the good works of the Society. At once, he placed it on his head, saying with incredible joy that he valued that present more than any earthly treasure.[2] The number of our spiritual labourers having increased, the good Prince bestowed on the Father Superior of the Mission an

[1] The Lent of 1620, as I understand it.

[2] A more official patent from the General of the Society was also asked for the Prince. Somehow, many years passed before it was obtained. It had not yet been received in 1628.

alms of fifteen hundred scudi, and five hundred more for the other Fathers in Mogor.[1] But our Fathers are not the only recipients of the liberality of this Christian Prince. He extends it to the rest of the Christians, and even to the poor Gentoos.

"A Christian, one of the chief citizens, lying near death, wished to make his will; but he found his debts were so considerable that, if he wanted to satisfy his creditors, he must deprive his children of much which they could not miss. The poor sick man was in sore perplexity. When this most liberal Prince came to hear of it, he went to see him, consoled him and promised that he would pay off his debts, even if he survived. And so he did, thus showing how strong a hold charity and compassion can take of a Christian heart.

"At this time a great scarcity[2] and penury of food [168] was harassing the Gentoos. For the last five years the rain had failed. The sky had seemed of brass. A great number of people flocked to the city of our Mirza, and the good Prince, moved with pity, ordered a rich Gentoo to distribute daily to his people a sufficient quantity of food, with which he would regularly supply him. This man did so for many days, when Mirza began to scruple whether he could in conscience perform, through a barbarian, an enemy of Christ, this pious work of feeding the famished. He sought the advice of the Father who is with him, and was asked on that occasion why he used for so holy an object the services of a Gentoo rather than of a Christian. 'Because, Father,' was the pious Prince's answer, 'there is not a single man among the Christians rich enough to make people believe that he exercises this charity towards the poor at his own expense. If a Christian were to give such alms in this city, all would at once think that evidently I am behind it. Therefore, to avoid vain glory in this matter, I thought of employing this rich Gentoo whom many will probably imagine to be the giver of these alms.

"At all the most solemn feasts of the year, Mirza sends to the Father a large sum of money to be distributed in alms among the poor Christians. His kindness towards those who come from Paganism is beyond words. [169] He helps and assists them in all their needs, that they may be confirmed in the Holy Faith. He does the same in the case of orphan girls, who otherwise would be in danger. He presents them with dowries, and marries them according to their rank, thus placing their virtue beyond the reach of temptation. In a word, Prince Mirza is among these Mogorese another apostle, a second St. Paul, who becomes *omnibus omnia, ut omnes Christo lucrifaciat* (all things to all men, that he may save all).[3] Kind to all, the pillar of this Christianity, the only refuge of all the afflicted, he not only procures to all the bodily assistance they may want, but ministers with even greater success to their souls.

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[1] The *scudo*, like the *cruzado*, was then valued at Rs. 2. In 1633, Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain was made to pay to Shāh Jahān Rs. 800,000, and this sum is converted by the Jesuits into 400,000 *scudi* or *cruzados*. Hence, the *scudo* has been reckoned too low in Sir R. C. Temple's edn. of *Travels of Peter Mundy*, II. 379.

[2] "This apparently refers to some local scarcity of food in the Sāmbhar district in 1620. There is no other mention of it, so far as I know. The great famine in the West of India occurred in 1630...." Sir Richard Carnac Temple, *op. cit.*, II, 378 *n.* 1.

[3] Adapted from 1 Cor. ix. 22.

"An old woman had for more than sixty years remained stubborn in her idolatry. She followed the superstitious sect of what they call here Jogin.[1] Hearing Prince Mirza's preaching and his pious exhortations, she resolved to become a Christian. And so, after a year's trial—in order to confirm her in the Faith,—she was solemnly baptized, to the great satisfaction of all, and with the hope of converting others. Another, a lady of rank, wished to become a Christian, chiefly, she said, because the religion of that Father of ours, whom she saw daily assisting people in dying well and burying the poor, could not be false. Such then is the power, even on the heart of Barbarians, of the example of Christian piety and mercy.

"Last June one of our priests[2] was sent to Goa in order to negotiate with the Superiors the foundation of a College of the Society [170] at Agra, the capital of Mogor, which Prince Mirza wishes to found on a yearly revenue of fifteen hundred scudi.

"During his journey, the Father did not neglect to labour for Christ and make himself useful to the souls of the Barbarians among whom he passed. God grant for His glory, for the confusion of Maomettan obduracy, and the good of those idolaters, that the affairs of the Agra College may go on improving.". .....

Mission of Mogor and its Residences.[3]—[P. 336] "We continue cultivating the [A.D. 1624] Christianity of this great Empire. It grows and would grow still more, if we had labourers, the want of them being greatly felt in this premier Province of the East.[4] For just reasons, a Father has again been stationed in the Residence of Laor [Lahore]. At Sambar and at Agra they have laboured as much as these places admit of.....

"Last year two sons of the Seraphic Father St. Francis came to Sambar [Sāmbhar], and this year two others came with their Commissary, a Religious of great talents, and one who has well merited of his office.....[5]

[341] "Mirza Zulcarnen continues to give much edification, and to show much zeal for the cause of Christianity. We hope of him that he will promote much the new Christianity of this country, and that of [Portuguese] India."

Michel Angelo Lualdi's account in *L' India Orientale soggettata al Vangelo*, Roma,

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[1] Was she a *jogin* or merely a Hindū, devout to some *jogī*, or did she belong to a caste of Hindūs, called *jogī*, who are commonly weavers? The word *jogi* was used very loosely by the old authors. [2] June 1620. Fr. J. de Castro.

[3] The Annual Letter of Goa for 1622 is missing in *Lettere Annve d' Etiopia, Malabar, Brasil, e Goa, dall' Anno 1620 fin' al 1624*....Roma, Francisco Corbeletti, MDCXXVII. As for the letter from Mogor for 1623, it is said in the Annual letter of Goa for 1623 that a special relation would be sent. We may take it, therefore, that the extracts here given for Mogor from the Letter of Goa, December 15, 1624, refer to 1624. In fact, the information from Mogor finishes with a letter from Father Antonio d' Andrada, Badrināth, May 16, 1624, and it contains a letter about Mogor of July 14, 1624, which relates Fr. Jos. de Castro's return from Ajmer to Agra before Christmas, his visit to Kashmīr in Jahāngīr's company, their return to Agra, and Prince Khurram's defeat near Allahabad.

[4] The Province of Goa.

[5] The Commissary's name alone is found—Father Francis of Madrid. In a letter dated 14th July 1624, he writes his impressions of Sāmbhar and Agra to the Provincial of Goa. "Before penetrating further into the interior," he says (*op. cit.*, p. 337), "I met at Sambar Fr. Francis Corso [Corsi], whose Christian community is so well instructed that one could desire nothing better. The rare virtues displayed by that Father in that ministry drew from my eyes tears of joy and the charity with which he received us was equal to all his other virtues. From there I went to Agra, where I found two other Fathers....." The object of these five Franciscans in visiting Mogor does not appear; but, we understand that, coming to Agra, they would not neglect to pay a visit to Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain at Sāmbhar and thank him for his liberalities to their Order.

Ignatio de Lazzari, MDCLIII, pp. 362-363, summarizes the Annual Letter of Goa for 1619. "The faith was propagated most in a certain Province of Mogor, where Mrizè Zulcarnen, a native of Armenia and a Christian from his birth, ruled since 1619[1] with the title of Governor. Greatly in favour with the King, and therefore very powerful, he promoted largely our religion. He built a church in his Province, where the faithful would assemble and acquit themselves of the observances of their religion. The number of the poor having greatly increased, he took some two hundred of them into his palace and supported them with great generosity. This example of his faith and charity drew many away from the impious persuasion of Mahomet, and the unhappy thraldom of idolatry; hence, he obtained the name of 'Father of the Christians of Mogor.' Extending still further the bounds of his great charity, and in order to keep up the care of our Redeemer's Sepulchre in Jerusalem,[2] he sent thither from the remote banks of the Ganges rich presents and a goodly sum of money for the maintenance of the Religious entrusted with the custody of the Holy Places. He wished to have a Sodality established under the patronage of the Mother of God, and he was the first to have himself enrolled and to profess his allegiance to the great Queen. When the exercises of the Friday scourging was introduced, he distributed himself the chords to the Congregation, and to induce them to chastise the unruly senses for their rebellion against reason he would forestall them in taking the discipline. Every day he assisted with great reverence at the Sacrifice of the Mass, beseeching the Lord of all things to keep and augment his Christian flock. So lively and unfaltering was his faith that, when human means failed to avert from his consort the dangers of parturition, he had recourse to helps divine. Full of trust in a crucifix containing sacred relics which he wore round his neck, he took it off, placed it round the neck of the lady, and presently *con quel legame scoltisi i nodosi nodi dell' utero*, she was happily delivered of a lovely boy. The pious Armenian considered himself beholden to God for this heavenly favour, and in token of his gratitude to the Eternal Monarch he restored all his prisoners to liberty. But, lest clemency should get the better of justice, he paid their creditors from his own purse, leaving criminal cases to be judged in another Court."

There is an allusion to the Mīrzā in the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* or *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*[3]: "Zū-l-Qarnain obtained leave to proceed to the faujdarship of Sambhar. He is the son of Iskandar, the Armenian, and his father had the good fortune to be in the service of 'Arsh-āshyānī (Akbar), who gave him in marriage the daughter of 'Abdu-l-Hayy,[4] the Armenian, who was in the service in the royal harem. By her he had two sons. One was Zū-l-Qarnain, who was intelligent and fond of work, and to him, during my reign, the chief diwans had entrusted the charge of the government salt works at Sambhar, a duty which he performed efficiently. He was now ap-

[1] This date, which is not in the published Jesuit letters, must be Lualdi's glose.

[2] The Annual of 1620 quoted above does not mention the Holy Sepulchre; Lualdi is, however, correct in his glose.

[3] Cf. A. ROGERS and H. BEVERIDGE, *The Tūzuk-i-Jahāngirī*...., London, 1914, II. 194.

[4] "He is mentioned in some MSS. of the Akbarnāma, Vol. III, as taking part in the religious discussions." Cf. *op. cit.*, II. 194*n*.

pointed to the faujdarship of that region. He is an accomplished composer of Hindi songs. His method in this art was correct, and his compositions were frequently brought to my notice and were approved." [1]

The passage belongs to the end of the 15th year of Jahāngīr's reign and Zū-l-Qarnain appears to have gone to take up his appointment in February, 1621. The *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* is, however, at variance here with the Jesuit Annual Letters, which speak of him in 1619 as Governor of a Province, which we supposed to be Sāmbhar. But the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* agrees in stating that, previous to his appointment to the faujdārship, he had been in charge there of the government salt works.

In May 1628, Father Francisco Corsi, S.J., who had been in Mogor since February 1600, wrote to the General of the Society of Jesus in Rome a statement regarding the benefactions made to the Mission of Mogor by Mīrzā Sikandar and Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain since 1613. One of the Mīrzā's chief titles to the everlasting gratitude of the Fathers was that he had donated in 1619 a large sum of money with which to buy landed property in the "North," *i.e.*, near Salsette, Bombay. The Missionaries and their Christian poor were thus made independent of the King, by whom chiefly they had until then been maintained. The Mīrzā's foundation was called the *Collegium inchoatum* of Agra. As in the case of the "College" of Huglī, the term "College" applied to the Jesuit House of Agra has led to many misunderstandings. The organisation of the Society did not then know residences not dependent on a "College"; hence, when the Order established itself in a new country, a "College" was founded, around which secondary houses were grouped.[2] Agra under the Jesuits (1600-1773) never had a College worth speaking of. At most there was a small school for elementary education. The "Rector" of the Agra College was merely the Superior of the Mogor Mission, the Agra "College" being the chief Jesuit House in Mogor with two or at most three other mission-stations dependent on it. About 1628, Zū-l-Qarnain made another foundation for a "College" in Tibet. Evidently, there was no question of a big school to be conducted in Tibet, but of a Mission in want of regular subsidies to carry on its work. The head-station would have been called a "College," and its branch-stations, "Residences." On the destruction of the Tibet Mission about 1640, the Superior of the Mogor Mission asked that its funds should be applied to the Agra College, the revenues of

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[1] "... It is mentioned in M. Wāriṣ's continuation of the *Pādishāh-nāma*, p. 392, of B.M. MS., that Zū-l-Qarnain Farangī came from Bengal and presented poems which he had composed on Shāh Jahān's name, and got a present of Rs. 4,000. He it was, probably, who entertained Coryat. The passage in the text seems to show that Akbar had an Armenian wife." [H. B.] *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Op. cit., II. 194, *n.* 1.—On the 4th Urdībihisht A.H. 1032 (1623), one Mansūr Khān Farangī with his brother (the MSS. have "his brother Maghrūr") and Naubat Khān Dakhanī (the MSS. have a name that is not Naubat, but perhaps Yūnas or Yūnash Khān) separated from Bi-daulat (Prince Khurram), and entered Jahāngīr's service. "Manṣūr's circumstances," says the historian, "have been recorded in the preceding pages," whereupon Mr. H. Beveridge asks, where? (Cf. *ibid.*, II. 258). He is mentioned later (p. 271), where his death is recorded in 1623. "Perhaps," says Mr. H. B., "he is the Armenian mentioned in the 15th year as Zū-l-Qarnain. But, an Armenian would hardly be called a Farangī." (*Ibid.*, II, 258, *n.* 1). On this we remark that Mr. H. B. has himself shown (*ibid.*, II, 194, *n.* 1) that Zū-l-Qarnain was called Farangī. Manṣūr Khān, killed in 1623, cannot be Zū-l-Qarnain, who died some 30 years later.

[2] "Nec admittendæ censebantur Residentiæ perpetuæ, nisi vel tanquam membra alicujus Collegii, vel tanquam Collegia inchoata" (*a.* 1619-23). Cf. H. RAMIÈRE, S.J., *Compendium Instituti Soc. Jesu*, Tolosæ, 1896, p. 124.

which had become inadequate. One of the first acts of the English authorities of Bombay was to confiscate the estates of the Agra College.

Fol. 671r. "*OF THE ORIGIN OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGIUM INCHOATUM IN THE CITY OF AGRA, MADE BY MIRZA ZULCARNE, AND ACCEPTED BY OUR REVD. FATHER MUTIO VITELLESQI IN THE YEAR* 1621."[1]

"When King Acbar [Akbar] was reigning in Mogol, there came to this Court an honourable man, an Armenian, called Mirza Scander [Mīrzā Sikandar=the Lord Alexander] a native of Halepo [Aleppo], whom the King esteemed highly, as he was a young gentleman and possessed of good parts, among others a knowledge of various languages, in particular Portuguese, because he had been living some years as a merchant in the cities of India.[2] Hence, the King not only admitted him as a cavalier (*criado de cavalo*), but married him with a damsel called Juliana, the daughter of another honourable Armenian, Koja Abdellahi (whom I also knew).[3] Owing to this connection, M. Escander was much more esteemed at Court. M. Scander's first-born son by the said Juliana was our Founder Mirza Zulcarnen, a name given him as a favour by King Acbar himself, this being the name of Alexander the Great, whom they call Scander Zulcarnen.[4] A year later, Bibi Juliana[5] gave birth to
Fol. 671v. another son, named M. Scanderus,[6] who died lately.[7] The King, of his || special affection for Bibi Juliana, gave both the boys to one of the Queens, who was childless, to be adopted and educated as her own children. She did so, and brought them up in the royal palace until they were twelve years old, when, the laws of the women's quarters not allowing them to continue there any longer, they left and went to their father's house. King Acbar tried to marry M. Scander with a sister of Bibi Juliana now dead[8]; but, as Fr. Jeronimo Xavier and the rest of the Fathers objected, the good King, understanding that it could not be done without a dispensation from the Holy Father, resolved to ask this favour from His Holiness through Our Father

[1] *Ex MSS. Soc. Jesu, Goana Hist.*, 1600-1624 (Goa, 33), foll. 671r-678v.—Portuguese. Fr. Corsi's autograph.

Begins: *Da origem da Fundaçaõ do Collegio incoato na Cidade de Agra feita por Mirza Zulcarné, e aceitada polo N. R. P. Geral Mutio Vitellesqi o anno* 1621.

[2] Portuguese India.—M. Sikandar, senior, is called an Armenian from Aleppo; but we shall hear Father Botelho tell us by and by that he was not an Armenian. Zū-l-Qarnain's uncle, Janibeg, is called a Chaldean by Father de Castro (Janibeg's chaplain?) in a letter from Sāmbhar, July 20, 1645. In a discussion with Akbar in 1581, Monserrate refutes "the common error which calls all the Asiatic Christians Armenians, whereas many are Greeks, Chaldeans, Syrians, and a few Nestorians, just as it calls Franks the Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians and Germans." Cf. *Memoirs A.S.B.*, III, 609.

[3] Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy. He died therefore after 1600.

[4] Sikandar Zū-l-Qarnain=Alexander, the two-horned. The marriage must have taken place about 1590. Zū-l-Qarnain was born in 1592, considering that he was 14 years old in 1606, and 20 in 1613 (cf. p. 133).

[5] Bībī=lady, queen. The name Juliana is not Armenian. Perhaps she had been baptised by Fr. Julian Pereira, who first came to Fatehpur Sīkrī (1578-80).

[6] Mīrzā Iṣkandarūs. Both the father and his two sons had names representing Alexander. The Relation of 1606 makes M. Iṣkandarūs three years younger than his brother M. Zū-l-Qarnain. He was born in 1595, therefore.

[7] *Pouco depois se morreo* might mean: he died shortly after. We translate as above in view of certain remarks which follow.

[8] Bībī Juliana must have died before 1598, since it was in 1598 at the latest that Mīrzā Sikandar, senior, married Juliana's sister.

General. The Supreme Pontiff granted it him by word of mouth (*vivae vocis oraculo*), and gave orders to write that he granted this dispensation, because the request came from so high a King, one who so greatly favoured in his Kingdom Christianity and the ministers of the Holy Gospel. It was at this time, in February of the year 1600, that I arrived at this Court.

"Shortly after the two boys had left the Queen's house, King Acbar died. His son, King Jahangir, succeeded him, and, at the instigation of some Grandees of his Court, he tried to make the two boys renounce the law of Jesus Christ and embrace the law of the Moors. In fact, he ordered them || to be circumcised by force, and Fol. 67*2r*. first he had so many lashes given to each that the bodies of both were covered with blood and with the marks of the cruel stripes, as I myself saw; for I accompanied Fr. Jeronimo Xavier, who, on hearing of the case, went at once to visit, console and encourage them. And, though the two, mere children yet, showed some weakness in this encounter (*auto*), by pronouncing under the lashes certain words of the creed of the Moorish law, still I am of opinion that we may regard them as Confessors of the law of Jesus Christ. Indeed, during this same tragic affair, after the boys had uttered the said words, they strongly resisted when they tried forcibly to circumcise them. Amid tears, M. Zulcarnen clamoured to the King: 'Sire, tell them to cut off our head, not the foreskin!' What strengthens me in this belief is what happened shortly after; for the King, regretting already what he had done, told both the boys to live in the law of Jesus Christ like their father; and so they have been doing until now, through the Lord's mercy.[1] M. Zulcarnen, in particular, worthily redeemed his weakness as a child. When he was come to man's estate, and had become one of the King's nobles (*fidalgo*), charged with important commissions, the King gave him many times occasion to discuss in his presence and before the whole Court about the things of our || Holy Law against the highest and wisest Moors in Fol. 67*2v*. the King's entourage. He would do it so ably that the King himself *applaudebat et approbabat quae dicebat* (would applaud and approve what he said), and he showed such zeal that Fr. Jose de Castro, who was always present, wrote to me several times, and related to me orally, that he could not have done it better himself.

"In 1613, when M. Zulcarnen was twenty years old, his father M. Scander died.[2] He left a very large fortune, which was distributed among the four sons he left behind (two by his first wife, and two by his second), in conformity with the testament which he had drawn up through Fr. Jeronimo Xavier. In the said testament M. Scander left twenty thousand Rupees to be distributed as follows for the good of his soul:—

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[1] This compared with the statement *pouco depois se morreo* (*supra*, p. 132 *n.* 7) shows that Mīrzā Iṣkandarūs, Zū-l-Qarnain's brother, had died shortly before Father Corsi wrote, *i.e.*, before May 1628.

[2] We do not know where Mīrzā Sikandar (senior) and Bībī Juliana were buried.

	Rs.
For the Armenian Fathers who are in Jerusalem ..	6,000
For the Fathers of St. Francis in Jerusalem [1]	1,000
For the Fathers of St. Francis in Halepo [2]	500
For the Fathers of St. Francis at Bethlehem [3]	500
For the Church and the Christians of Lahor	2,000
For the Church and the Christians of Agra	4,000
For his grave with a chapel	3,000
For widows and marriage dowries for orphan girls ..	2,000
Fol. 673r. For saying Masses at Goa	400
For arranging (*pera concertar*) a cemetery for the deceased Christians of Lahor [4]	600
Total ..	20,000

"M. Scander ordained further that, as to the specified property which he left to the King, four portions should be made of whatever the King might not take, but leave to his sons; three-fourths of this to be divided among his children, and one-fourth to be given to the Fathers of the Society at Agra and spent by them in pious works at their discretion. In fact, the King left to the sons of M. Scander many of the things they offered him from their late father; and, as it was very difficult to verify from reliable accounts (*averiguarse por contas certas*) how much the said one-fourth amounted to, Fr. Xavier and Mirza agreed that, so long as the matter was not ascertained more clearly, the said fourth part would be seven thousand rupees. Besides, as M. Zulcarnen was nearly sure that, after the division of the property, his three brothers would not pay their share of the alms, he took upon himself of his own accord, and with the consent of his brothers, the whole of this obligation,||

[1] From the 13th century Catholicism was upheld in the Holy Land almost exclusively by the Franciscans. The Order has a special province, the *Custodia Terræ Sanctæ*, the head of which, till 1847 the supreme authority for Catholics in Palestine, is the Franciscan Provincial, the *Custos Terræ Sanctæ*. The Franciscans have at Jerusalem the little Convent of the Holy Sepulchre with the Chapel of the Apparition, that forms the northern part of the group of buildings at the Anastasis. This has been Franciscan property since the 13th century.

The Gregorian Armenians possess at the Holy Sepulchre the Chapel of St. Helena, of St. John, of the "Division of Garments," of St. James (behind the Anastasis), and "the Stone of the Holy Women." They have further the right of walking in procession about the Anastasis, and take their turn to celebrate their offices at it. They have other establishments in Jerusalem. Cf. ADRIAN FORTESCUE in *Cath. Encycl.*, New York, VIII.

It would seem that Zū-l-Qarnain's benefactions to the Armenian Fathers of Jerusalem went to the Gregorian Armenians, non-Catholics, which makes us suppose that his father Sikandar was not originally a Catholic.

[2] The Christian population of Aleppo is now 19,000 Catholics (Greeks, United or Melchites, Syrians, Armenians, Maronites, Chaldeans and Latins), 2,800 non-Catholic Christians (mostly Gregorian Armenians). Four Catholic Archbishops govern the Melchites, the Syrians, the Armenians, the Maronites. The Gregorian Armenians are administered by a Vartabet appointed by the Catholicos of Sis. Cf. S. PÉTRIDÈS in *Catholic Encycl.*, New York, *s.v.*, Aleppo.

[3] Bethlehem counts to-day 5,000 Latins, 100 Catholic Melchite Greeks, 4,000 Greeks and a few Armenians. The Franciscans govern the Latin parish. The greater part of the Church of the Nativity is now shared by different Communions; while the choir belongs to the Greeks alone, the Grotto of the Nativity is open to the Latins, the Greeks and the Armenians, who hold services there each in turn. Cf. S. VAILHÉ in *Cath. Encycl.*, New York, *s.v.*, Bethlehem.

[4] Where was that cemetery? It must have contained Armenian tombs.

and gave Fr. Jeronimo Xavier a voucher to the effect that he owed twenty-seven thousand Rupees, left by his father for the rest of his soul.[1] And, according as Mirza kept paying, it was noted down in the said voucher, as follows :— Fol. 673v.

"*Memo of payments made by M. Zulcarnen in compliance with his obligation towards his father's will.*

	Rs.
We received from M. Zulcarnen six thousand Rupees sent to the Armenian Fathers in Jerusalem	6,000
Other one thousand Rupees sent to the Fathers of St. Francis in Jerusalem	1,000
Other one thousand Rupees, of which Rs. 500 were sent to Halepo, and Rs. 500 to Bethlehem, to the Fathers of St. Francis	1,000
We sent to Goa for Masses	400
Mirza gave for sundry marriages	620
He gave again to Fr. Jeronimo Xavier, when he went to Goa at the King's order	490
He gave again for his father's tomb and chapel ..	3,000
Fr. Jeronimo Xavier also gave Mirza a paper good for one thousand Rupees to be spent at [his] discretion on pious works, by the terms of the above-said will ..	1,000
Fr. Antonio Machado, being Superior, also gave Mirza a paper in the said form to the value of	500
Total of the above ..	14,010

Fol. 674r.

"In the year 1614, the Portuguese having seized at Surat a ship belonging to the King's subjects, they ordered us to close our churches in these parts,[2] and took from us the alms which the King used to give us ; hence, to maintain ourselves and the poor Christians, we were obliged to melt down (*desfazer*) and sell two gold chalices and the candlesticks and other silver furniture of the church, and we were, so to say, constrained to stop giving the ordinary alms to many widows and poor Christians. M. Zulcarnen, on learning this, said to Fr. Jeronimo Xavier that he would keep on his establishment all the Christians who would be willing (in fact, he kept many, both foot and horse), and that he would give to all the widows and other poor Christians the same alms as they used to receive daily. To this effect, he began from the month of July of the year 1614 to give us every month two hundred rupees deducible from his debt, and we received it monthly and put it down in the aforesaid

[1] *i.e.*, Rs. 20,000, as shown by the total in our list above, and Rs. 7,000 agreed upon between Fr. Jerome Xavier and M. Zū-l-Qarnain as constituting one-fourth of what did not belong to Jahāngīr.

[2] The Jesuit Letters of the period (MSS.) and the letters of the English factors contain much information on this incident. Cf. *e.g.*, W. NOEL SAINSBURY, *Calendar of State Papers* (1513-1616), London, 1862, pp. 251, 258, 259, 260, 316, 321, 327, 331, 333, 334, 346, 349, 357.

Fol. 674v. voucher for twenty-seven thousand rupees. With this alms we || maintained ourselves and gave charity to the poor Christians. Mirza told us that he gave us the said alms to fulfil his duty as executor of his father's will.

"On the ground of this ordinary allowance which Mirza gave us, we received the following :—

	Rs.
In the year 1614, from the month of July ..	1,200
In the year 1615, we received .	2,400
In the year 1616, we received ..	2,400
In the year 1617, we received ..	2,400
In the year 1618, we received ..	2,400
Total of the above ..	10,800
Which with the aforesaid sum of ..	14,010
Makes ..	24,810

"At this time, being Superior of the Mission in the place of Fr. Antonio Machado, deceased at Agra,[1] I proposed to Mirza that, though the King was giving us now again the ordinary allowance, which for the present was sufficient for our upkeep and that of the poor Christians, he should give us once for all, instead of his monthly donation of Rs. 200, a goodly alms with which to buy in India immovable property,
Fol. 675r. so that, if at any time the King's alms failed us, || we might therewith maintain ourselves and our Christian poor, thus precluding the necessity of our leaving the country for want of means. This plan pleased Mirza so much that he promised at once, and shortly after gave us, twenty thousand rupees. Even then he did not cease giving us his monthly donation of Rs. 200. Fr Jose de Castro took this sum to Goa, whither he went chiefly to negotiate this affair, which, thanks to God, was concluded.[2] By means of our Fathers, we bought the two *aldeas* (villages) which

[1] The Annual Letter of Mogor for 1619 states that the Superior of the Mission died three days before the arrival of the Fathers who accompanied Jahāngīr back to Agra. Jahāngīr was so fond of their company that he would not allow them to forestall by a few days his own arrival at Agra. Now, the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (A. Rogers' and H. Beveridge's transl. II. 65-66) says that Jahāngīr arrived on January 8 (?), 1619 at Fatḥpur Sīkri, where he stayed owing to the bubonic plague then ravaging Agra. On the 1st Urdībihisht, Hijr. 1028 (April 1619), Jahāngīr made his entrance into Agra (*ibid.*, p. 84). One of the Fathers who accompanied him must have been Fr. Corsi, from whom we have a letter dated Fatḥpur, April 3, 1619. Curiously enough, the inscription over Father Machado's tomb in the Martyrs' Chapel, Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra, says: AQVI IAZ O PE / ANTONIO MA/CHADO FALE/CEO AOS 4 DE / ABRIL DO 1636. || (Here lies Padre Antonio Machado; died on the 4th of April 1636). This is evidently not the date of his death. An old transcription of the inscriptions in the Martyrs' Chapel, mixed with gloses and preserved in the Archives of the Catholic Mission at Agra, says: "Here lies Padre Antonio Machado, whither he was transferred from the destroyed Church on the 4th of April 1636." We know that the Jesuit Church at Agra was pulled down in 1636 under strict orders from Shāh Jahān. The date of Fr. Machado's inscription is then that of the translation of his remains. He appears in the catalogues of Mogor in 1605, 1606, 1607, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1612, 1613, 1614, 1616, 1618. Some of the intervening catalogues and that of 1619 are missing. The catalogue of 1618 calls him Superior. His name drops out in the catalogues of 1620 and subsequent years. Sommervogel, *Bibl. de la Comp. de Jésus*, says that he became Superior of Mogor in 1613 (a mistake for 1618 ?) and died at Angola on August 27, 1627. There must have been two Anthony Machados; one who, according to Elesban de Guilhermy, S.J., *Ménol. de la C. de J.*, died at Angola on August 27, 1627, aged 33; the other, our Missionary in Mogor, who in 1614 was 53 years old, of which he had spent 36 in the Society. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1910, pp. 459*n*, 529.

[2] In June 1620. Cf. *supra* (p. 129), extracts from Ann. Letter of Mogor for 1620.

we have in the North. They cost twenty-seven thousand rupees.[1] So, we had a debt of seven thousand rupees; but, we paid off at once four thousand rupees which Mirza gave us, and the rest was repaid. But, as at that time Fr. Andre Boves was Superior and had this matter in hand, I do not well remember how the sum was paid.[2] However, I always considered it certain that it was paid, either from the extraordinary alms Mirza gave us, or from the revenues which the *aldeas* were already yielding for us. When these *aldeas* were bought, our Fathers in India, knowing Mirza's good heart and how great and munificent a benefactor he was to us, resolved in the Congregation then held to petition our Father General in behalf of the whole Province || to accept Mirza as a founder.[3] Our Father General granted the favour, Fol. 675v. as appears from a letter of our Father Assistant, dated the 31st December 1621, in answer to one of Fr. Jose de Castro. He says :—

[1] "Paréla [Parel, Bombay] is another house [of the Jesuits] with a church, closer to the town [of Bombay], the revenues of which went to the College of Agra. This villa has passed under the English jurisdiction." Cf. BERNOUILLI, *Description Hist. et Géogr. de l'Inde*, I. (1786), p. 411.—"A Franciscan chapel is said to have been built at Parel. At some later date, the estates on which this church stood, and possibly the church itself, passed into the hands of the Jesuits of Bandra [some time before 1653, and probably about 1620]. When the Jesuit property was finally confiscated by the Government in 1720, this chapel and the residence attached were utilised with additions as 'Government House.' The chapel still remains embodied in the building of the Government laboratory, now used for the manufacture of plague prophylactic. The designation of the chapel is unknown." Cf. E. HULL, S.J., *The Examiner*, Bombay, 1907, Aug. 31, p. 343. The date 1620 is the more correct one, as we now see. "The Jesuits of Bandra were large land-owners in the northern parts of the island of Bombay (Parel, Naigaon, Vadala, Mahim, Dharavi, etc.). They held this property in trust as a source of revenue for the support of various missions, such as those of Goa, Cochin, Agra, Japan, China, etc., and different Fathers or lay-brothers were appointed as procurators of the same. When in 1665 Bombay was handed over to the English, the Jesuits laid claim to these lands, but were refused. The matter gave friction from time to time between the Portuguese and the English—which reached a climax in 1719, when the Government finally declared the property of the Order confiscated to the Crown." ID., *ibid.*, August 3, 1907, p. 304. See also Aug. 31, 1907, pp. 343-344; Oct. 5, 1907, pp. 394-395. Fr. E. Hull suggests very correctly that the Jesuits secured landed property in Portuguese territory to evade the difficulties of the Moslem property-law. In fact, all the land belonged to the King and all property of the Grandees reverted to the Crown after their death.

"The first founder of the Agra College and of its Mission was Senhor Mirza Zulcarne, who gave a sum sufficient to buy the village (*aldea*) of Parela in Bombaim and another called....in Salcete of the North. From Parela that Mission received eight thousand xerafins, and from 4 to 5 [thousand] from....[the other *aldea* (?); the name of the aldea is missing in the original, as above]. But, as the English took Parela, the College and the Mission were much crippled and in debt, until the Senhora Juliana Dias da Costa offered to become a second and new foundress; she gave 50 thousand xerafins, which being profitably placed partly met with the revenues of the *aldea* and other values (*estimaçoés*) the necessities of the Mission, which costs yearly from 9 to 10 thousand xerafins, owing to the great dearness in those lands and the enormous expenses incurred by the journey of the Fathers and sending up their provisions." (*L. o das Monçoés*, No. 79, fol. 331). Extract from Annual Letter of Fr. Antonio de Azevedo, Provincial S.J., Goa, 1714. Cf. *O Oriente Portuguez*, Nova Goa, Vol. VII, 1910, pp. 182-183.

[2] Father Andrew Boves is to be added to our *List of Jesuit Missionaries in Mogor*, *J.A.S.B.*, 1910, November. Since he is called Superior, not Provincial, he must have been Superior of Mogor. His notice in our *List of Portuguese Jesuit Missionaries in Bengal*, *J.A.S.B.*, 1911, Febr., p. 16, says that he was seven years in Mogor, whence, knowing nothing then of his Superiorship at Agra, we concluded in 1911 that, as he was a Missionary in Bengal, he had spent in Bengal the period 1600-05. We now find that he wrote a letter from Cochin on Nov. 30, 1605, at which time he must have become Procurator at Cochin. It is not easy to account for the seven years he spent in Mogor, unless we include in them his stay in Bengal. He is not mentioned in what we know of the Mogor Catalogues of 1606-24; yet, only the catalogues of 1608, 1617, 1619, 1622-23 are missing. No catalogues for Mogor are available between 1625 and 1641. We suggest that Fr. Boves was Superior of Mogor some time between 1621 and 1624.

[3] The printed Annual Letters of Goa for 1619, 1620-24 say nothing of a Congregation held at this time. A Congregation was held at Lisbon in April 1619, April 1622, April 1625.

The Procurators sent from Portugal to Rome on those respective occasions were Fathers Antonio Castelbranco, Antonio Abreu, and Francisco Mendoza. Cf. A. FRANCO, S.J., *Synopsis Annal. Soc. Jesu in Lusitania* (1540-1725), Augustae-Vindel., MDCCXXVI, pp. 226, 233, 243.

" ' The foundation of the Prince Mirza is accepted with the gratitude due to one so great and so devoted to the Society and to the Christian weal ; and the examples of his life, which your Reverence described, well show how much God has imparted Himself to him. Doubtless, He has chosen him to be the pillar of that small church, and the foundation of the great one we hope to see raised in those Provinces. Let your Reverence assist him and try to serve him in everything, as is due to so noble a heart in return for the favours he bestows on us.'

" After this announcement and good news, we hoped that the [diploma of the[foundation would come at once from Rome ; but, in the year 1625, seeing that it was so long delayed, I, being again Superior of the Mission,[1] wrote lengthily about this affair to the Fr. Visitor, Andre Palmeiro,[2] and complained lovingly that there should have been so much forgetfulness in a matter of such moment. The Father answered me by the present letter here appended :—

" ' To Fr. Francisco Corsi of the Society of Jesus.

Fol. 676r. " ' With regard to making Mirza Founder || of a College, which Your Reverence spoke to me about, this matter was referred to Our Reverend Father General years ago, and it was done also at the last Congregration, [the proceedings of] which Fr. Manoel Mendez has now brought us with its answers.[3] There is a special answer to your Reverence's petition. I shall put it down here, both the application and the answer to it.

" ' It was represented on behalf of the Mogol Mission that the noble Mirza Zulcarnen—such is his devotion and charity towards the Society and the whole of that Mission—was offering willingly to invest the sum of money required for a yearly revenue of one thousand five hundred xerafins,[4] a sum sufficient for maintaining the labourers of that Mission and supporting the poor Christians. This had been done heretofore with the King's alms, now greatly reduced. It is asked that he be received as founder of a *Collegium inchoatum* for that Mission. The whole Congregation therefore petitions Our Reverend Father to comply with the wishes of so great a man, one who has so well deserved of the Society, and to have regard to the interests of that Mission.'

" ' The answer is as follows :—

" 'We complied long ago with the pious wishes of that excellent gentleman. May the All-Good God *increase the growth of the fruits of his justice*[5] and finish what He has begun in him and through him. The interests of the Mogol Mission, one of

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[1] Fr. Corsi must have succeeded as Superior of the Mission to Fr. Antonio d' Andrade, who went a first time to Tibet in 1624 and returned thither in 1625.

[2] He had come to India in 1617.

[3] Fr. Manoel Mendez came to India in 1625 with eleven companions : ten Portuguese, and one a Pole. The date of their embarking at Lisbon and of their arrival at Goa is not stated in A. Franco, S.J., *Op. cit.*

[4] The xerafin is calculated as equivalent to somewhat less than 1*s.* 6*d.* in *Hobson-Jobson*. Its value has varied. In one of the quotations of *Hobson-Jobson* (1st edn., p. 743) it is equal at Bombay to 5 tangas (A.D. 1675); (*ibid.*, p. 867) it is equal to a cruzado (A.D. 1540); in 1653, at Goa, it represents 6 tangas; and I find in Faria y Souza, *Asia Portuguesa*, III, 363, No. 12, that it was equal to about a real of eight in 1636. Now a real of eight or a peso was worth Rs. 2 of the then currency.

[5] 2 Cor. ix. 10.

the most glorious to the Christian Religion, || lie very near to our heart, nor shall we Fol. 676v.
ever neglect anything that may tend to protect and promote it.'

"'Now, both this application and the fact that an earlier application had been presented to him [the General], allusion to which is made in the beginning of this reply, was unknown to me until I received this reply and Your Reverence's letter. And since, as you see in the beginning of the answer, in the word *annuimus* (we complied) Our Reverend Father refers to the first letter written to him, I have looked for that answer to know in what form the concession was made; but, so far I could not trace it among the letters of that time; still, I shall examine more carefully the moment I find leisure, and I hope to send you a clear solution before my departure for China. From Goa, the 28th of November [1]625. ANDRE PALMEIRO.'

"It seems, however, that his many occupations made the Father lose sight of this affair of ours; for, he left Goa and bade us good-bye in a special letter without a word about this matter.[1] Accordingly, I wrote about it to Our Father General; for I considered it a great blemish on our part that we should have received the foundation, and should be enjoying the revenues of it, Fr. Assistant's letters being there to certify that the foundation had been received, and yet, years after it, our Superiors knew nothing of it. I wrote to the same effect || to Fr. Valentin Caravalho, Fol. 677r.
as soon as he became our Provincial. In June [1]627 he wrote to me in answer to this point:—

"'With reference to the foundation of the Senhor Mirza, I say that it is accepted by our Reverend Father General, and in the letter now sent herewith in answer to the said Senhor's letter to me, I reply to him in that sense. Your Reverence may tell Mirza the same. Still, we shall write to Our Father asking him to acknowledge in due form the acceptance of the *Collegium inchoatum* founded by Mirza. I am of opinion that it was sent five years ago in the ships in which the Count Viceroy came, because no post reached Goa that year and all the letters were lost.'[2]

"On receipt of these letters of the Fr. Provincial, I presented to Mirza the one intended for him and told him by word of mouth what the Father directed me in mine to do, and, from that time, by order of Holy obedience, Mirza was here held by Ours as the Founder of the *Collegium inchoatum* of Agra, as it is called.

"The accounts given above show that Mirza owed by the terms of his father's will..... .Rs. 27,000,
of which he has paid.....Rs. 24,810.

"This at the end of the year [1]618, when || the accounts were made. I shall Fol. 677v.
now show how he has satisfied the remainder of his obligations.

"When I proposed to Mirza that he should give us in a lump sum twenty thousand Rupees, I meant that he should give the said sum instead of the Rs. 200 which

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1 Fr. Andrew Palmeiro is shown as having arrived in China in 1628. He died at Macao on April 4, 1635. Cf. *Catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum S.J. qui....in Sinis adlaboraverunt*, Chang-hai, 1892, pp. 6-7.

2 The allusion must be to the armada of four ships which left Lisbon on March 18, 1622. Count de Vidigueyra, Don Francisco de Gama, for the second time appointed Viceroy of India, was Captain-in-chief. The ship of the Admiral, D Francisco Mascareñas, fought the Dutch at the entrance of Mozambique and was lost. The Capitana, the *S. Teresa*, was also lost at Mozambique. Cf. FARIA Y SOUSA, *Asia Portuguesa*, III. 381, 382, 554, 555.

he gave us monthly; but the Holy Ghost granted him grace to make him do more than what I dared ask. 'Father,' he told me, 'I cannot know exactly how much I owe towards my father's legacy, and it is impossible to ascertain the matter from account-books (*por contas*), as Your Reverence knows. Hence, I wish to continue giving Rs. 200 every month, and God Our Lord, Who knows it all full well, will accept whatever I owe for the good of my father's soul, and what I give over and above He will accept for the good of mine.' Mirza continued to give the said alms; he continues still up to the present month of May of [1]628, when I write this; so that, between the end of the year 1618, when the accounts were made, and the end of the current month of May of [1]628, *i.e.*, during nine years and four months, we received, merely on account of this monthly allowance of Rs. 200,.....Rs. 22,400,

[*The top of foll.* 678*r and* 678*v is somewhat damaged; but the sense can be made out.*]

Fol. 678*r*. which, added to the aforesaid sum of.....Rs. [24,810],
makes in all.....Rs. [47,210],
or much more, it is clear, than what his father left to be given for his soul's welfare. And besides the said sum of Rs. 47,210, he gave us in a lump sum twenty thousand Rupees and the rest on other occasions, with which sum we purchased, as mentioned above, the *aldeas* for the foundation of the *Collegium inchoatum*.

"Besides, if it were necessary, I could draw up a list of other large extraordinary alms which Mirza gave us, both in gold and silver plate for the Church, and in cash for good works, the whole amounting, I should think, to forty thousand Rupees. Again, Mirza maintained since 1614, and is still maintaining at Sambar in the present year [1]628, when I am writing, many widows and poor Christians; he took also into his service many other Christians, not so much because he stood in need of their services, but because they were Christians. You may guess from this how much money he must have been spending. He did the same for many of his relatives, persons of rank, but poor, many of them. Considering that they lived and live as Mirza's retainers and draw large salaries, he spent also much on them. I
Fol. 678*v*. omit || the many....other sums which Mirza always gave [in alms] to others, non-Christians. In one day alone he gave five thousand Rupees for ransoming captives taken in a certain war in which, by the King's order, he had also taken part, and he ordered that none of his captains should [keep? ransom?] any of them. I omit all this, because it is foreign to my purpose, which is:—

"1st, to show clearly and to evidence how Mirza complied with what his father ordered in his will should be given for the good of his soul, since he gave much more;

"2nd, how he gave us, the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, enough to provide for the foundation of the *Collegium inchoatum* of Agra; hence, it is our clear duty to give him the title of Founder;

"3rd, how, besides being a real Founder, he is also a munificent benefactor of the Society and of this small Christianity of Mogol; therefore, we owe him Masses and prayers, not only as to a Founder, but also as to a munificent benefactor. We particu-

larly, who belong to this Mission, and all the Christians of it, must pray in a special manner to God Our Lord for the safety and welfare of Mirza and all those of his household; we must ask God to save him many years for his greater glory and the good of this Christianity.

"Agra, in May of the year 1628.

I. H. S.

Francisco Corsi."

There must exist in printed books, accounts of travellers, letters of merchants and factors, or even in the Muḥammadan historians a number of interesting entries about Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain. We shall quote those we have come across, and we hope that more will be found.

Between 1627 and 1632, Zū-l-Qarnain was in charge of a Province in Bengal, the capital of which was 200 miles from Agra and 300 from Hugli. He had about 200 Christians in his service, a number sufficiently large to justify the presence of a chaplain. Fr. Joseph de Castro had followed him. Fr. Francisco Morando was there also some time.

Father de Castro wrote from 'Mogol' on August 8th, 1632, to Father Joseph Baudo, S.J., Turin, that he had been with the Mīrzā those last three years. The Mīrzā had all that time been Governor of some Provinces of 'Bengala,' but the capital is nowhere mentioned in de Castro's letters.

In 1632 the difficulties between the Portuguese of Hugli and Shāh Jahān came to a crisis. One of Shāh Jahān's grievances was that they had sent him no embassy of congratulation on his accession to the throne. Hugli was invested on June 24th, 1632, and taken at the end of September of the same year. Fully 4,000 Christian prisoners arrived from Hugli at Agra in July 1633.

Meanwhile Zū-l-Qarnain and the Christians of Agra were also to taste the gall and wormwood of persecution.

On November 24th, 1632, Father de Castro wrote from Agra to the General of the Society that he had arrived from Bengala eight days before. The King had recalled the Mīrzā, and received him with much honour, so that the Fathers hoped he would receive some other honourable commission. On the other hand, the events then taking place in Bengal were ominously shaping the situation at Agra, and it was feared that the King, who had from the beginning of his reign shown himself hostile to the Christians, was preparing worse days for them.

The Muḥammadan historians are not altogether silent about some of these events. As it is quite rare for them to go out of their way to notice Christians, we must not lose anything of what they have to say of Zū-l-Qarnain.

The *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, a big MS. history dealing with the reign of Shāh Jahān, narrates under the 5th year of the reign (1632) that Zū-l-Qarnain, whom it calls Zū-l-Qarnain Feringhī, came from Bahraich in Oudh, where he was Faujdār, and paid his respects to Shāh Jahān, presenting five elephants as his nazr. Bahraich was then a likely place to get elephants from. The MS. adds that Zū-l-Qarnain had been

attached to the Court from childhood and that he was a favourite on account of his rare knowledge of Hindustānī music and melody.[1]

A note in the translation of the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (II. 194n.) states that M. Wāriṣ's continuation of the *Pādiṣhāh-nāma*, p. 392, of Brit. Mus. MS., mentions that Zū-l-Qarnain Farangī came from Bengal and presented poems which he had composed on Shāh Jahān's name, for which he got Rs. 4,000.

Mr. H. Beveridge favours me with several interesting observations concerning the Mīrzā's return from Bharaich and his removal from office.

"Father Joseph de Castro says that they arrived at Agra on November 16th, 1632. The native writers, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ and 'Abdu-l-Hamīd, do not specify the corresponding date of Zū-l-Qarnain's arrival. But the *Bādṣhāhnāma*, on the same page that it records his presenting five elephants, has the date 12th Jamādā-l-awwal 1042, which corresponds to 15th November, 1632. The entry of Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain's presentation precedes this by a few lines; so we may suppose it occurred a little earlier in November. This would not, I think, conflict with Father de Castro's statement that they arrived eight days before the 24th November, for I fancy that the Father's dates are according to the Gregorian Calendar, that is, they are New Style, whereas Gladwin's Tables, which I use, are, I believe, Old Style. So, the corresponding Hijra date would be ten days earlier according to the Gregorian Calendar and so would correspond to 5th November or so. All Catholics, I believe, accepted the Gregorian Calendar in the 16th century, whereas England adopted it two centuries later.[2] The difficulty about the date may be got over by the difference of Calendars, or, as the *Bādṣhāhnāma* does not give the date of Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain's arrival, it may be that we must not press the question of the exact dates too closely. It may also be that there is an error of a day or two in Father de Castro's statement.

"The entry of the 15th November in the *Bādṣhāhnāma* is a curious one. It gives an account of a discussion about Alexander the Great. Āṣaf Khān extolled the character of Alexander the Great, and said no one had ever shown that he did or said anything bad. Shāh Jahān replied that, of course, if Alexander the Great was a Prophet, nothing could be said against him. But, this was not proved, and so Shāh Jahān thought exception might be taken first to a saying of Alexander's and secondly to an action of his. The saying was that when Darius's ambassador asked Alexander for tribute, Alexander replied that the hen was dead that had laid the golden eggs. This, in Shāh Jahān's opinion, was an unworthy remark, for Alexander meant his father Philip, when he spoke of the hen. Now, it was very disrespectful to compare one's father to such a paltry thing as a hen! The other exception he would take was that he thought Alexander had done an imprudent and even wicked thing in going to Nostraba, the Queen of Barda, disguised as his own ambassador.

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[1] The substance of this paragraph and its reflections was kindly communicated to me by Mr. H. Beveridge. (May 5, 1913). The passage occurs in Vol. I, fol. 178v of the India Office copy of the *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, after an account of the taking of Hugli and just before the betrothal of Dārā Shikoh to Sultān Parvīz's daughter. Mr. Beveridge also points out that a shorter entry about Zū-l-Qarnain's return from his faujdārship of Bahraich and his presenting five elephants to the King is found in the *Pādiṣhāh-nāma*, Bibl. Ind. edn., I. 446. [II, 184·

[2] The Gregorian Calendar came into vogue in India in Oct. 1583. Cf. de Souza's *Oriente Conquistado*, Lisbon edn.,

"It has occurred to me that it would not be too fanciful to suppose that this discussion about Zū-l-Qarnain might have arisen from the coincidence of Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain's arrival in Agra. He might even have been present at the discussion!

"Another curious thing about the entry of Zū-l-Qarnain's presentation in the *Bādshāhnāma* is the fact that it is immediately followed by a statement of Shāh Jahān's resolve to give a preference to Muḥammadans in making appointments. This would give colour to Father de Castro's statement that the Mīrzā was removed from office."[1]

Mr. H. Beveridge expresses his surprise that, if Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain was Governor of Bharaich, Fr. de Castro should say he was in Bengal, and Sir Richard Carnac Temple (*The Travels of Peter Mundy*, II. 380 n. 1) remarks that, if he was at Bharaich, the distance from Huglī would be twice as great as stated. I have found lately in a letter by Fr. d'Azevedo, Agra (undated letter, but belonging to the first months of 1632), that Don Gonçalo, as the Mīrzā was called, was at "Gorepur" in 1631, which we should identify with Gorākhpur in the United Provinces. This brings the Mīrzā nearer to Bengal and Huglī, but produces, perhaps, a discrepancy between d'Azevedo and the Muḥammadan authors. In the *Aīn*, Bharaich appears as a Sarkār of 11 mahals, while Gorākhpur contained 24 parganahs.[2]

On February 6th, 1633, Fr. J. de Castro wrote from Agra that the bell of their church had been removed on the day of the Epiphany (January 6th, 1633); four *piyādās* had been posted in the house to keep watch day and night, and the Fathers had been forbidden to make any converts. The Mīrzā had shown himself firm in certain demands of the King touching the faith. As for Huglī, the news had reached them that the town had been sacked.

Fr. Francis Corsi wrote to the General (Agra, October 5th, 1633) that they had been a whole year subject to persecution. In September 1632, the Mīrzā's step-mother and his two half-brothers had been seized, their property taken, and the two half-brothers had of their own accord become Muḥammadans, hoping thus to save themselves. Then the Mīrzā was recalled from "Bengal," and Shāh Jahān wished to make a Muḥammadan of him too, or else seize his treasures. He began, however, by molesting the Fathers. On the day of the Epiphany 1633, their house was invaded by armed soldiery, and the three bells—one of them a present from Jahāngīr—were removed from the steeple. Even one of their great friends, a former pupil of theirs, turned against the Fathers. Fr. Corsi, going to his house on February 18th, was severely ill-treated. On February 23rd, the Fathers were suddenly ordered to leave their house and kept four days in prison. On being allowed to go home, they found everything in such disorder that it took them eight days to fit it up again. On March 6th, a Sunday, they said Mass again; but the judge came that day, sat down, called the

[1] Letter of July 21, 1913. Two days later, Mr. H. Beveridge wrote: "I see from the *Bādshāhnāma*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 195, that one Ṣāliḥ, a brother's son of Jāafar Beg Āṣaf Khān, was made faujdār of Bahraich in the year of the accession 1037 (A.D. 1628). Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain was perhaps his successor. I have a doubt in my mind, however, if the place mentioned in p. 195 be Bahraich. It is spelt Bahraij, and possibly Broach in Gujarāt is meant. Before that, Ṣāliḥ was faujdār of Pīlād, which is in Gujarāt.

[2] Cf. *Aīn*, II. 93 (Jarrett's transl.).

Mīrzā and began tormenting several persons to know where his treasures were. Fr. de Castro received in three times fifty lashes. After the fourth or fifth blow he had fallen senseless to the ground. That night the Mīrzā was taken to the palace, and the four Fathers were the next day conducted to prison. On March 13th, they were released together with the Mīrzā, when the latter promised he would pay the sum they wanted: 400,000 scudi. By and by, they wanted more, and both the Mīrzā's and the Fathers' house and garden were searched. Nothing being found, the police left the Fathers alone that night. The Mīrzā had paid 3 lākhs of scudi already, but had to pay still one lākh. From a rich man he was now reduced to poverty; but the Fathers hoped the King would sooner or later reinstate him.

On October 8th, 1633, Fr. J. de Castro wrote from Agra to Fr. Nuno Mascarenhas, the Assistant of Portugal, that the Mīrzā had to pay 8 lākhs of rupees, or about 400,000 cruzados. To help him as much as they could, they had given back to him the golden chalice which he had presented to the Church in the days of his opulence.

Peter Mundy, a servant of the E. I. Co., who held office at Surat and Agra, and had been sent on a commercial mission to Patna in 1632, was not far wrong when he remarked on March 11th, 1633, while at Mozābād, on his way from Agra to Surat *viâ* Ajmer: "Seven Course Northward lyes Sambar [Sāmbhar], the Jaggueere (*jagīr*) of Mirza Zilkurne [Zu'lkārnain, Alexander] of 1000 horse pay, each horse 25 rupees per moneth, whoe is now putt out [from his governorship in Bengal] and made Tagguere [*taghīr*, dismissed], himselfe, wife, Children and servants in prison, because the King is informed hee hath store of money and demaunds of him 60 lack, haveing sent Pioneers [investigators] to search and digg his howse. Before I came away [from Agra] hee offers 5 lack, which will not bee accepted, soe remains still prisoner. Hee is a Christian and the Cheifest in all India, formerly in favour."[1]

We saw that the persecution against Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain and the Jesuit Fathers of Agra began with an order from Shāh Jahān to the effect that they were to remove the bells from the steeple of their Church. Hence, we can scarcely accept as accurate the reason assigned for Shāh Jahān's action by Tavernier (1666) in a passage where Zū-l-Qarnain is evidently mentioned, though not by name. It would have been to Zū-l-Qarnain the very climax of calamity, had he been unwillingly the cause of Shāh Jahān's action against the Fathers.

After remarking that Shāh Jahān had allowed some Christian paintings to remain near Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, Tavernier proceeds: "But he had not the same indulgence for them [the Fathers] in another matter, for on going one day to see a sick Armenian, named Cotgia[2]. . . . ,whom he much loved, and whom he had honoured with splendid appointments, and the Jesuits, who had their house close to that of the Armenian, happening to ring their bell just then, the noise proved displeasing to the King, and, as he thought it might inconvenience the sick man, in a rage he commanded

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[1] Note communicated by Sir Richard Carnac Temple. Cf. his *Travels of Peter Mundy*, vol. II. 240-241.

[2] Khoja or Khwāja was a common title of honour among merchants and others. There is a hiatus here in the original. Probably Tavernier did not recollect the name.

it to be removed and hung on the neck of his elephant; this was promptly done. Some days after, the King, seeing the elephant with this heavy bell suspended from its neck, he thought that so great a weight might injure it, and he therefore ordered it to be carried into the office of the *Couteval* [kotwāl, police-magistrate], which is a sort of barrier where a provost administers justice to those of the quarter, and it has remained there ever since. This Armenian had been brought up with Shāh Jahān, and, as he was very clever and was an excellent poet, he was high in the good graces of the King, who had given him valuable governorships, but had never been able, either by promises or threats, to induce him to become a Muḥammadan."[1]

Zū-l-Qarnain was not long molested. He paid 8 lākhs of rupees, was reduced for a time to extreme penury, and then gradually rose again to favour. Many of the Portuguese captives from Huglī were "released," says Manucci, "through the petitions of some persons at court, chiefly an Armenian, who was a great favourite, or through the money paid by a Venetian, my compatriot, called Hieronomo Veroneo, a man ransomed by the Portuguese."[2] The reference belongs to the period between 1633 and 1640, since Veroneo died in 1640.

On November 2nd, 1633, Zū-l-Qarnain assisted at the burial of Fr. Matthew de Payva, S.J., and helped in carrying the coffin from the Church to what is called the Martyrs' Chapel in the actual Catholic cemetery of Agra. In 1634 he was with his chaplain at Lahore in the King's suite. The end of that year was marked with a new outburst of bigotry on the part of the King; the Fathers of Agra were ejected from their house, the images and pictures in their Church were broken or torn, and the whole of 1635 the Fathers were in imminent danger of being expelled the country. At last, thanks to Āṣaf Khān's never-flagging friendship, they were allowed on December 8th, 1635, to return to their College, but on the iniquitous condition that their Churches of Agra and Lahore be pulled down. This was done. Even the Church of Sind (Tatta) was destroyed. The persecution had now done its worst, and, though the Fathers never grew to favour with Shāh Jahān, they were at least tolerated after this.

We next hear of Zū-l-Qarnain in 1636. John Drake wrote to the President and Council of the E. I. Co. at Surat (June 4th, 1636) that he had arrived at "the *lasker* which nowe is at Kerkey [Kharkī or Kirkī, *i.e.*, Aurangābād] six course wide of Dowletabad," and he had delivered their letter to the Padre, who was living with "Mirza Zulkerne." The latter had given Drake good advice and proffered his services with Āsaf Khān.[3]

Father J. de Castro announced to the General of the Society in Rome (Agra,

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[1] Cf. TAVERNIER'S *Travels in India*, Ball's edn., I. 112. Shāh Jahān's order may have been given on the occasion of the illness of some Armenian other than the Mīrzā. Possibly, the great rôle played by Zū-l-Qarnain during the persecution and the great favour he enjoyed at other times is perhaps at the root of a confusion of names. On the other hand, the incident may belong to an earlier period, but I have not found any trace of it in the Jesuit letters. Tavernier's account of his travels in India consists mostly of his observations during his sixth and last journey to the East (1664-1667).

[2] W. IRVINE, *Storia do Mogor*, I. 183.

[3] Cf. W. FOSTER, *The English Factories in India* (1634-36), Oxford, 1911, p. 262. Reference communicated by Sir Richard Carnac Temple.

Sept. 1st, 1640) that Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain was again in the King's favour. His two eldest sons were pages of honour in the King's service. The Mīrzā's Christian name was Gonsalvo ; his three sons were called Gioã Baptista (the eldest), Gasparo, and Micaele (the youngest) . Clara, his daughter, was 19 years old ; she ought to have been married already, but it was difficult to match her with a Christian of her rank.[1]

On January 1st, 1642, de Castro informed the General that the Mīrzā had asked the King's permission to join the service of his second son (Sulṭān Shujā'), then Governor of Bengal [1639-60]. He had left Agra with his three sons, while his daughter Clara, and Magdalen, the nurse and governess of the household, stayed behind.[1]

In 1645, the Mīrzā was still in Bengal with his three sons and Father Francis Morando, his Chaplain. The Captain of the Christians at Sāmbhar was the Mīrzā's uncle, Janibeg, a "Chaldean." Janibeg's salary was Rs. 50,000 a year ; he had to pay to the King an annual revenue of five lākhs of rupees. Father de Castro was Chaplain to the family at Sāmbhar.[2]

We should not be surprised if Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain had been instrumental in obtaining from Sulṭān Shujā' in 1646 the confirmation of the ancient privileges and exemptions of the inhabitants and Augustinians of Hugli.[3]

Bernier states that Sulṭān Shujā', while at Rājmahal, sent out "of the inferiour *Bengala* for many pieces of Canon, and a good number of *Portugals* that were retired thither, because of the fertility of the Country : For he much courted all those Portugal Fathers Missionaries, that are in that Province, promising them no less than that he would make them all rich, and build Churches for them wheresoever they would. And they were indeed capable to serve him, it being certain, that in the Kingdom of *Bengala* there are to be found no less than eight to nine thousand Families of *Franguis*, *Portugals*, and these either Natives or Mesticks." [4]

Among the remarks which Father Alexander de Rhodes, S.J., makes on Mogor, we find: "Our society has a large college in the town of Agra, which a very honourable (*honnête*) Armenian, named.... [*a blank*], founded about 30 years ago."[5]

In 1648 the Mīrzā was back at Agra, for he watched from a balcony, with Father Antonio Botelho, Shāh Jahān's magnificent progress towards Delhi, his new capital.

"These last years," wrote Father John Maracci, S.J., in April 1649, "while a distinguished Christian Lord, called Mirza, was Governor of Bengala, in the King of Mogor's name, Fr. Francis Morando, an Italian of the Province of Goa, being confessor to him and the whole of his family, the propagation of the Faith was marvellous in that Kingdom." [6]

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[1] MSS. in the author's possession.

[2] Letter of Fr. J. de Castro, Sāmbhar, July 20, 1645 (MS.).

[3] See our paper *A Week at Bandel*, in *Bengal : Past and Present*, Calcutta, Vol. X, Pt. I, pp. 107-111.

[4] Cf. F. BERNIER, *The History of the late Revolution....*, London, 1671, pp. 193-194.

[5] Cf. *Voyages et Missions du P. Alex. de Rhodes*, Paris, 1854, p. 397. The remark occurs in the chapter on Surat, where the Father was from September 30, 1647, to February 3, 1648. The first edition of his travels appeared in 1653. There are other editions of 1666 and 1685.

[6] Cf. JEAN MARACCI, S.J., *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les Indes Orientales*, Paris.... S. Cramoisy, MDCLI, pp. 65-66.

One of Father Morando's converts in Bengal was a young Englishman, John Damont, "& the Father of the Christians [Fr. James d'Abreu (?), of Murmugaõ, near Goa] made use of this Neophyte for the conversion of several other Heretics of his country, who come to traffic in those parts of Murmugano & of Pardes, & last year [1648] at least fifteen were reconciled to the Church."[1]

In a list of Shāh Jahān's grandees, belonging apparently to the end of the 20th year of his reign (1648), the name of Zū-l-Qarnain, the Armenian, appears as holding the rank of 500 with 300 horse.[2]

In 1648 Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain is reported as Governor in the Kingdom of Lahore. "Fr. Anthony Ceschi from Trent.... must reside at present in the Kingdom of Laor as confessor and preacher to the Governor of it, who is called Mirsa, which means Alexander the Great, a Christian prince in great favour with the King. His house is composed of more than four hundred persons, the greater number of them Christians."[3] Father Maracci added: "Father Francis Morando, a Bolognese, and a great scholar in the Partian [Persian] and Industanne [Hindustānī] tongue, remained sixteen years at a stretch with the said Lord and his children, accompanying him to all the Kingdoms where he has been Viceroy and Governor."[4]

Father Anthony Ceschi di S. Croce, S.J., wrote to his parents a *Brief Relation on the state of affairs in the Indies in the year* 1649, dated Agra, September 15th, 1649.

"The Mission of Mogor, he says, is at present at peace with the Prince[5] and the Governors of the Kingdom. Only this year are matters of the Christian faith being discussed; but, though they hear them, they do not for that matter open their heart to the call of God. Many of those people are baptized this year, and Mirza Lucarne (*sic*) [Zū-l-Qarnain] has made a generous profession of the faith. When asked by the King—as being the chief of the courtiers—whether he believed that after the Christian Prophet another was still to come, he answered intrepidly no; and yet he thought that his well-weighed answer would cost him his head; but the King dissembled and changed the topic of conversation."[6]

We hear of the Mīrzā again in 1651. The Patriarch of Ethiopia, Don Alfonso Mendez, S.J., writing with apostolic freedom to the Cardinals of Propaganda (Goa, December 20th, 1651) once more denounces the Bishop of Chrysopolis, Don Matthew

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39. This relation was written at Rome in April, 1649. Fr. Maracci had come as Procurator of the Goa Province, probably in the beginning of 1648 or 1649.

[2] Note by Mr. H. BEVERIDGE. Cf. *Bādshāhnāma*, Bibl. Ind. edn., I. 748 (top of page).

[3] Cf. JEAN MARACCI, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[4] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 23. If Fr. Morando had by 1648 remained 16 years with the Mīrzā, he would have been with him from 1632. Fr. de Castro, the Mīrzā's chaplain, writing from "Mogul" [Gorākhpur ?] on August 28, 1632, says, indeed, that Father Francis Morando is with him, pending his departure for Tibet. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1910, November, p. 531.

[5] Dārā Shikoh, Shāh Jahān's eldest son.

[6] Cf. *Estratto e Registo / di lettere spirituali / con breve narratione della Vita del / Molto Reverendo Padre / Antonio Ceschi / di Santa Croce / Del Borgo di Valsugana della Compagnia / di Giesù Missionario Apostolico / delle Indie / Descritione fatta da / Francesco Antonio / Paternolo /Notaro di Strigno pure di Valsugana / con la sua dechiaratione, e protesto / dedicato all' immortal gloria /del Celsiss. e Reverendiss. Monsig. / Francesco / Alberti / Vescovo e Principe / di Trento.* / In Trento Per Carlo Zanetti / Con licenza de Superiori / 1683. / p. 181.—This is a very rare book in 32mo of pp. 240, a copy of which is in the Library of the Convent of the Franciscans of Trent (ad A/42). Father Marco Morizzo da Borgo Valsugana, O.F.M., a compatriot of Fr. Ceschi, copied for me on 25-27th August 1910 the historical portions of it.

de Castro, for his extravagances. We have seen only the summary of that letter. "An *aper exterminator* [ravaging boar] has penetrated into Mogor. I should abstain from speaking about it, knowing that near Your Eminences I am held *per mendace* [as untruthful]. But the truth is one .....Disedifying conduct of the Bishop of Chrysopolis among the Mogorins and Turks. Scandal taken by the Christians, Catholics, English and Dutch alike. His effronteries towards Mirzâm Zulkarnem, a Christian, the friend of the Jesuits, who calls to his help Father Buseo [Busi]. The Fathers of Mogor have recourse to the King against the accusations made in public by the Bishop of Chrysopolis, especially against their being spies of the King of Portugal and having usurped the property of Portuguese deceased in Mogor. But the Bishop of Chrysopolis boasts before all of the instructions he has received from Rome.

"Let Your Eminences weigh the damage done by him to Christianity, and restore peace to the Mission. If the Jesuits of Mogor are at fault, why does he not denounce them to Rome? Why does he instead make a Maomettan Prince judge in this matter? Is this the way to defend the Apostolic See?" [1]

Father Botelho will tell us more anon about the vagaries of Don Matheus de Castro, a Brahman of Divar (Goa), educated partly in Rome and created a Bishop and Vicar-Apostolic first of Ethiopia, then for the Bījāpur and Gulkandah Kingdoms, whose immoderate zeal disturbed West, South and East for many years.[2]

Two other passages in Father Ceschi's printed life and letters may be quoted here. On September 5th, 1651, he wrote from Agra to his parents:—

"A certain Christian was disputing with the Moors, when, inspired by Heaven, he said that the faith he was preaching must be true, if a bird should presently appear and repeat the song he would sing first. They were under tents in a treeless plain, and lo! a little bird came flying presently, which imitated very well the song the Christian sang...." [3] We know from other unpublished Jesuit letters that this Christian was no other than Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain.

In another letter to the Rector of the College of Trent (Delhi, August 24th, 1654) Father Ceschi says:—"The Prince is extremely fond of the Fathers. He called me lately, though against my wish, to his palace and presented me with a dress of honour (*mununsculo insigni cuiusdam panni*). Mirza, one of our Christians, is one of the grandees at Court. At the Prince's request, the King condoned to him lately 50 thousand gold mohurs (*aurei*). The Mirza (*Mirzatius*) came to thank his patron.[4] 'This is not my work at all,' he answered. 'You owe it all to the help of Christ and the prayers of your Fathers. Thank them.'" [5]

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[1] Cf. CAMILLO BECCARI, S.J., *Notizia e Saggi di opere e Documenti inediti riguardanti la storia di Etiopia*....Roma, 1903, pp. 169, 114. The letter must have been published by this time in one of the 16 vols. which this collection is to comprise; but I possess only the prospectus volume.

[2] Cf. on him the work above; also CAS. CHRIST. DE NAZARETH, *Mitras Lusitanas*, Lisboa, 1897, pp. 162, 612, where a number of references are given; W. IRVINE, *Storia do Mogor* by Manucci, s.v. Matheus de Castro. Manucci refers to his visit to Mogor.

[3] A. CESCHI, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[4] I understand that the patron was the Prince Dārā Shikoh.

[5] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 227.

We have from Father Anthony Botelho's pen a very important paper on the religious and political situation in Mogor during the six years that he was a Missionary there (1648-54). The account was not, however, written before 1670 (cf. our article in *J.A.S.B.*, 1910, p. 453, *n.* 5). Though the good Father had at his disposal the Archives of the Mission of Goa, he found it too troublesome to hunt up and consult the orginal documents on sundry points, with the result that many of his statements regarding the beginnings of the Mission under Akbar and Jahāngīr must be received with caution.[1]

We publish here only the last portion of Father Botelho's account, viz., his

RELATION ON THE CHRISTIANITY WHICH WE HAVE IN THE KINGDOM OF THE GREAT MOGOL.[2]

Fol. 41*r*.

"I could enlarge very much and write a very long account on the origin and beginnings of this Christianity in the Kingdom of the Great Mogol, but that I know that everything has been very well related and written in the Archives of the Secretariat of the Province of Goa. Whereas, however, it is there, so to say, cast into a well, and there are many good things and chronicles of the doings of the Fathers of the Society in this Province,—and I do not know when this chronicle will see the light,[3] owing to the great indifference of the Superiors and their not setting aside someone to continue this chronicle with the view of publishing and printing it, I am obliged to say briefly how our Fathers entered that Great Kingdom about a hundred years ago. That great Empire of Mogol was then governed by King Hacabar—"Hacabar" means "immortal" in Persian,[4] and "Patxâ Hacabar" means "Immortal King,"—the great-grandfather of King Elamguir[5] now reigning. As I have said in my Relation on the greatness of the King of Mogol, this King was very warlike, and it is he who brought under his sceptre the whole of Mogol up to

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[1] Father Anthony Botelho went from Surat to Mogor at the end of 1647 or in January 1648. "Before the English ship was got in readiness," writes Fr. Alexander de Rhodes, S.J., "God greatly consoled me by the arrival [at Surat] of our Fathers, who came from Goa and stayed some time with me in Surate. Three of them left, a few days later, for the College of Agra, a distance of 40 days from Surate; the first was Fr. Authony Botel [Botelho], a Portuguese, a man of great merit and influence, who was sent as visitor and Rector of the College which is in that town, the capital of the whole kingdom; the two others were Fr. Anthony Ceski [Ceschi], a German, and Fr. Henry [Uwens, *alias*] Buscé [Buseo, Busi], a Fleming, both of them young men, already in priest's orders, with aptitudes for learning the languages of the country. The letters I received lately in Rome [1651–52 ?] tell us of the great fruits which accompany the labours of these three Fathers in the Kingdom of Mogor." Cf. DE RHODES, *Voyages et Missions*, Paris, Julieu, 1854, p. 399. He is mentioned in 1647 in C. BECCARI, S.J., *Notizia e saggi di opere....*, Roma, 1903, p. 20, and in JEAN MARACCI, S.J., *Relation de ce qui s'est passé....présentée ....au mois d'Avril* 1649, Paris, MDCLI, p. 21, where it is said that, as Rector of Diu, therefore before his going to Mogor, he tried to penetrate into Ethiopia, but could go no further than Suakim.

[2] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 9855, fol. 41*r*—45*v*. Title: *Rellaçaõ da Christandade quet emos no Reino do Gram Mogol.* There is in the beginning of the same volume (fol. 14) a Latin abridgment. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1910, pp. 448, 459, and 459 n. 1.

[3] He alludes probably to the history of the Society in the East by Fr. Sebastião Gonsalves, whose death is announced in the Annual Letter of 1619. Fr. Francis de Sousa used Gonsalves' materials for his *Oriente Conquistado*, the two printed volumes of which contains the history of the Jesuit Missions in the East from 1542 to 1585. The third volume, a MS., must be still in Portugal. GONSALVES' *Historia da Companha na India*, ff. 252, written between 1593 and 1619, is now at Lisbon, Ajuda Library MSS. $\frac{26}{30}$. Fr. Cros utilised it for his life of St. Francis Xavier. Cf. A. BROU, *S. François Xavier*, Paris, G. Beauchesne, 1912, I, p. ix.

[4] *Akbar* means great.

[5] Aurangzeb took the title of 'Ālamgīr on his accession in May 1659.

Bengala, Bisnagar [Vijayanagar], Vizapur [Bījāpur], and other Kings of lesser importance throughout Industaõ. He was very intelligent and desirous to know about all the sects, whether of the Heathen or of the Moors, many of whom follow Muḥammad [regularly: *Mafamede*], others Ali, Muḥammad's son-in-law. This King Hacabar, going to parts of Bengala, found there a priest of the country and started arguing with him and examining into many things of our holy law and faith.[1] The priest answered to everything, as far as he knew, and finished by telling the King that, if His Majesty wished to have a deeper knowledge of, and be better grounded in, the things of the faith of the Firinguis (*i.e.*, of the Portuguese), there were in Goa some Fathers, called Fathers of St. Paul,[2] and that he should call some to his Kingdom. Learned as they were, they would solve all his doubts and explain to him the mysteries of the faith of the Portuguese. So said, so done. The King despatched at once and in all haste a messenger with a *formaõ* [*farmān*] for the Fathers of St. Paul, and this *formaõ* is kept to this day in our Secretariat of Goa.[3] In it he said: 'Masters of the law, come to my Kingdom with all your books, and be quite sure that I shall treat you with much love, and have no fear.' The Holy Martyr Rodolfo Aquaviva and Father Antonio de Monserrate had then come from Europe. Both were sent,[4] and they were the first who, about a hundred years ago, entered the Kingdom of the Great Mogol. When the Fathers arrived, King Hacabar was in the City of Phatepor [Fatehpur Sīkri] with his Court. He rejoiced much at the Fathers' arrival, ordered them to lodge in an apartment of his Palace, and presently he entrusted to them one of his sons to be taught Portuguese and good manners.[5] Little by little, the King was informed by the Fathers about the mysteries of our holy faith and law, and he assigned for the Fathers' daily maintenance a certain sum of money, besides which he gave the Fathers continually so many gifts in money and in kind (*e peças*) that the letters of the said Fathers, still preserved in this Secretariat, show the money was so ample that they did not know what to do with it, for there were not yet then Christians among whom to dole it out. The Superiors wrote to them from Goa to take only as much of the money as was necessary for their daily wants, and to explain to the King that we were poor. They did so, and the King was much edified.[6]

"In spite of the religious discussions that were held, the King remained as much a Moor as before. Great was the Fathers' patience; they wrote repeatedly from there to the Superiors that they were losing their time in inaction, and asked them for

[1] We gave a more accurate account of what happened in *J.A.S.B.*, 1912, pp. 216–218. Akbar did not go to Bengal, but called a priest from there.

[2] As the Jesuits were popularly called from the name of their College of S. Paolo da Santa Fé, Goa.

[3] The original does not appear to exist among the Marsden MSS. in the British Museum.

[4] There was a third one, Francisco Henriques. The beginnings of the Mission under Akbar are ably exposed in *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, pp. 38–113, and in Fr. F. GOLDIE'S *First Christian Mission to the Great Moghul*. Fr. Goldie was not aware of the article in *J.A.S.B.* Our last and best authority is Father Antonio Monserrate. Cf. *Memoirs A.S.B.* (1914), III, No. 9, pp. 513–704.

[5] Prince Murād.

[6] Mrs. F. A. STEEL in her *A Prince of Dreamers*, as she calls Akbar, identifies the Provincial of Goa with greed of money, and Blessed Rudolf Aquaviva with greed of souls! And she goes out of her way to insist upon the truth of her descriptions, implying that they are the result of a careful study of her subject. Cf. H. THURSTON, S.J., on *Once more the Jesuit in fiction* in *The Tablet*, London, January 5, 1910, pp. 88-90.

orders to return to Goa and to go where they might do more good. From Goa they encouraged them to have patience; for patience and long-suffering surmounted all obstacles. King Hacabar fell into another folly. He said to the Fathers that he had heard whatever pertained to our law, and that with the knowledge || he had of Fol. 41*v*. the various religious schools among Muḥammadans, he wished to make a religion which would combine ours and his. When the Fathers saw his extravagance, they undeceived from there the Fathers Superiors and said they wished to leave the place. They were told from there to come at once, but not without the King's permission and good pleasure. The Fathers laid the matter before the King, and he told them he had no hold on them: if they wished, they could go back to their country; but they should know that, if they left his Court, he would be much displeased and chagrined. The Fathers continued to have patience still some time, until the King resolved to send an Ambassador to the Sovereign Pontiff with Fr. Antonio de Monserrate. The Ambassador came to Goa, whence he was to go to Rome; but he died at Goa,[1] and Fr. Antonio de Monserrate remained on this side, while Fr. Rodolfo Aquaviva, too, returned to Goa after some months. I do not know what was his pretext, but he had the King's leave. A few months after his return, Fr. Rodolfo Aquaviva went to the Christianity of Salcete, where he obtained afterwards at Cunculy [Cunculim] the crown of a glorious martyrdom. A few months later, the King heard how the Holy Martyr Rodolfo Aquaviva had been so cruelly killed for the faith; and, speaking to his courtiers, he said that God had thus chastised him for not wishing to remain in his Kingdom and Court.[2] Such is the preposterous judgment of those who are ignorant of our holy faith! They take as a punishment from the hands of God the reward He bestows on His elect. The Superiors of Goa, knowing how King Hacabar had been unwilling to let our Fathers depart from his Court, however just their reasons, thought proper that we should return to that Court and send others again, seeing that we were treated there with so much respect that the King kept us at his expense, and that, even if the conversion of the King himself did not follow, our residing at the Court of the greatest Monarch of the whole of Asia redounded to the greater glory of God, while it made the world wonder.[3] It was thought in the beginning and at the Court of King Idalxâ, up to the time that I was there by order of obedience, that King Hacabar had died a Christian. King Idalxâ himself told me these very words: '*Antonio Botelho, sache he qui barâ Patxâ Hacabar Christaõ muhâ, qui nã?*'[4] That is: 'Antonio Botelho, is it true or not that the great King Hacabar died a Christian?' I answered: 'Would to God it had been so; but he kept us deluded with such hopes, and died in your sect of Muḥammad.' I do not now

[1] Monserrate (*op. cit.*, p. 637) does not state that 'Abdullah died at Goa, neither does Father Goldie, nor Francisco de Sousa, S.J., *Oriente Conquistado*, II. C. I, D. II, §§ 43-48, 53-64, 74 *sqq.* Fr. DANIEL BARTOLI, S.J., *Missione al Gran Mogor*, Roma, 1714, p. 73, says he returned to Court. We hear of him still in 1595 and later (MS. letters).

[2] According to Monserrate, Akbar, on hearing of Rudolf's death, put his finger in his mouth and said, deeply moved: "Woe to me! Father, I told you timely enough not to go, but you did not wish to listen to me!" Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 637. See also Bartoli, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

[3] The fact is that Akbar recalled the Fathers in 1590 and 1595.

[4] *Sach hai ki barā Padshāh Akbar Khristān muā ki nā?*—Some parts of the abridged Latin translation of Fr. Botelho's memoir were quoted by Sir Edward Maclagan in *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 93 *n.* 2, p. 107. Fr. Botelho must have been at the Court of the Idal Shāh of Bijāpur some time between 1654 and 1670.

remember which Fathers repaired then to the Court of the Mogol in the place of the Holy Martyr Father Rodolfo Aquaviva and Antonio de Monserrate.[1] What I am sure of is that it was still in King Hacabar's lifetime that Fr. Hieronimo Xavier of happy memory went also to that Court.[2] He was an apostolic man, and King Hacabar esteemed him much, and so did always, too, King Janguir, Hacabar's son, who succeeded him to the throne. Fr. Hieronimo Xavier was many years at King Janguir's Court, and he composed a very big book in Persian dedicated to King Hacabar and entitled in the dedication: "Mirror of Princes." He composed other very good works in Persian, which are kept in our College of Agra and in this Secretariat of Goa. The book I speak of is also written in Persian, as are many others composed by the same Father.[4]

Janguir means Lord of the world.[3]

"While Father Hieronimo Xavier was at King Janguir's Court, great was the prestige enjoyed by him and other Fathers, who joined him, such as Manoel Pinheiro, nicknamed the Mogol,[5] Fr. Joseph de Crasto [*sic*], Francisco Corci, and others nearer to our times, whose names I omit. King Janguir granted Father Hieronimo Xavier the boon of a certain number of Christians, whom he had taken prisoners in certain wars and whom he kept shut up in a prison whence they could not escape.[6] These being instructed again in the faith, together with others, adult heathens, men and women, whom he baptized, the Mission of Mogol derived its origin from them. They multiplied among themselves, and this was the beginning of that Christianity, || and the zealous labours of the other Fathers of that Mission added to their numbers in after years. When I was Superior of it, I baptized twenty-one pagans, and from time to time there are always some *quos Deus elegit et praedestinavit* (whom God chose and predestinated)[7] to be brought within the fold. In my time, the number of those Christians who received Holy Communion and went to Confession rose to seven hundred. I could not say with certainty how the numbers stand at present. The ordinary Annuals will tell us, if they do not forget. The Fathers Missionaries devote them-

Fol. 42*r*.

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[1] They were Fathers Edward Leitão and Christopher da Veiga; the name of the lay-brother, Estevão Ribeiro, I find in a letter by Fr. Anthony Mendez to the General concerning Tibet (1636). The second Jesuit Mission to Akbar covers the year 1590-91.

[2] This was in 1595.

[3] The marginal notes belong to the original. Jahāngīr: (*lit.*) world-seizer.

[4] On Jerome Xavier's literary labours, cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, pp. 110-113; *ibid.*, *Jerome Xavier's Persian Lives of the Apostles*, 1914, pp. 65-84; H. BEVERIDGE, *J.R.A.S.*, 1901, pp. 78-79, on the *Samrat-al-filāsafa*, one of Jerome Xavier's works, made in collaboration with 'Abdu-s-Sattār (compare *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 93, and see the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, A. ROGERS, and H. BEVERIDGE'S transl., I, 389; II, 82, 82 *n.* 3). C. Sommervogel, S.J., (*Bibl. de la C. de J.*, VIII, col. 1339, No. 4) mentions *Directorium Regum ad Regni gubernationem.* This must be the *Mirror of Princes* referred to by Botelho, unless he refers to the *Mirror of Holiness, i.e.*, the *Mirātu-l-Quds* otherwise called the *Dāstān-i-Masīḥ* (Life of Christ), which was dedicated to Akbar, while the *Mirror of Princes*, if it is the same as the *Guide of Kings*, would have been dedicated to Jahāngīr in 1609, according to the *Bibl. Marsdeniana*, p. 305. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 113.

[5] His obituary is in the Annual Letter of Goa for 1614. "He died aged 67 years, of which he had spent 46 in the Society, and 20 near the King of Mogor, to whom and to whose subjects he had endeared himself. He knew Persian so perfectly that he astonished the Mogorese." Cf. our translation of the passage in *The Examiner*, Bombay, 1912, p. 57. Probably it was the Fathers who playfully called him the "Mogor," meaning that he had thoroughly acquired the Indian habits and ways.

[6] An allusion to the Portuguese captured at Asīrgaṛh, some of whom enlisted under Akbar as *ahdīs*, 'soldiers with 2 horses apiece,' while others were left dependent on the Mission (1600-1604). Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, pp. 83, 90.

[7] Adapted from Rom. viii. 30.

selves to this small flock as much as if the Christians were many. Hence it is that they are well instructed in the Catechism,[1] and in the mysteries of our holy faith; and rare is the Christian who misses Mass on days of obligation. Many hear it even on week-days; and, besides going to confession annually, they confess and communicate many times, chiefly on the feasts of Christ, Our Lady, the Apostles, and other chief Saints of the year.

"For many years that we were in that Mission, up to the death of our Brother Mirza Zulcarnẽ, the Fathers were four in number, because one was always accompanying him wherever he was going with the King, while the other three were fixed in our College of Agra. Every Sunday and Feast-day, one of the three, who managed the things of the Church, explained the Doctrine,[2] not only to the children, but to the rest as well, instructing them in the mysteries of our holy faith. The three days of Holy Week are very devoutly kept in the Church there. The Church is situated within our enclosure, and the men enter by the common gate, while the women enter by a private door (*porta falça*) opening near the sanctuary (*capella mor*).[3] On those days there are two sermons (*estaçoens*): one on Maundy-Thursday, the other on Good Friday; and it happened, when I was there, that a Father preaching in Portuguese on the Descent from the Cross, all the Christians were so deeply moved in consequence, and there was such a flood (*lit.* monsoon) of tears, that the Moors living near our gate were attracted by their sobbing and came running to the gate to ask what the weeping was for, to which the Porter answered that it was a certain custom of ours, and of the Christians when they were within doors. On all Fridays of Lent, in the evening, an instruction on the Doctrine, adapted to their intelligence, is given to those Christians; this is followed by [considerations on] some mystery of the Passion, and the proceedings conclude with a very devout procession in which a crucifix is carried along within our garden and enclosure (*cerca e crastas*). And I assure you that, when I saw this the first time, my eyes filled with tears, and inwardly I said to God: 'O Lord, how this small procession (moving along to the singing of the litanies of the Saints) must please Thee more than the pompous Friday processions of Goa, which so many people run to see. (What is most remarkable is that we do all this to the beard and in the Court of the Mogol King.) The glory be to Thee, O Lord, who allowedst this in the very midst of those who profess the law of Muḥammad.' The greater part of the Christians of this Christianity are very poor. Possessing no lands to cultivate,—for everything belongs to the King,—they get their living by serving some Christian Armenian merchants, Englishmen, and Dutchmen, or by following some trade which they know, as that of embroiderers, surgeons, etc. The costume of the Christians of Mogol is that of the country: the *cabaya*, reaching down to the knees;[4] trousers up to the heels, and a turban. As a mark and token of the Christian law which they

[1] A Persian-Hindustānī catechism was composed by the Fathers in or about 1611.

[2] *i.e.*, the Catechism.

[3] The Fathers must have lived in the actual compound of the Catholic Cathedral of Agra; the Church in Fr. Botelho's time must have been the old Cathedral (now the Native Chapel); as for the house, I fancy it is embodied in the present house of the Capuchin Fathers.

[4] The surcoat or long tunic of muslin. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, p. 105.

profess, all wear their beads around their neck. The Christians of the Christianity of Mogol are the best, and the most solidly grounded in our faith of the whole of this East. This conclusion—absolute as it is—was reached by the late Fr. Thomas de Barros.[1] He was some time in Mogol, and Rector of the College of Agra, and he would say: 'The Christians are so poor, and yet they prefer to live in poverty, and, though they could say to the Fathers: 'Take away your Christian; I am dying of hunger, and want to go to the Cassiz[2] and tell him I wish to belong to the law of Muḥammad, and he will give me *rosinâ*[3] at once, *i.e.* my daily sustenance,' yet no; they do not do so. Hence, I say none are so firm in the faith.' To understand this, you must take it as certain that whoever goes to the Cassiz, be he heathen or Christian, and tells him he wishes to embrace the sect of Muḥammad, is sure of a daily ordinary ration, in proportion with his rank. I do not deny that some do at times fall away; but they are very rare, and it was when the Moors convicted them of other crimes and threatened them with some grievous punishment. They apostatised *ad tempus* (for a time); because, *data occasione* (finding an opportunity), they would acknowledge their error, and presently come to the Church to be reconciled and protest their faith in the law of Christ.||

Fol. 42*v*. "King Janguir gave our Fathers a garden near the City of Agra, used as a *Gorastaõ*,[4] or cemetery, where we might bury our dead. He did the same in the City of Laor, where we have a house.[5] In this garden, or *Gorastaõ*, which is entirely blest, we have also a small vaulted chapel, where our dead Fathers lie buried very neatly; there are stones above the tombs with the names of the deceased Fathers and the year of their death.[6] And when some Christian dies, all the others assemble to accompany him to the grave. He is carried in a coffin, after our manner; before him goes a procession of small boys vested in their white *opas*,[7] and singing the prayers; in front is carried a copper crucifix surmounting a small staff and covered with a black veil. *Et hoc est mirum* (and this is wonderful) that even some Moors, who were friendly with some Christians, accompanied their corpses to the grave, helping the Christians in carrying the coffin on their shoulders. And Fr. Francisco Morando told

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[1] I mentioned him among the Missionaries of Tibet (*J.A.S.B.*, 1910, 539); his name must now be added to those of the Jesuits of Mogor. Details about him are still wanting. One Thomas de Barros entered the Society at Goa in 1610. L'Abbé A. Launay (*Hist. de la Miss. du Thibet*, Lille, Desclée, 1903, I. 30) says he went to Tibet in 1640. Sommervogel, *Bibl. de la C. de J.*, states that he was for a time Superior of Mogor and Tibet, after which he became Rector of Damān, Baçaim and Goa. He died at Rachol, April 13, 1658. Probably, he was Rector of Agra just before Fr. Botelho's arrival in 1648. Fr. J. de Castro was Rector in 1641; after that date up to 1648 the catalogues are missing, and he is not in the catalogues of 1649, '53, '55, '56, etc. (*J.A.S.B.*, 1910, pp. 532-533).

[2] From *qasīs*: priest, rather than from *qāzī*: judge. [3] *Rozīna*: daily pay.

[4] *Qabaristān*: cemetery. The Portuguese of Calcutta at the beginning of the 19th century pronounced the word in the same corrupt way. They do so still. I cannot imagine that *gorastaõ* stands for *gorā* (white, a European) and *sthān* or *stān* (a place).

[5] The place of the Jesuit house and cemetery at Lahore has not yet been determined. Sir Edward Maclagan and Fr. Felix, O.C., of Antwerp, told me that they had made a diligent search. No old European inscriptions appear to have been found; but has sufficient attention been paid to Armenian ones?

[6] Cf. Appendix A, for the origin of the cemetery and the Mortuary Chapel of the Jesuit Fathers at Agra.

[7] *Opa*: a sort of garment without sleeves that comes down to the ankles. Cf. A. Vieyra Transtagano's *Dict. of the Port. and Engl. Lang.*, London, 1773. J. I. Roquette's *Nouveau Dict. Port. Franç.*, Paris 1863, translates by: robe, lo g garment, confraternity form. The meaning here must be "surplices."

me that he was in the College of Agra when Father Matheus de Paiva died there,[1] and that the concourse of the Moors who accompanied him to the grave and carried the coffin on their shoulders was such that it was wonderful; and by this service which they rendered to Fr. Matheus de Paiva, the Moors wished to testify to the Father's great charity, when alive; for, having some knowledge of medicine, he would help them with remedies in their illnesses. On All Souls' Day, the Fathers of that Mission are in the habit of going with all the Christians to that garden or cemetery, and to say Mass in that small chapel. At the end, there is a sermon on the souls in Purgatory, and the Christians lay on the graves in that garden fine napkins whereon they deposit offerings of eatables, which the Fathers at once distribute among countless *Jogues* and *faquirs* who flock thither.[2] Besides them, many Moors assemble there to witness the solemnity, to see the Father going along in his cope (*capa d'asperges*),[3] sprinkling holy water and reciting the responses over the graves. I did it several years while I was at Agra, and, when performing this ceremony, I felt the greatest pleasure and spiritual consolation, considering that we enjoyed this liberty in spite of Muḥammad and under the Great Mogol's beard. The Armenian merchants (who were fifty or sixty in my time) were much surprised at the freedom we had at the Great Mogol's Court. It was a privilege not enjoyed by the other Religious settled in Constantinople, where the Turks molested them in a thousand ways, going at times as far as beating them severely.

"The College we have in Agra is built in the City itself, not much in the centre of it, but towards the western third of it (*naõ muito no meyo della, senaõ pera a terceira parte que cae pera o Occidente*).[4] Fr. Antonio d'Andrade, of happy memory, built this College in the form of a Z.[5] It has eight rooms and two storeys (*andares*). And as it was small, we had not lodgings enough to receive guests and some distinguished Moors who came to speak with us, or Dutchmen and Englishmen, who have their factories in the Town and are very kind to us.[6] I, being Visitor of that Mission, added to it two small rooms and a hall for guests, and the Dutch and English themselves gave me for the purpose six or seven hundred rupees in alms.[7] In olden times, we

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[1] Nov. 2 (All Souls' Day), 1633.—See *supra*, p. 145.

[2] *Jogīs* are Hindū ascetics; *Fakīr* (*lit.* poor) is a Muḥammadan mendicant, the word being frequently used by the old European writers as synonymous with *jogī*.

[3] The cope used for the *Asperges*, or sprinkling with holy water before the parochial Mass on Sundays, is violet; the cope used for the blessing of graves is black.

[4] More freely: "the College . . . is towards the western third of the town rather than in the centre of it." Fr. Botelho conceives the town as divided into three parts: east, west, and centre.

[5] The Portuguese has: ao modo dez [*sic*].—While Superior of Mogor in 1624, Fr. Antonio d'Andrade went to Tibet, and from that moment to about 1630, when he became Provincial of Goa, his chief care was the Tibetan Mission. He did not return to Mogor after 1630, and died at Goa on March 14, 1634. Hence, I fancy that he built the College near or on the site of earlier buildings between 1621 and 1624, as in 1621 he appears as Visitor and Superior of the whole Mission of Mogor (*J.A.S.B.*, 1910, p. 530).

[6] The generally excellent relations between the Jesuits and the Dutch and English factors are borne out by W. N. SAINSBURY'S *Calendar of State Papers*, 1513-1634, 5 vols.; F. C. DANVERS' and W. FOSTER'S *Letters received by the E. I. Co.* (1602-17), 6 vols., and W. FOSTER'S *The English Factories in India*, 1618–45.

[7] How shall we conceive the building before Fr. Botelho's additions? As consisting of three rooms below and three above, plus two rooms below, one each at opposite ends of and at right angles to the building, thus giving us in all eight rooms and the figure ⅂? In summer the Fathers slept on the terrace. Fr. Botelho's additions, if they were exclusively

had a very fine church within the walls and precincts; it was entirely vaulted and had cost eleven or twelve thousand rupees the greater part of which sum had been donated by an Armenian, a rich Christian merchant;[1] but, King Xajan [Shāh Jahān] ordered to destroy the Church on the occasion which I shall relate. King Xajan was very much disturbed by the insults he had received from the Portuguese of Bengala and the natives of the country at Ogoly [Huglī], a sea-board district of those parts. He sent against it a powerful army, destroyed its buildings and the ships in the harbour; but, all those who escaped death, whether Portuguese or natives, women and children, were caught by the Moors,[2] and Fr. Morando, who was in our College of Agra on that occasion, told me that they numbered upwards of four thousand souls. All entered that City as prisoners to be presented to the King, and the greater
Fol. 43*r*. number of them, of the men at least, came || two by two, with iron rings round their necks and chains.[3] The King took as his slaves many of the chief men, and the white women he ordered to be taken to his Mal,[4] or women's quarter; the rest of the men he distributed among various Umbraos,[5] and the greater number of these people fell away, and he ordered to circumcise them, to which some consented for fear of the various kinds of death they threatened them with, others out of love for their wives, who were scattered about in the Mal of the King and of the Umbraos. Even so, there were many who did not renounce their faith, because they were not pressed so much. And there were so many of those of Bengala who, on Sundays and Feast-days, assembled near the College gate to enter the Church and hear Mass, and they made such a noise and quarrelled so much among themselves before entering, that, as Fr. Morando told me, even at the door of the *Misericordia* or in the *Rua Direita* (Straight Road) of Goa, they did not quarrel or shout as much as there. Seeing this, the Cassiz and the Mulnas [*sic*],[6] the masters of the law of Muḥammad, went to King Xajan, asking

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or guests, might have been a separate building. If the present house of the Archbishop of Agra embodies the old Jesuit house, it is difficult to recognize any of the old features. One of the wonders of the place is the cellar. Inside of it, overhead, there are indications of two old staircases with big sandstone slabs for steps: it has three staircases, therefore, of which only one now reaches the outer world. I was told by the Fathers of Agra, that the house originally had two stories; that the lower story was filled in (except in some places, the cellar?), and that a third story, now the second, was eventually built. The level of the garden is lower than that of the house, but is it low enough to account for what I was told? I heard also a remark which I found rather irrelevant to our case: that Begam Sumru's house at Sardhana has an underground floor, where she lived in summer, air-holes being provided in different places. The Agra cellar remained a mystery to me. Perhaps, the Capuchin Fathers of Agra will be able to read a meaning into Fr. Botelho's description.

[1] Khwāja Martinus. This gift of money for the church is not alluded to in Fr. João de Velasco's letter. (Cf. Appendix A). At any rate, Fr. Botelho does not say that John Philip de Bourbon and Lady Juliana built the Agra Church of 1604. Tradition says, moreover, that John Philip de Bourbon and Lady Juliana were both buried in the Agra Church. Cf. Fr. Felix, O.C., p. 204 *n.* 26, in *Catholic Calendar* for Agra.... 1907. The tradition must be utterly wrong, for Lady Juliana died before 1598, *i.e.*, before any church is heard of at Agra. Lady Juliana da Costa, her namesake, was buried in the present Agra Church, having died in 1732. (Cf. GENTIL, *Memoires sur l'Indoustan*, Paris 1822, pp. 367-380). This appears to be the cause of the confusion. There is no inscription over Lady Juliana da Costa's grave.

[2] Some 3,000 escaped to Saugor Island, at the mouth of the Hugl., but many of these may have been caught, like the rest, subsequently.

[3] In the beginning of July 1633.

[4] Not an unusual form of the word *maḥal*: mansion, seraglio. *Maḥal-sarā*: the inner or female apartments of a mansion.

[5] For *umarā*, the Arabic plural of *amīr*. In old European accounts it is used as a singular for a lord or grandee of the Moghul Court Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. omrah.

[6] *Qashīsh* or *qasīs*, a Muḥammadan priest; *maulā* (Arab.), *mullā* (Hind.), a learned man, a teacher, a doctor of the

him to remedy such disorders. The Firinguis, they said, were living in his own court with as much freedom as if they had been in their own country, all of which brought contempt upon the law of Muḥammad professed by His Majesty and his vassals. Hereupon the King felt roused to action. He ordered at once his officers to destroy our Church, and the Fathers were told to leave the College.[1] They lodged for some months in a *sarai* [mansion, inn] near the City, and the King would have sent them all to Goa but for the intervention of the King's father-in-law, Açafaçan [Āṣaf Khān], our friend, as I said in its own place. The Church destroyed, the King signed a new *formaõ* [farmān] thanks to Açafacan. It allowed the Fathers to return to the same College, but not to build a Church. It granted us only to make a house within our compound, where we might teach the Doctrine and instruct our Christians, as we did in our country; but it forbade our making Christians of the Moors; otherwise, we should be considered *gunegares*,[2] or liable to any penalty the King might decree. As for the Church, the Fathers built in the place of the old one, a ground-floor with a terrace above, something quite big enough to have in it the Divine Offices, Mass, etc., as I have said.[3] Concerning the King's order in his *formaõ* that we should make no Christians of the Moors, we are in no danger of falling under such sentence, because, even without the King's order, no Moor becomes a Christian in those parts, however much the Fathers may speak to them —as they always do, when occasion offers—about the things of our holy faith, or the errors of their accursed sect. Many come to our College at times out of curiosity, not from any wish of discussing with us. And I shall tell here in passing what answer a distinguished and intelligent Moor gave to one of our Fathers after a long discussion and explanation of the mysteries of our holy faith. 'Padre Gi,[4] *i.e.*, Senhor Padre, I see very well by what you have told me that your law is better than ours; but I find it impossible for me to keep, and so, good-bye.'

"Both from a spiritual and temporal point of view, this destruction of Ogoly and the large number of captives brought to Agra was like a thunderbolt lighting upon our Christianity of Mogol. From a temporal point of view: because a large number

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law. Perhaps the word *mũlna* (in the text) represents *maulānā* (*lit.* our lord), a title given to persons respected for learning, a doctor. But, is it likely that a long *a* would be slurred over?

[1] Cf. Bernier (Constable's edn., p. 287): "Chah-Jehan. . . .deprived them of their pension, and destroyed the church at *Lahor* and the greater part of that of *Agra*, totally demolishing the steeple, which contained a clock heard in every part of the city." This is not quite accurate. The church at Agra was entirely destroyed. Was there a clock or a bell?

[2] *Gunahgār* or *gunahkār*=criminal.

[3] This must be the old Cathedral of Agra, now the native chapel, *minus* the additions made under Father Francis Xavier Wendel (1769, 1772) and Bishop Pezzoni (1835), additions attested and traceable by the inscriptions on the walls. The cupola over the sanctuary must be one of the later improvements.

Fr. J. de Castro writes to the General (Agra, Apr. 16, 1637): "It is true that he [Shāh Jahān] obliged us to destroy the two churches of Lahor and Agra; still he gave us leave [Dec. 8, 1635] to erect for our use another house in the above-said place of the Church of Agra, as in fact we have done, building two or three rooms which serve us very well for our purpose. There we celebrate at present the divine offices, and say Mass in such a way that the men on the one side, and the women on the other, hear it without being seen by one another. Every day, after the Masses, we collect the sacred vestments and whatever might give a clue to this." The new building referred to served as chapel. The first Mass was said in it on Sept. 8, 1636. (*MS. Letter of Fr. de Castro to the General*, Sept. 17, 1636). The openings still seen in the walls may have been used as hiding-places, and the rings in the ceiling may have held the curtains hiding the women.

[4] *Jī*: sir

of the common sort was without means, the Umbraos taking only the captives from Bengala, both men and women, who could be of use to them. Therefore, as they were so many and the Fathers could not help both our poor Christians and the new arrivals, misery and poverty drove many of the latter to become renegades, while the others were helped by the Fathers. From a spiritual point of view: because so many of them apostatized, nay—for our sins, alas!—Portuguese of the flower of Portugal. All these were a bad example to our Christians. Add also to the King's and Mulnas' fury in destroying the Church that, one Holy Saturday morning (through the imprudence of the Christians of Bengala, who fancied they were at home) there was to be seen hanging in the street of our College an effigy of Judas, a mannikin of straw with turban and *cabaya*, when, lo! in came without delay the Cassiz and the Mulnas, fuming with anger, and saying that the Christians had hanged their Muḥammad. Reason as we might, there was no persuading them that the figure
Fol. 43*v*. was that of Judas, and that some thoughtless Christian || had done it, whom they were welcome to punish soundly. And I have said why King Xajan got so angry, and which were his reasons for ordering the destruction of the Church of the Agra College.

"We have also in the City of Laor a very large house containing two small halls, a room, and a very fine *varanda*. Below the *varanda*, on the ground-floor, the place is very convenient to allow the Christians, who are found in that City, to hear Mass, when now and again one of Ours goes there, or while he resides there, when the King goes there with his Court.[1] We are very well known in the City of Laor, for King Janguir held his Court there; here lived Fr. Jeronimo Xavier and others, his companions, and King Janguir was so familiar with the Fathers that he would at times come to our house, and during the Christmas season grand cribs were erected with many figures and hydraulic inventions,[2] the King spending much money on it. At times the Fathers sent to Goa for one of our Brothers to manage the crib. The last who was sent for it was one Martis,[3] a very expert lay-brother, who was at Dio [Diu] and thence went to Mogol, when I was a novice.[4] During his lifetime, Janguir paid for the Fathers' maintenance. Each had daily from him so many rupees: Fr. Hieronimo Xavier had ten rupees a day; another five, another seven, another three, so that the Fathers had plenty for themselves and for giving alms to the poor Christians. King Xajan, his son, continued to pay daily the same sum to the Fathers, until he caused the destruction of the Church we had in Agra[5]; and he would have continued the expense, if the Fathers of those days had asked him or reminded him of it; but they had very good and just reasons for renouncing it, if they received already at Goa the revenues of the foundation for the College of Agra made by our Brother Mirzâ Zulcaranẽ.[6]

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[1] It will be remembered that the Jesuit Church built at Lahore by Akbar was destroyed at the end of 1635.

[2] Fountains?

[3] Martins.

[4] This would show that Fr. Botelho entered the Society in India. His name is not in Franco's list of the Jesuits who embarked at Lisbon for the East.

[5] End of 1635.

[6] The title "brother" is explained by his participation, as founder of the Agra College, in the spiritual merits of the Society.

"To finish this relation, I wish to speak awhile of our Brother Mirzâ Zulcaranẽ, the founder of the College of Agra, and the column of that Christianity; and, if Fr. Morando had lived after the Mirzâ's death,[1] he might have written a relation of many pages on the life and exemplary conduct of this good Christian. I shall mention and relate here only some things, which, while I was in the College of Agra, I heard sometimes related by Fr. Francisco Morando, who during 22 years, when Mirza Zulcaranẽ was in the King's *lascar*,[2] followed him to Bengala, Cabul, Laor and Multan, and twice he was many years with him at Sambar.[3]

"Our Brother Mirza Zulcarnẽ was not, as some thought, of Armenian parentage, but the son of a very honourable and powerful Christian merchant, of Alipy nationality and born at Alepo [*sic*], who came with his merchandise to Mogol, to the Court of the Mogol King Hacabar, during the last years of his Reign and Empire. This merchant, during King Janguir's reign, found the climate of the country to his taste, and settled in that Court, and King Janguir married him with one of the Ladies of his Palace, who, it was said, had some Armenian blood in her. She became a Christian with her husband, and bore him two or three sons, who were also baptized by Fr. Hieronimo Xavier, as appears from my calculations.[4] As this woman could freely enter into the Palace of the King's wives, since she had lived there many years, she took with her Mirza Zulcaranẽ, her first child, a love of a baby, they say, whose baptismal name was Belchior.[5] The King obtained from the mother that she should leave him in his Palace to be brought up with he young Prince Corraõ [Khurram], later Xajan [Shāh Jahān], both being of the same age. However, young Mirza would often speak with his father and mother, who instructed him in the faith, and King Janguir was as fond of this little Mirza as of his own son Corraõ, and many times, when he went out, he took him with him in his palanquin. Years rolled by and young Mirza continued to be the object of the King's favours. When Mirza was now 14 years old, the King, in his love for him, wished to make him a Moor and get him circumcised; but the youth would not agree, saying that he had to keep the law of his father and mother, and that || he was a Christian like them. Before the youth's reso- Fol. 44*r*.
lution the King's caresses changed to grievous threats. These proving unavailing, there followed cruel strappings and lashes with thongs of camel-hide. The boy was in such a pitiful plight after this scourging that he was brought to death's

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[1] Father Morando appears then to have predeceased the Mirzā, but we do not know the year of the death of either. Morando's tomb is not at Agra. If we suppose that he came to Mogor in 1631, it would follow that, as he was 22 years the Mirzā's chaplain, he left Mogor in 1653, a year before Fr. Botelho. How many years did he live after that? The Mirzā is still heard of in 1652.

[2] *Lashkar*: army.

[3] An allusion to his serving under Sulṭān Shujā' in Bengal. Probably, he followed Shāh Jahān to Afghanistān in 1648. I do not remember any other reference to his having been in Multān. If Fr. Morando was twice with Zū-l-Qarnain at Sāmbhar, he must have been there between 1633 and 1642, since the Mīrzā was in Bengal from 1642 to 1648, and Morando was with him (the second time?) at Sambhar in 1649-51. Cf. *infra*, p. 161.

[4] Melchior: was this an additional baptismal name to that of Gonçalo? Cf. *supra*, pp. 143, 146.

[5] Fr. Botelho is incorrect in many of these details, *e.g.*, when he fancies that Sikandar (senior) came to Mogor at the end of Akbar's reign, that Lady Juliana was alive in Jahangīr's reign, that she and her husband were not Christians (does he mean Catholics?) at the time of their marriage, that Fr. Jerome Xavier baptized them. Like Bernier, he differs from the *Tūzuk-i-Jahangīrī* and the earlier Jesuit accounts in stating that, not Akbar but Jahāngīr influenced Sikandar's marriage with Lady Juliana.

door.* When he came to and recovered, he disappeared from King Janguir's Palace when they were least on their guard; but, as the King was so fond of him, he ordered to search for him with every diligence. His parents were dead by this time. At last they found him and brought him back to the King's Palace. The King, taking compassion on him, told him to live happy in his law, since he was so much pleased and satisfied with it.[1] And Fr. Francisco Morando told me, when relating this, that Mirza was not only a good Christian, but that he had been also a Martyr for Christ. Mirza had aptitudes and talents of a high order. He became such a great poet in the Industane tongue that he had among the Moors the same reputation as a poet as Camoís [Camoens] has here with us. He was also a good singer, and he himself put to music the songs which the King made [*sic*].[2] So, King Janguir was so delighted with him that he kept him always at Court and gave him a very large monthly salary, which allowed him to have his suite and cavalry accompanying him. He grew older, and was upwards of thirty years old, when the King appointed him *Divaõ* [Dīvān], or Viceroy of the *Praganâ* [Pargana] of Sambar, of which I have spoken at length in my Relation on the Mogol's greatness.[3] At Sambar, Mirza had a thousand horse and fifteen elephants of his own, and many Christians of Mogol were making large profits under Mirza, because he assisted them in their poverty, favoured them and helped them in everything he could. And he was so liberal that when one of the King's singers caught the conceits or the tune of the songs he composed, he would there and then present him with a horse. It happened once that he was so pleased with a singer that he gave him an elephant, and, Fr. Morando expressing his surprise at such a grand present, Mirza said: 'Father, reflect that for me to give a horse is like giving a goat, and giving an elephant, like giving a horse.'

"In King Janguir's reign our Brother Mirza Zulcaranẽ lived many years at Sambar. (Mirza means Lord, and Zulcaranẽ means some arms or badges of Alexander the Great; therefore to say Mirza Zulcaranẽ is as if you said: Lord of Alexander's badges).[4] This lasted until his son Xajan succeeded him. One of the first acts of the new King was to deprive Mirza Zulcaranẽ of that *Praganâ* and confiscate all he had.[5] The reason for it was that when Xajan, formerly Corraõ, had revolted against his father Janguir, and was passing by Sambar, he told Mirza that he was in need of money, and that he should give him at once a certain number of *leques* [lākhs] of

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[1] From the * there are several anachronisms. The boy was taken away in 1605 and brought back to Lahore in 1606. Only his mother was dead then.

[2] Instead of "que fazia ElRey," we expect "que fazia por ElRey" = which he made for the King.

[3] He was not upwards of 30 years old when he was appointed to the Parganah of Sāmbhar, whether the fact occurred in 1614 or in 1619, or, as we have it in the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (transl. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge), II. 194, in the beginning of 1621. Cf. *supra*, pp. 124, 131, 133-134.

[4] Zū-l-Qarnain means two-horned, *bicornutus*. The horns of the bull, not only among the Hebrews and other Semitic races, but in some of the classical Latin authors, are symbolical of strength, power, courage. Col. Jarrett (*Āīn*, III, 377*n*. 1) says that, according to Tabarī, Alexander received this name, because he traversed the world from end to end, the word *qarn* signifying a horn, a term also applied to the extremities of the universe. The epithet is given to Alexander in the Qoran (Sur. xviii, vv. 82, 84, 92). According to Sale, other opinions of the derivation are that he had two horns to his diadem, or two curls of hair. (On these curls of hair, called *cornua*, see Facciolati—Forcellini's *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, *s.v.* cornu). Scaliger supposes the epithet arose from Alexander's being represented in his coins and statues with horns as the son of Jupiter Ammon, or as being compared by the prophet Daniel (viii. 6) to a he-goat, though there represented with only one horn.

[5] Perhaps, a confusion with his recall from Gorākhpur is 1632.

rupees with which to cover his expenses. Mirza refused, on the plea that he had no leave from his father Janguir, to whom he had to give an account of all the money and revenues of the lands under him. Xajan took occasion of this to recall him from that place.[1] Mirza came away to Agra, where he possessed a very fine house along the River.[2] Mirzâ's enemies represented to the King that, though he had given a good account of himself and paid whatever belonged to the King's crown, he had brought with him his profits amounting to many *leques* of rupees. The King's officers went to his house and dug in many parts of it and of his garden, to find out whether he had hidden any money. Mirza left his house (*se sahio de sua corte*), and came to our College of Agra, whither the King's officers followed to dig with the same diligence our garden and cloisters (? enclosure, *crastas*). Finding nothing, they went away. Mirza was many years in disfavour with the King. Nevertheless, he accompanied him wherever he went, to the hunt or any other enterprise; and, as King Xajan had been as a child brought up in the Palace with Mirza, his suspicions vanished, and, in the year 1649, when I was at Agra, the King reinstated Mirza in the government of Sambar, on condition that he [Mirza] should pay him every year six *leques* of rupees from the salt-revenues. Mirza went back, taking with him, as always, Fr. Francisco Morando. He remained there two years, at the end of which Mirza told King Xajan that, as he was now old[3] and had no longer the strength to conduct the management of those revenues, he must, | if he wished to enhance them, appoint in his place some one more Fol. 44*v*.
able than himself. The King did as requested. He called Mirza to his Court, assigned a hundred rupees a day as his salary, and dispensed him, as a privilege, from going with him when he travelled. As to Mirza's two sons, the King gave one seven rupees a day, and to the younger five.[4] Even in the poverty to which he now found himself reduced, and though the pay he now received from the King was so small compared with what it used to be, he kept fifty horsemen in his service to accompany him when he went outside. And as he was so devoted to poetry, he composed at every step verses in the King's honour; and, first calling the King's singers to his house, he taught them and sent them to the Palace to sing that night what he had composed. On one occasion, as the King had come from Laor, Prince Darâ Xecut[5] called Mirza, with whom he was very friendly, and told him: '*Mere bhay, mere bhay*, i.e., my brother, my brother, my father has just come from Laor; make a *Torpet*,[6] *i.e.*, a

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[1] During the first five years of Shāh Jahān's reign Zū-l-Qarnain was in favour. Shāh Jahān may have raked up in 1632 the grievance here mentioned by Fr. Botelho.

[2] If the M rzā's house was close to the river, how could it have been near the house of the Jesuit Fathers, as Tavernier says? Would not this show that Tavernier (*supra*, pp. 144-145) is mixing up Zū-l-Qarnain's story with that of another Armenian? The distance to the river is not, however, very great, and Zū-l-Qarnain's garden may have come close to the Fathers' property.

[3] He was only sixty. The above passage gives an answer to a remark my friend Mr. H. Beveridge made in one of his letters. He could not, he said, find in the Muḥammadan authors any allusion to the Mirzā's having been re-employed.

[4] Was his youngest son, Mirzā Daniel, born in or before 1638 (Cf. *infra*, p 164 *n.* 6), too young in Fr. Botelho's time (1648-54) to take service under the King? It is said further that Zū-l-Qarnain saw his (three?) sons and daughter honourably married in his lifetime, and that the youngest, Daniel, survived his father. Cf. pp. 164-165.

[5] Prince Dārā Shīkoh, Shāh Jahān's eldest son. Possibly, Fr. Botelho refers to a song composed by the Mīrzā, at Dārā Shīkoh's suggestions in 1651, when Shāh Jahān returned from Kashmīr *to* Lahore. Cf. *infra*, p. 164; 164 *n.* 6.

[6] *Dhurpad*: a kind of song in the Hindī or Brāj bhāshā dialect (*Forbes*). "The Dhurpad (Dhruva-pada) cousists of four rhythmical lines without any definite length of words or syllables." *Aīn*, Jarrett's transl. III, p. 251 and 251 *n.* 2.

composition in his honour.'—'I am not now in the mood for it,' Mirza answered; 'but, if your father were to become a Christian, I should make a very fine hymn in his honour.' The Prince laughed heartily at the supposition. Eventually, however, Mirza made the song. King Xajan ventured to tell Mirza Zulcaranẽ through a third party that, if he wished to follow the sect of Muhammad, he would let him have Sambar for life. Now it yielded eight *leques* of rupees a year.[1] To this Mirza answered, 'Go and tell the King that my religion is not so cheap in my eyes that I should barter it against any number of *leques* of rupees.' A good example for those who write with their own blood that they sacrifice their life to the devil in return for a treasure, and in the end they find themselves in a bonfire.

"Fr. Francisco Morando would speak at length about Mirza's Christianity. He knew him very intimately, having been 22 years his companion. Every day Mirza recited Our Lady's rosary, heard Mass, and, what is more, when he was travelling about with the King, Fr. Morando had to say Mass daily in his tent. And it happened often that the King's *lascar* was already moving when the Mass began; still, they would not touch Mirza's tent before Mass was finished. His intelligence was very sharp and keen. Sometimes he spoke to Fr. Morando about predestination in a way which astonished him. Once, for instance, a poor *basar* [bāzār] woman passing near him, he said: 'Father, how have I deserved that God should make me a Christian in preference to that poor woman who passes there, and who, if she dies without baptism, will surely go to hell?' Fr. Morando said sometimes that Mirza had never known any other woman than his own wife; as a young man and a widower, he was without reproach, a rare thing for one who lived all his life at the Court of so mighty a King and a Moor too, where liberty is so great and the occasions of offending God are so many. It is the custom, as I said above, that all the Umbraos and noblemen (*fidalgos*) should go twice a day to pay their respects to the King. Mirza did it often too, not that he was obliged—since the King had dispensed him—but when he liked. One day as some of the Umbraos were in the King's presence, one of them saw Mirza entering the court of the Palace Gate. 'Sire,' he said to the King, 'Mirza Zulcarane is coming along there; but he looks as if he had drunk wine to-day.'—'Then,' said the King, 'tell the head porter (these are always persons of high rank) that he must not let him in, and let him tell him to come another day, for we have no time to-day.' The porter obeyed, and Mirza returned home. But, a few days later, when Mirza was in the King's presence with other nobles, the one who had accused him to the King for being drunk, happened to enter at the Palace Gate, and a noble, a friend of Mirza's, having related the story, told him: 'Here comes the fellow who, some days ago, said to the King that you were drunk. From his ways it seems that he has indulged in wine himself. So, tell the King, too, that such a one looks tipsy.'—'You people are blind,' answered Mirza. 'You do not know the law of the Christians. My law teaches me that, if one strike you on the one cheek, you must offer him also the other.[2] You must not be vindictive, but must do good to those who do you evil.' Mirza was well

[1] Therefore, it left Zū-l-Qarnain in 1649-51 a profit of 2 lākhs, and a larger margin of profit during his earlier tenures of administration. Cf. *supra*, pp. 146, 161.

[2] The reference is either to St. Matth. v. 39 or to St. Luke vi. 29.

read in our Gospels, the Psalms and Holy Scripture, || which he had in Persian[1]; and, Fol. 45r.
when occasions offered themselves, he would often, and to good purpose, make use of those weapons.

"A certain ecclesiastic placed in authority went to the City of Agra, while I was in that Mission, to see whether he could expel us from it.[2] He made every effort for this purpose, went to the other chief towns, as Laor and Dely, where the King then already was with his Court, and interested some Umbraos to get them to influence the King and convert him to his evil intentions through defamatory papers and letters against us. It was, perhaps, one of the most violent storms that burst over us from the time that we settled in that Great Kingdom. What happened, and what he did against us, God knows, and we who bore it. It is a very long story, and, if I tried to put it in order in writing, I should fill more than four sheets of paper. Suffice it to say that finally, by means of a quite baseless calumny, he succeeded through some one else in getting the King to imprison for more than a month and a half, say about two months, Fr. Henrique Buzeu [Buseo, Busi] (God rest his soul!); but God, who defends the cause of truth, allowed that everything should become clear, and the Father came out of prison with great credit to himself and honour to the Society, the King considering as a base slander the charges brought against the Father. After this ecclesiastic had done what he could, he happened to speak at Agra with one born at Cochy [Cochin] and married at Ogoly [Huglī], who, as I said, came with the other captives. He was a half-caste, but of good extraction (? character, *de bom natural*); and, though the King's prisoner, his pay was big enough to let him live in comfort. I do not name him, because he is well known and my story does not require my naming him.[3] This ecclesiatic went often to the renegade's house, and once he told him: 'Senhor so-and-so, do you think that with four fellows of my pluck I could get rid of those Paulists?' The apostate replied very sensibly, 'But, since you see that the Fathers are four, why do you try what you cannot succeed in?'— 'I should worst them,' said the ecclesiastic, 'but for the help they get from Mirza Zulcaranẽ.' Another person from Bengala, who had been circumcised, and was intimate with Mirza, told him the above story. 'Tell this ecclesiastic,' was Mirza's answer, 'that, if we had not the help of the cross, the devil would get the better of the whole world.' What is worse in this story is that, when this clergyman came to Dely, Mirza gave him an alms of a hundred rupees.

"King Xajan was in the Kingdom of Cassimir [Kashmīr], where, owing to the said

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[1] *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, pp. 95, 113, shows what parts of the Old and New Testaments Zū-l-Qarnain may have possessed in Persian. In 1912 I found in the Catholic Cathedral Library of Agra a copy of Fr. J. Xavier's Persian translation of the four Gospels.

[2] The Provincial of Goa wrote to the General in the Annual Letter of 1652 (October 27th): "This Mission of Mogor suffered this year a severe persecution, which was brought down upon it by Bishop Dom Matheus. This appears from three writings of his, or rather three libels which he spread to discredit us, and even expel us from that Mission. He accused us of having usurped much money, which by the laws of the Kingdom belonged to the King; secondly, that we had prevented some Dutch gunners, whom the King had caused to be called, from entering his service; through these false incriminations, he actually got Fr. Henrique Buzeo arrested." On Dom Matheus de Castro, Cf. MANUCCI'S *Storia di Mogor*, s.v. Matheus; also C. BECCARI, S.J., *Notizia e Saggi di opere e documenti inediti riguardanti la Storia di Etiopia durante i secoli xvi, xvii e xviii. . .* Roma, 1903, pp. 114-115 *n.* 4; 169; 401.

[3] Cf. on him, App. C.

clergyman's false and slanderous information, he ordered to seize Father Buzeu, then with Mirza.[1] The King started from Cassimir for Laor, and the roads were so bad that he left the greater part of the army in Cassimir with orders to follow the next day. Father Buzeu was yet in prison, and Mirza Zulcaranẽ, who could not stomach it, left in all haste to overtake and interview the King, which he did two leagues from Cassamir [Srinagar]. Mirza was going in a palanquin, accompanied by his people; he traversed the King's *lascar*, and, as his breaking through the King's army was attended with loud protests, the King remarked it and asked what the matter was. From mouth to mouth the news reached him that Mirza Zulcaranẽ came to speak with His Highness. Immediately the King told them to stop his state-conveyance or *Tactarabandi*,[2] as it is called,—a very large litter (*andor*) carried by 16 to 20 men, on the top of which is a silver *cherola*.[3] To the Umbraos near him, among others Alimardan ['Alī Mardan Khān] (about whom I said much à propos of the Mogol King's greatness), he said, '*Sastao*,' *i.e.*, stop,[4] ' and let it be said that King Xajan orders to stop his train in order to speak with Mirza Zulcaranẽ.' The latter coming in the King's presence, said loudly and angrily, for he was naturally irritable, ' Sire, how can you, on so glaring a lie, leave my Padre in prison? Say that he must be free, and here I give you my head to cut off any time that they prove what they accuse the Father of.' Mirza was so much in earnest that the King told him, 'Go back to Cassamir, and tell Sadulacan [Sa'dullah Khān], the King's chief Umbrao, *et secundus a Rege* [and next in power to the King], to bring the Father with him to Laor, when he comes.' The moment Mirza had turned to go away, the King said to
Fol. 45v. the Umbraos || near him, 'Did you not notice how angry and vexed Mirza was when speaking to me? Don't be surprised; I know the man, and I must bear with him, while life lasts, since we were brought up together as boys in the Palace.'[5]

"Mirza Zulcaranẽ was married with Dona Ilena [Helena], whose grave—a very fine one—I saw at Laor in a garden which Mirza owned there.[6] She bore him three sons and a daughter. The eldest was called Mirza Observam; the 2nd, Mirza Eres; the 3rd and youngest, Mirza Daniel.[7] Mirza saw his sons and daughter very honour-

[1] Events of 1651.

[2] *Takht-i-rawān*: a kind of sedan chair.

[3] A *charola* (Port.) is a niche, *e.g.*, the niche in which are placed the statues carried on biers in processions. "La chirolle se place sur le dos de l'éléphant; il y en a de couvertes et d'autres qui ne le sont pas." M. GENTIL, *Mémoires sur l'Indoustan*, Paris, 1822, p. 372 *n.* 1.

[4] Probably *āhista* (vulg.=*āste*): slowly.

[5] Fr. Busi says in a letter to the General (Lahore, 17th December 1651) that he had left prison some days before and that, as the Rector [Fr. Anthony Botelho] had written on the subject, he did not enlarge on it. A letter of Fr. Botelho's (Agra, 20th January 1652) to Fr. Bento Ferreira, Goa, states that he had left Agra for Lahore on November 8th, 1651, to obtain Fr. Busi's liberty. Much prudence was required. Bishop Dom Matheus was still in Lahore, ready to leave for Agra, Surat, Mocha. Fr. Botelho had to conceal himself in the suburbs of Lahore until Bishop Matheus was gone. Prince Dārā Shikoh suggested to Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain, then at Lahore, to compose a piece of poetry to soothe Shāh Jahān. The result was obtained. Fr. Busi was restored to liberty on the feast of St. Francis Xavier, 1651 (*i.e.*, December 3rd).

[6] Her death is announced in a letter by Fr. Francis Morando, S.J. (Agra, September 15th, 1638) as having taken place some days before. May not Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain's mother, Lady Juliana, have been buried there too? She had died at Lahore in 1598.

[7] Mīrzā Observam would be John Baptist, Mīrzā Eres (Īrij, Īrich) would be Gaspar, and Mirzā Daniel (Danyāl)

ably married during his lifetime. One day, speaking to one of his great friends, a certain Umbrao, who had easy access to the King, Mirza Zulcaranẽ asked him, 'Will you not get the King to appoint my sons *Mancebdares* [manṣabdārs], *i.e.*, captains of three hundred or four hundred horse, a dignity leading to that of Umbraos?'[1] The Umbrao answered, 'I shall ask the King to appoint your sons not only Mancebdares, but even Umbraos, provided they are willing to embrace the law of Muḥammad.'—'Then, don't,' said he, 'and get away! Our law is so precious that not all the riches of the whole world can be compared with it!' The Umbrao stood confounded. Mirza's two eldest married sons died during his lifetime; the last survived him; but (either deception or lack of judgment, for he seemed at times eccentric and ill-balanced) he let himself be circumcised to follow the sect of Muḥammad. It did not last long, however. Recognising the error, which he, the son of such a great Christian, had fallen into, he felt intensely grieved, and, making a very big cross, he took it upon his shoulders, and, with a rope around his neck, dragged it about the streets of the City of Dely, confessing his sin aloud, and begging God's mercy. He was reconciled to the Church, and died shortly after in the faith, and I doubt not that God granted him this grace through his father's praying in heaven that his house and family might be spared such a slur.

"I have not said all I could about the Mission of Mogol. I leave the rest to the usual Annuals, which relate things of great glory to God and credit to that Christianity. Comparing it with many others of the Society throughout this East, we can say of it: *Pusilus* [*sic*] *grex* [little flock], as far as numbers go, but we can give it the first place for fidelity to the practices of our holy law. May Our Lord in His infinite mercy open the eyes of that so vast heathenism and Moordom, and bring them into the way of the true salvation."

The Latin abridgment of Fr. Botelho's *Rellaçaõ da Christandade que temos no Reino do Gram Mogol* is evidently the work of a scholar in Europe, who, striking the panegyrical note, indulges in some oratorical embellishments of his own. It was natural that he should seize upon the similarity of name between the Mīrzā and Alexander; but, "a Numa in peace, an Alexander in war, and a Cæsar in both" are flourishes which the sober historian would have avoided. In the light of the documents we have handled Zū-l-Qarnain appears to us as a good administrator, and a great Christian hero, not as a great soldier.

For the sake of completeness, let the latinist speak.

"But, as all the success we have had in Mogor, the flourishing condition of the Christian religion, all the revenues possessed by the Agra College, are (after God) due

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would be Michael. The Mīrzā's son, who is mentioned in the Annual Letter of 1619 (cf. *supra*) as having died, could not have been Mīrzā Observam, as Sir R. C. Temple suggests (*Travels of Peter Mundy*, II. 376); he would be rather the boy who is spoken of in 1619 as born after the death of the Mirzā's then only child. I do not know what Christian name Observam represents. It may have something to do with the visit to Sāmbhar in 1624 of the Franciscans or Observantines. Clara, too, the name of Zū-l-Qarnain's daughter, recalls a Franciscan Saint. Īrij is a Muḥammadan name (see *e.g.*, BLOCHMANN, *Aīn*, I. 339, 491, 511).

[1] *Manṣabdārs* were of many ranks. "From the remarks and quotations of Blochmann it would seem that *Manṣabdārs*, from the commandant of 1,000 upwards, were styled *umarā-i-kibār*, or *umarā-i-'izām*, "Great Amīrs"; and these would be the omrahs properly." *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* omrah

entirely and solely to Mirsa Zulcarnem, whom the Society adopted as one of its brethren, it behoves us to dwell awhile in just praise of him. This man, I mean Mirza Zulcarnem, was as noble in birth as illustrious by his deeds and renowned for his Christian piety. An Amir (*Umbraus*) in dignity, he was a Numa in peace, an Alexander in war, a Cæsar in both, brave in warfare, meek in peace, upright in his conduct, a model of valour, a pattern of gentleness, a champion of religion; the Mogors honoured him for his greatness, the world for his renown, and religion for his virtue. The Mogor Kings owe him a thousand victories, a thousand nobles thank him for his benefits, while the Society of Jesus owes him great affection. For the Mogul he was a strenuous leader, for the faith a powerful champion, for the Society a faithful friend and brother. Through him warlike courage flourished, the Christian religion increased, and the Society had cause to rejoice. This is the man who, although sprinkled with holy water in his cradle, became the delight of King Janguir for his foreign beauty, so that the King himself, a thing that is rare among the Mogors, had the boy at his own table. He, at the age of twelve, saw the King's affection turned into wrath and endured many and severe stripes because he obstinately refused to abjure the Roman faith, so much so that Father Francisco Morando called him a glorious martyr of Christ. As a young man he possessed a very subtle wit and wrote verses in his mother-tongue with such elegance that the King was greatly delighted thereby. In rewarding singers he was so liberal that he frequently gave them as recompense a horse or an elephant. He was wholly of a noble nature, ready to forgive injuries and yielding to the wishes of others. He was offered by the King the highest honours and a million a year,[1] if he would abjure the true religion. But he preferred to be afflicted with the people of God and to live less rich, so that he might win the wealth of heaven and become a partaker and heir of everlasting life. He it was who turned back upon their author the poisoned darts aimed against the Society by an ecclesiastic high in honour, and delivered the Mogor Missionaries from grievous punishment. It is he, lastly, who freed Father Henry Busi (*Buseum*) from undeserved bonds, and with Christian freedom addressing the King, offered his head to the sword, if the sentence on the Father were to be carried into effect.

"He married Helena, a distinguished lady, and had three sons by her, Mirsa [Mīrzā] Observam [John Baptist], Mirsa Eres [Īrij, Īrich, Gaspar], Mirsa Daniel [Dānyāl, Michael], and he might have seen them all advanced to high honour during his lifetime, to the dignity of Mancebedars and Umbraos, if they had embraced the law of Mahomet. This the King firmly promised him."[2]

[1] "The Latin has *ad millionem annui reditus*, which may be read to mean a *koti* (crore) a year (really 10,000,000), which at that time, as a monetary expression, meant Rs. 2,500 in cash. See Stein, *Kalhana's Rājatarangiṇī* (tr.) II. 323, and elsewhere in Note H thereto." [R. C. T.].—Whatever may have been at times in India the meaning of a *koti* of rupees, our latinist had in view "a million of annual revenue." A million of what? It matters little: we understand that the 8 lākhs a year which passed through the Mīrzā's hands (1649-51), 2 or 3 lākhs of which were his balance of profits, represented a million in European parlance, and 8 lākhs seem to have been offered him as the price of apostacy. Cf. *supra*, p. 162. [H. H.]

[2] I published the Latin text of the passage and part of the translation in *J.A.S.B.*, 1910, pp. 459-460. The rest of the translation, *minus* a few slight changes, is from Sir R. C. TEMPLE'S *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, II. 381-332.

I am partly responsible for some errata in Sir R. C. Temple's Appendix E (*ibid.*, II. 374-381). Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain was

We have not discovered the year of Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain's death. We fancy it was about 1656, when he would have been about 64 years old.[1]

If he died at Sāmbhar, it is likely that he was buried there. We should expect that there was something like a family grave at Sāmbhar, since the Sikandar family resided there so long. At any rate there must have been a Christian Cemetery at Sāmbhar, and a number of Syrian, Armenian or Portuguese inscriptions might still be discovered there. Unfortunately, I am afraid that we are only slowly awakening to the fact that an Armenian scholar, with a historian's tastes and aptitudes, should be deputed to compile a list of the many valuable inscriptions to be found in their hundreds all over India.

It is more likely, however, that Zū-l-Qarnain did not die at Sāmbhar. The last years of his life appear to have been spent near the Court at Delhi. It is not probable that he was buried at Delhi, for his father's tomb could not have been there, since Delhi was not one of the capitals in 1613. Lahore and Agra are more likely places to look for his tomb.

The oldest Catholic Cemetery of Delhi has disappeared or remains to be discovered. It is possible that Zū-l-Qarnain was buried at Lahore, in the grave erected to his wife Helena, or again at Agra. The Christians in Mogor had a special veneration for the Agra Cemetery. Agra was to them like the mother-church in Mogor. For a long time, it must have been the only consecrated ground in that direction. People dying at great distances from Agra were carried thither for Christian burial. There was also for many years of the 17th century a cemetery at Lahore; yet, some people who had died at Lahore were buried at Agra. Jerome Veroneo, the designer of the Tāj, died at Lahore in 1640, but was brought to Agra eventually. Father Joseph de Castro, who died at Lahore in 1646, was translated to Agra two years later. Father A. Ceschi di Santa Croce, who died at Delhi on the 28th June 1656, was similarly transferred to Agra. In the 17th century, several persons deceased at Delhi were interred at Agra, and we find there others who died at Bharatpur in the 18th century.

We must say, however, that, though Sikandar senior died in 1613, and though what is called Padres Santos' Cemetery began to be used in 1611, his grave has not been traced at Agra. He had left Rs. 3,000 for his tomb and a mortuary chapel to be erected over it. Now, if that chapel had been in Padres Santos' Cemetery, it should still be there, like that of Khwāja Martinus (1611). It is not there. Was it perhaps at Lahore, since he left Rs. 600 to arrange a Cemetery for the Christians of that place? A mortuary chapel would have been useful in the Lahore Cemetery, while at Agra there was one already.

Left to our own resources, we can but guess. Did there exist, perhaps, at Agra a special graveyard for the Sikandar family, say in close proximity to Padres Santos'

Sikandar's eldest son (born *circa* 1592); Mīrzā Iṣkandarūs was born *circa* 1595 (p. 374); 1633 at p. 374 should be 1632 as at p. 380; 4 or 8 *lākh* of rupees (p. 375) should be 8 *lākh* of rupees or 4 *lākh* of scudi; hence, the value of the scudo is calculated too low at pp. 379, 380; it should be the same as that of the cruzado, *i.e.*, Rs. 2; March 6 is correct (p. 380), but February 13 should be March 13 (p. 380); finally, all Zū-l-Qarnain's sons did not predecease their father (p. 375).

[1] Cf. App. C.

Cemetery, within the fields which a strong tradition says belonged and should still belong to the Catholic Mission of Agra? There must have existed some sort of Cemetery there.

"On a low mound, under a tree 60 paces from the north wall of the enclosure of the tomb of Abul Ala, and about ¼ of a mile from No. 4 milestone on the Poya [Puya] Ghat Road" (*Agra Archæological Society Transactions*, January to June 1876, Agra, 1876), there is a group of six stones, three of them with inscriptions, one of which records the name of one of Zū-l-Qarnain's great-granddaughters.

The inscription, which I copied myself at the place in December 1912, runs thus: AQUI IAS/BIBI ANN/A DESSA/BIZNETA/DE MIRZA/GULCAR/[N?]EN FALE/CEO EM D/ILLI AOS/12 DE MAR/CO DE 1736 / (Here lies Bībī Anna Dessa [=de Sa], the great-granddaughter of Mīrzā Gulcar(n)en, who died at Dilli [Dihlī, Delhi], on the 12th of March of 1736).

Compare, in passing, the spelling *Gulcarnen* with *Ghool-kurneyl*, as C. Hyrapiet has it from the Armenian writers (*supra*, p. 120, and *infra* App. E).

A small MS. leaf in the Agra Cathedral Archives exhibits decipherments of the inscriptions on these stones, with a tentative restoration of the text and an English translation. It is undated. If the author is Col. A. S. Allen, who on December 9, 1848, drew up a plan of the Martyrs' Chapel and deciphered its inscriptions, leaving a signed and dated copy for the Agra Fathers, the date of it would also be 1848. Possibly it is older, for my impression, while at Agra, was that the writing in both papers differed.

My reading of Bībī Dessa's inscription was found to agree with the Agra MS., except that, where I had read: 2 de Março, the Agra MS. had 12 de Março. I made the change accordingly. The MS. was wrong in translating *bizneta* (bisneta) by granddaughter.

Why should Bībī Dessa, who died at Delhi, and several of the members of her family, have been buried in that now solitary spot at Agra, unless it contained some family graveyard?[1]

Some of the ramifications of the Sikandar family were to be found at Aleppo (Syria) in 1652. In January of that year we find at Lahore one of Zū-l-Qarnain's nephews, George, a young "nobleman," who had come from Aleppo and spent more than two years in Mogor. Just then he was preparing to go to Rome and offer to His Holiness the respectful homage of his uncle, Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain, and of his relatives in India. We may note also here that in at least two places of the Jesuit letters the name of the Mīrzā is given as Zū-l-Qarnain "Cururim" (?), the addition being a puzzle to me.

Between 1670 and 1678 we hear also of one Nuralla, "a relative of our Brother Mirzâ Zulcarner, the Founder of the College of Agra," who, while at Delhi, took into his house a sick Hindū woman, the slave of a Rājput, and was instrumental in having her baptized before she died.[2]

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[1] For the graves near that of Bibī Anna Dessa cf. App. B.

[2] Cf. *Carta Annua do Imperio do Graõ Mogol do anno de 1670 até o de 1678 p.a o nosso M. R. P. Joam Paulo Oliva*

Fr. Manoel Figueredo, S.J., a Missionary in Mogor and a contemporary of Bībī Anna Dessa, has left us a short account of Zū-l-Qarnain. Written as it was 75 years or so after Zū-l-Qarnain's death, it distorts already considerably the real facts. It must rest on the traditions current in 1735, since, as the Father remarks, the earliest documents of the Agra Mission had been plundered.[1]

"On the death of Akbar, Joanquir [Jahāngīr] ascended the throne and reigned 23 years. During his reign, a young Armenian, born of Christian parents and called Tulkarnet [*sic*; Zū-l-Qarnain] was brought up at the court. As the boy advanced in years, his zeal for the faith grew greater, although the Emperor often tried with manifold caresses and repeated menaces to gain him over to his sect. Once, pointing with his finger to the highest tower of the Royal Palace he threatened the youthful Christian athlete that, unless he abandoned the law of Christ, he would have him thrown from the top. The boy immediately ran away from the Emperor and mounted the tower. After some hours the Emperor asked for his Tulkarnet; and, being told that he had run away for fear, he ordered to make a search for him and bring him to his presence. They found him on the said tower, and, as the Emperor wished to know why he had fled thither, the boy said quite eagerly, 'To be the quicker ready for Heaven, when Your Majesty would give the order to throw me down.'—'Are you not afraid of death, then?' asked the King. 'No,' answered the youth, 'for who dies for God lives for ever in Heaven.'[2] This answer pleased the King so greatly that he prevailed on his sons to accept Tulkarnet as their brother; as for him, he made him later an Amire or Ombrau, that is, a Lord of the first rank, and gave him quite generously the revenues belonging to that dignity.

"Now, Tulkarnet received some information about the zeal of our Missionaries; he asked, therefore, the Reverend Fr. Provincial of the Goa Province to send him some Priests. His request was willingly granted and he received them with the greatest affection.[3] Tulkarnet founded for them from his income a College at Agra, whence soon many Apostles were sent through the Kingdom, who laid the foundation-stone of the Mogor Mission; all this with the Emperor's consent, which the cherished courtier[4] had obtained from him.

"After Joanquir's death, his son Sachajan ascended the throne. He was as well inclined towards Tulkarnet as his father had been. Once this Emperor sent a Jesuit from the town of Lahor into misery because he had disputed too hotly with the Mahometans on religious matters. As soon as Tulkarnet was informed of this, he went to the Emperor and asked him where was his Birtzadak (which means a son of the most just).[5] The Emperor answered that he had fled from the country. Thereupon Tulkarnet shook a pillar of the Emperor's throne and said with great earnestness:

Preposito geral da Companhia de Jesus, by Fr. Joseph Freire, S.J., Goa, 27th December 1678. MS. in my possession, fol. 88*v*.

[1] Cf. Joseph Stocklein and others, S.J., *Der Neue-Weltbott* . . . (38 vols., 1728-61), 31ster Theil, No. 595, *i.e.*, letter from Mogor, 1735, to Maria Anna, Queen of Portugal, pp. 2, 3.

[2] This story of the tower is not to be found in the very ample letters of the Jesuits between 1600-1610.

[3] A flagrant anachronism, as we know.

[4] The cherished courtier (*der beliebte Hoff-Herr*) was either Zū-l-Qarnain or 'Asaf Khān, the former rather.

[5] *Birtzadak* (*heist einen Sohn des Gerechtesten*).

'What is this throne of Solomon at last coming to?'[1] Hereupon the Emperor marvelled, remarking full well that Tulkarnet refused him his help for the protection of his throne. He promised him therefore at once that the Missionary would come back as soon as possible to the kingdom.[2] What I have just related happened in the presence of the Ombraus, or chief Courtiers, and they seized this opportunity to accuse the good Tulkarnet of leze-majesty. But the Emperor told them, 'Tulkarnet has at heart the welfare of the kingdom; hence, he takes the liberty to warn us of danger; no one else is allowed to do this.'

"As long as this pillar of the faith was standing, Christianity too stood firm; but no sooner had Tulkarnet descended into the grave, advanced in years and redolent with the perfume of his excellent virtues, than the fabric of the Church began to shake, and the Grandees of the Kingdom who were devoted to Mahomet dared again to harass us: one of them went so far as to take possession of our College at Agra, on the plea that all Tulkarnet's property reverted to the Emperor's exchequer. To avoid a greater evil, the Fathers were obliged to submit to this injustice and to hide for a time in secret corners. However, they trusted always in the Providence of Almighty God, and soon they experienced its effects. For the Ombrao, against all expectation, called the Fathers and told them to occupy their College again. The Mother of God, he said, to whom the Church of Agra is dedicated, had appeared to him and had threatened him with death, unless he restored their house to the Missionaries. The College had been robbed of many things, but the Fathers had to keep silent about the plunder and consider themselves happy that they had recovered a fixed abode."[3]

Let us now return to 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy and see what else can be discovered about him and his family.

In the 35th year of Akbar's reign one 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, Mīr 'Adl or Chief Justice of the Empire, took part together with Sadr Jahān Mufti in a drinking bout, and Akbar was so amused at seeing his ecclesiastical and judicial dignitaries over their cups that he quoted a well-known verse from Hafīz (*Āīn*, transl. I. 468, No. 194). Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy Mīr 'Adl appears in the *Tabaqāṭ* and Abul Faẓl's list of Akbar's grandees as a commander of 500 (*ibid.*, I. 534, No. 178), Abul Faẓl's list stopping at the 40th year of Akbar's reign (*ibid.*, I. 535).

In the 43rd year, he was Qāzī of the Imperial camp (urdū). Cf. *ibid.*, I. 471. The *Tabaqāṭ* calls him Khwāja 'Abdu-l Hai and says he was an Amīr (*ibid.*, I. 480, No. 230). In Badāūnī's *Muntakẖab-ut-Tawārīkẖ* (Low's transl. II. 64), a witty saying is ascribed to Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, and Mr. H. Beveridge notes (*Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, transl., II. 194 *n.*) that in some of the MSS. of the *Akbarnāma* 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, whom Mr. Beveridge identifies with our Armenian, is mentioned as taking part in the religious discussions. Finally, one 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy and Bihzād are compared in the 13th year of Jahāngīr's reign (1618) with the painter Ustād Manṣūr, Nādiru-z-zamān ("the wonder of the

[1] The meaning seems to be: "What has become of the Emperor's wisdom and justice?"

[2] The story may be a reminiscence of what happened to Fr. Busi (*alias* Uwens), as we saw in Fr. Botelho's narrative.

[3] This story of the occupation of the College may be a corrupt account of what happened, during the Mīrzā's lifetime, in 1635.

age''). "If at this day the masters 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy and Bihzād were alive, they would have done him [Manṣūr] justice.'' (*Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, transl., II. 20).[1]

Probably a great deal more can be found in the Muḥammadan authors to bear out what Fr. Corsi says about our Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, viz., that he was an honourable man (*honrado* means honest, also notable), and that, by marrying his daughter, Sikandar, already a servant of Akbar's, was much more esteemed at Court.

Mr. H. Beveridge writing to me (July 30, 1913) thought that 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, the Qāzī, could have been no connection of Zū-l-Qarnain, because none but an approved Muḥammadan could be a Qāzī. " 'Abdu-l-Hayy, the father of your Juliana," he writes, "probably got his name because he became a Mussulman, or because he chose a name (servant of God) that could be appropriate for a Christian. But his conversion [to Muḥammadanism], even if it took place, would not be sufficient to make him a Qāzī or a Chief Justice.''

A Muḥammadan gentleman, signing A., objected in the same sense in *The Statesman*, Calcutta, 3 or 4 days after I had published in that paper (6th July, 1913) an abstract of my monograph on Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain, which I presented to the Asiatic Society on July 2nd, 1913. " I quite agree,'' he wrote, that Zū-l-Qarnain died as a Christian, and that his father and the family were Christians. But, this does not show that every member of the family for all time were Christians. For instance, Father Hosten says that Khwāja or Mīr 'Abdul Hai was the Qāzī of the Imperial Camp. But, it is a well-known fact that, in order to be a Qāzī, or Judge, one must be a follower of Islam. Even 'infidel' Akbar never had the courage to appoint a Christian or a Hindū to be a Qāzī. To me it is quite clear that, at one time or another, certain (if not all) of the members of the Sikandar family became Moslems, but some of them died in their ancestral faith. The word 'Mīr' can be assumed by non-Syeds, but it is doubtful whether it can be assumed by one professing the Christian faith.''

I answer. If my friend A. has followed the story thus far, it will be less clear to his mind that, at one time or another, certain (if not all) of the members of the Sikandar family became Moslems, and, since he is not sure whether the title " Mīr'' could have been assumed or not by Christian, how can he be so sure, that Akbar never had the courage to appoint a Christian as Mīr 'Adl or Qāzī? He takes for granted what must be proved, and forgets that historical matters cannot be settled by the canon of personal feeling. He cannot see an exception in the case of so exceptional a potentate as Akbar. What, if at the time of Akbar's vagaries in matters of religion, an Armenian, a Christian, joined in flattering him in his attempts at self-apotheosis? What, even without that?

Let the references we have adduced be carefully examined and weighed, and let it be shown how they should be split up into two parts, some applicable to our Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, some to his namesake, the Khwāja and Mīr 'Adl. If I err in

[1] One Maulānā 'Abdu-l-Hayy is mentioned as a calligraphist and Private Secretary to Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā in Akbar's reign (*Āīn*, transl., I. 101, 101 *n.* 3).—Fr. Jerome Xavier in his letter from Lahore, 8 Sept 1596 (MS., fol. 254v) mentions as one of his converts a Muḥammadan who could read and write Persian excellently. He was the secretary of a Christian Captain. The *Aīn*, I. 103, mentions another calligrapher, Mīr Abdullah.

the application of some of my references, probably I err in good company, that of Professor Blochmann and perhaps Mr. Beveridge himself.

If the title "Mīr" could not be given to a Christian, what about the title Mīrzā? Mr. Beveridge wrote to me (July 30th, 1913): "The use of the word Mīrzā in Zū-l-Qarnain's case is curious. It is noteworthy that, as far as I know, no native writer gives him the title. They call him Zū-l-Qarnain Firinghī. I fancy his humble relations and admirers called him Mīrzā out of flattery, and because he was a clerkly man. One might suggest that he really was a bastard son of Akbar's and so was called Mīr-zā. But, I do not adopt this view, though the position of his mother in Akbar's harem is an equivocal one." I can understand the astonishment of my correspondents on hearing every male member of a Christian family in Mogor designated for three generations at least by the title of Mīrzā, and that not only by the Fathers and Christians dependent on them, but by European travellers and factors generally. We may say that our story from start to finish is an extraordinary one, and since the relations between Akbar, 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, Sikandar and his children were such as we see, since Sikandar's children grew up in the palace, travelled with Akbar in his palanquin, played about the Court with the future Shāh Jahān, who would be surprised, whatever be the reason for the reticence of the Muḥammadan historians, if our Zū-l-Qarnain had been honoured with the title of Mīrzā in the inner circle of the palace? Shāh Jahān called him Mīrzā (Cf. *supra*, p. 164), and there can be no doubt that he was an Amīr.

If we suppose, as we do, that Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy is identical with the Chief Justice of that name, it would follow that he had a brother, Mīr 'Abdu-llah, who played the *qanūn* or harp at Court (*Āīn*, transl., I, 613).[1] Here again, I shall be asked whether I have any other authority. I have no other; for I suppose he is different from Mīr 'Abdu-llah, the calligrapher (*ibid.*, I, 103). He was not, I think, the 'Abdu-llah, who in 1579 came to Goa as Akbar's ambassador asking for the Jesuits. (Cf. pp. 151 *n.* 1; 173.) The ambassador was a Shīah. (Cf. Monserrate).

Privately, I threw out another suggestion, in the hope of discovering at last Akbar's Christian wife. I now waive the point. It was that 'Abdu-l-Wāsi, whose wife Akbar married in A.H. 970 (*Āīn*, transl., I, 309) might stand for 'Abdu-l-Masīh (servant of the Messiah). But, 'Abdu-l-Wāsi's story in Lowe's translation of Badāūnī (II, 59-61) and H. Beveridge's *Akbarnāma* (II, 204 *n.*) shows that I was venturing into a blind alley.

I spoke of Akbar's Christian wife. I have found so far no allusion to her in the Jesuit letters. She is a most elusive being. So, too, was Lady Juliana of Akbar's time.

The Vicar-Apostolic of Agra writing in 1832 to the traveller Dr. Wolff (see Wolff's *Researches and Travels*, 1835)[2] said that the Jesuits first gained Akbar's favour by means of a certain Signora Juliana of Goa, who as a lady doctor was in Akbar's seraglio. A note in the Agra Mission Archives states that Juliana, an Armenian

[1] Music and poetry, Zū-l-Qarnain's accomplishments, may have been hereditary in his family.

[2] I quote him through General R. Maclagan in *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 53 *n.* 1, as I cannot get hold of the book.

lady, was in medical charge of Akbar's harem and married [John] Philip of the house of Navarre.[1] Col. Kincaid reporting the Bourbon tradition (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1887, p. 165) says she was sister to Akbar's Christian wife.

For the first time now we have an authoritative, contemporaneous statement from Father Corsi, who was in Mogor from 1600, about a Bībī Juliana in Akbar's time. The information given to Dr. Wolff in 1832 reflected a correct tradition in this point at least. Why, however, should the Bishop of Agra have called her Juliana "of Goa," unless he supposed her to have been of Portuguese extraction, which, we have seen, she was not. The note in the Agra Mission Archives about Juliana, an *Armenian lady*, is more correct. Was there not, after all, lurking in the Bishop's mind a confusion between the Juliana of Akbar's time and Dona Juliana Dias da Costa of Shāh Ālam's reign? The more so, because the Jesuits do not hint that Bībī Juliana was a doctoress, while there is evidence that the later Lady Juliana was. (H. BEVERIDGE, *East and West*, Bombay, 1903, June, reprint, p. 7).

If Akbar had a Christian wife, Bībī Juliana and her sister ought to bring us very close to her and tear the veil of her concealment. Certainly, some curious things were going on in the women's quarters and other parts of the palace.

In 1595-96, Father Jerome Xavier, Father Manoel Pinheiro and Brother Benedict Goes were living near Akbar's Palace, within the Lahore Fort. Their house was along the river, and, when the King went to his pleasure-boat, he passed sometimes that side with his daughters, one of them a marriageable girl, and, what is more, he would call the Fathers and hold converse with them, while in his daughters' company, a breach of Moslem etiquette. "In this matter, the King and the Prince [Salīm, later Jahāngīr] have great confidence in us, and, when we go to see the Prince, we go with his permission along the River,[2] under the window of his wives, and sometimes, when we come back, the daughter of the King [Akbar] calls out to us from above, 'Eh, Padri, Padri! By the sign of the Holy Cross God deliver us!' And it seems that she learned this from a small girl, the daughter of Domingo Pīz [Pirez], an Armenian, who brought us from Goa, and who [the girl] is with the Queen the greater part of the year."[3]

Who was this Domingo Pires, an Armenian again? In 1579 he acted as interpreter to 'Abdu-llah, the ambassador whom Akbar sent to invite the Jesuits of Goa to Fatehpur Sīkri. We hear next of his getting into some trouble with Akbar in 1582; but, on September 24th, 1582, the Emperor assisted at his marriage with an Indian woman, the Emperor translating to the woman Blessed Rudolf Aquaviva's Persian sermon, and sitting down afterwards with his children and two of his principal chiefs at a banquet *à la Portugaise* in the Fathers' house.[4] In 1595, he accompanied from Goa to Lahore the Fathers of the third Mission.[5] In 1596, we find him at Lahore with his daughter. As the Fathers of the third Mission were still ignorant of Persian, he acted as their interpreter before the King.[6]

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[1] To be quoted more fully further. Cf. p. 179.

[2] The river flowed then close to the walls of the Fort.

[3] Cf. Letter of Fr. Jerome Xavier, S.J. (Lahore, 8 September, 1596), fol. 248*r*. MS. letter in my possession.

[4] *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, pp. 48, 56, 57. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

[6] This last detail which I take from the MS. Jesuit letters I cannot now lay hands on for the exact reference.

On August 15, 1596, Feast of the Assumption of our Lady, a Christian in Akbar's service asked and obtained some precious cloths to adorn the chapel of the Fathers with. Probably he was the same "honourable" Christian (Sikandar, senior?) who related to the Fathers, as having assisted at the scene, that, when one of the King's "worshippers" (*Darsani* is the word used by the Missionaries) called him 'Īsā (Jesus), son of Mary, the King forbade him to do so again.[1]

"Last year [1595], before the whole people, the King had a reliquary of Our Lady attached with a gold chain round his neck,[2] and he gave it to a small boy, a Christian [Zū-l-Qarnain], the son of an Armenian Christian, whom he had about his neck, and kissing it with his lips and eyes he gave it [to the boy] to kiss and put it on his eyes and finally he hung it on his breast and gave it him. This, while at the window, *coram omni populo* (before the whole people)."[3]

The Fathers' house was so close to the quarters of the King's seraglio that the Fathers abstained from sleeping on the terrace. Now, "at the end of this summer (*veraõ*), which really was very hot [1596], a boy who is always going with the King began to come to school. The King treats him like his son, and there are not wanting who say that he is (but this is known to God); at any rate, he does not deal more familiarly with his grandson [Khurram, later Shāh Jahān], the son of the Prince [Salīm]." The boy found the Fathers' house so hot that he wondered how they could sleep in it, and he must have spoken about it to the King, for the King came to call out to the Fathers that he was very sorry he had not thought of it, and he ordered directly a boat specially arranged for sleeping on the river to be attached in front of their house. After that the Fathers had the coolest sleeping accommodation to be found in Lahore.[4] In the light of our later documents we have no difficulty in recognising Sikandar (senior) in the Armenian, and in the small boy his son Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain.

Eight years later (1604), Father Jerome Xavier brings upon the scene Akbar, the Queen, Sikandar, his sons Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain and Mīrzā Iṣkandarūs, and his wife, Bībī Juliana's sister. These were the circumstances :—

A Portuguese and an Englishman (John Mildnall, no doubt) circulated a malicious slander against the Fathers. It was to the effect that "we had killed so and so, and so and so, that we were spies and traitors to the Emperor whose salt we ate, that we stole whatever we could lay hands on, and other things much worse: *non erat malum in civitate* (there was no evil in the city) which was not our doing, especially mine." The Fathers were in great doubt as to what action they should take. "Finally, one day, while at the palace, I was taken aside by a prominent Armenian (*hũ Armenio principal*), whom the King favours greatly and to whose two sons, whom he keeps near him, he shows much affection. 'Father,' he told me, 'such a one says this and that of you. The Christians, all of us, have decided not to enter your Church any more and not to send to it our wives and children (*filhos*), until you show that what that man says is false. For, how can we otherwise trust to you our wives and children? Believe me, your reputation is lost before the other children of the captains, and therefore before

[1] Letter of Fr. Jer. Xavier (Lahore, 8 Sept., 1596), fol. 252 *r*. [2] Perhaps the one of 1580. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 50.
[3] Letter of 8 Sept. 1596, fol. 252 *v*. [4] *Ibid.*, fol. 253 *r*.

their parents, and you cannot show your face before anyone. We too are very much ashamed. If you are innocent, the remedy is that you speak to the King, so that, knowing the truth, he may order the guilty party to be punished. If what that man says is true, there is no reason why we should remain deceived; if it is not true, there is no reason why we should have in the country a man who causes so much harm to his Padres, etc.' Thus spoke the Armenian, and I, after telling the truth to my Fathers and brothers, was much troubled and *cogitabam qualis esset ista conjuratio* (I reflected what this conspiracy might mean), for I did not suspect matters had come to such a pass. I said, 'Give me time till the morning and the day after, for it is the eve of the Feast of the Ascension. I must hear some confessions and we shall recommend the matter to God. I shall come and see you. What I can tell you now is that I do not belong to myself, but to the Christians. As you will, so will I. I shall do what the Christians wish me to do.' We recommended the matter to the Father of Mercies, asking Him to remove this trouble from us and show us what we had to do. When we assembled on the above-mentioned day, it appeared *ex communi consensu* (to all unanimously) that the evil could be remedied only by speaking to the King. We resolved to do so, and our prayer those days was: 'Lord, if this resolution is not according to Thy Most Holy Will, prevent it; if Thou art to be served thereby, favour it.' The next Saturday, we went to the palace, the Father [Fr. Anthony Machado] and I, with the said Armenian, and through a son of his [of the Armenian's] we sent word to the King that his father and we wished to speak to His Majesty about an important affair. He [Akbar] answered asking what it was, and without waiting for the answer lay down to sleep. When we sent him our answer, there was no time to give it him, for, on awaking, he went at once to the Mahal, or place where are the women, and there he remained till night. We returned without effecting anything, yet we came home at eight in the evening and went early in the morning. The next day we returned late in the day, and *praeter morem* (against his custom) we found the King was with his women. I spoke to a great favourite of his and asked him to get me admitted to the King, as I had to speak to him in private about an affair of great importance to me. He promised to do it, because I wished it; but that day too nothing was done. The next day, the Armenian told me, '*My wife must go to see the Queen in the morning.* She will tell her that you wish to speak secretly with the King and she will tell the King.' This appeared a good plan, but the woman did not go that day, and, the next day, though her husband promised she would go without fail, she did not go either." The third time, the Fathers seeing that all the occasions to meet the King privately were spoiled by unforeseen circumstances, concluded that it was not God's wish that they should clear their own reputation before the King. Eventually, the Portuguese confessed that his accusations were mere calumnies.[1]

Who was this Queen? Was she the same as the Queen we heard of in 1598, the childless Queen who adopted Bibī Juliana's two sons,[2] the same with whom Domingo Pires' little daughter was the greater part of the year, the same

[1] Cf. Letter of Fr. Jer. Xavier, Agra, Sept. 6, 1604, foll. 12*v*—13*r* (photographic copy in my possession). The story is told briefly in *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, pp. 93-94. [2] Cf. *supra*, p. 132.

finally *who insisted* that Sikandar should marry his deceased wife's sister?[1] The childless Queen may have been Akbar's first wife, Sulṭān Ruqaiyah Begam. What interest had she in the matter of this marriage? Why should she have been so partial in this affair as to prevail upon Akbar and Sikandar against the opposition of the Jesuits? Perhaps, as the Bourbon tradition, *teste* Col. Kincaid, has it, there was in the harem another sister of Juliana's.[2] Distinct from Sikandar senior's second wife, she would have been Akbar's Christian concubine. This would explain how Bībī Juliana and her sister, and apparently too Domingo Pires' wife, moved freely in and out of the palace, either as lady doctors or as friends and relatives.

In those days, throughout the 17th century and even later, many Armenians or Asiatic Christians, as well as many Europeans and their half-caste descendants, made their way into the Court of the Moghul Emperors and other Indian Princes as doctors and surgeons. In the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed are kings. Even Zū-l-Qarnain, if I remember well certain MS. letters, had some knowledge of medicine, based probably on family traditions. For aught I know, he may be the Ḥakīm Masīḥuzzamān, who was summoned from Lahore in 1644 to help in curing Shāh Jahān's daughter, Princess Jahānārā Begam[3] If Masiḥuzzamān means "the Christian of the age," the title would be applicable to him. However, I do not insist on this now.[4]

If one of Akbar's queens was a Christian related to Lady Juliana, we understand why the childless Queen and Akbar treated Zū-l-Qarnain and his brother as their adopted children, and why the popular impression was that Zū-l-Qarnain was Akbar's son by Juliana. The people saw Juliana move freely about at Court and out of it, while the life of the Queen, her sister, was wrapped in the obscurity of the harem; hence, it was easy to construe Akbar's predilection for Zū-l-Qarnain into some former *liaison* between Akbar and Juliana. Again, if one of Akbar's queens was Juliana's sister, we understand why Akbar should have raised Abdu-l-Ḥayy and Sikandar senior, his father-in-law and brother-in-law, to such high rank; why he wrote to the Pope to have Sikandar's marriage with Juliana's sister legitimated; why Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān looked upon Mīrza Zū-l-Qarnain as one of the household, and maintained him in his father's dignity. Yet, when all is said, there remains the sturdy fact that in the many Jesuit letters of the period which we have seen (we have not seen them all, however), we have not found any clearer intimation that Akbar had a Christian wife.[5]

"Mr. Fanthome in his *Reminiscences of Agra*, 2nd edition, 1895, maintains stoutly the existence of a Christian wife called Mary (apart from Mariamu-z-zamānī); he says that the Mission of 1580 erected their chapel in Mary's *koṭhī* at Fatḥpur (pp. 13,

[1] Cf. F. Guerreiro's *Relaçam* of 1605—06, fol. 152*v*-155*r*. [2] Cf. *supra*, p. 173. [3] Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1912, pp. 119, 120.

[4] There was a Muḥammadan Ḥakīm Masiḥuzzamān under Jahāngīr. Cf. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, transl., I. 155; 267; 374; II. 217

[5] The fact that this Queen had reared Sikandar's two sons in the Moorish aversion for pork could be explained by saying that, as pork would not have been allowed into the harem, and the children always heard it spoken of as unclean, they had conceived a great loathing for it.

The late W. Irvine, who was in communication with Fr. S. Noti, S.J., while Fr. Noti and myself were discussing these matters, expressed it as his opinion that 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy was a Persian and had three daughters: one a concubine in the harem; another (Bībī Juliana) one of its superintendents, who would have been given in marriage to Sikandar of Sāmbhar fame; the third, who married Sikandar after Juliana's death. (*Letter of Fr. S. Noti, S.J.*, July 31st, 1913.) To form his judgment the reader is now in possession of fuller data.

14), and that the captives taken away by Aquaviva in 1583 were Mary's slaves (p. 26), but does not give his authorities. He says also that he has seen a document of Shāh Ālam's declaring that the priests were granted a pension by the influence of the said Mary (p. 6)."[1]

Fanthome's work is of very little value now, and, if his tradition about a Christian wife rests on the document of Shāh Ālam's reign, it proves nothing. The farmāns granted by the Emperors to the Jesuits of the Mogor Mission have just been published by Fr. Felix, O.C., for the *Panjab Historical Society*, Vol. I, No. 1, Calcutta, 1916. They mention no Mary of Akbar's time. There exists in the Agra Mission Archives (p. 85, No. 67) a Persian document to the following effect: "A writ on the part of one Maria Piari to the effect that she is living in the house of Padre Sahib, and that nobody is to claim it as hers after her death; dated 3rd Zilhij 1057 Hijri" (A.D. 1647). In another document dated 11th Rabi-ul-awwal in the 16th year of Shāh Ālam we read: "Be it known to the Mutsaddies of Mauza Lashkerpore, illaqa Akbarabad [Agra], that the two groves of trees forming the cemetery of Christians, which were granted by Maryam, has been in the possession of Father Wendel. It is hereby ordered that the said groves be allowed to continue in his possession. He is not in any way to be molested."[2] Probably, Maryam and Maria Piari are one and the same, in which case they are of no use in the question of Akbar's Christian wife.

Akbar's Christian wife, if she existed, may have indeed been called Mary, but she was not Mariam Makānī, this being the title of Akbar's mother; nor do I see how she could be Mariam Zamānī, the title belonging apparently to Jahāngīr's mother. Perhaps, there is no need, either, to explain the *Mariam kī koṭhī* at Fatehpur Sikri by supposing that it was the house of one Mariam, Akbar's Christian wife. The appellation would be explained on the supposition that the *koṭhī* contained the Jesuit Chapel with its picture of Our Lady. However, I doubt whether the house was occupied by the Jesuit Fathers in 1580-83.

Professor H. Blochmann thought that Juliana was herself one of Akbar's concubines, but the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* to which he refers (cf. *Āīn*, translation, I. 618) states merely that a daughter of 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, an Armenian, was in the service of Akbar's harem, and that Akbar gave her in marriage to Iskandar, the Armenian, by whom she had two sons.[3]

Some of my friends have supposed that John Philip de Bourbon can be identified with Sikandar. They contend with Col. Kincaid that John Philip de Bourbon married Lady Juliana. The present state of our knowledge will not allow it. It is impossible to suppose that the Jesuits, especially a Navarrois like Jerome Xavier, mistook a Navarrois for an Armenian or a Syrian from Aleppo. We do not see, either, how John Philip de Bourbon could be identical with 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy. In this case, Juliana would have been J. P. de Bourbon's daughter married to M. Sikandar. But 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, too, was an Armenian or, at least, an Asiatic Christian. There are

[1] Quoted from *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 53 *n.* 1.

[2] Cf. [Fr. Felix, O.C.] *Catholic Calendar and Directory for the Archdiocese of Agra . . . for the year* 1907, p. 208 and p. 208 *n.* 40. It remains to be seen whether the above documents have been properly read.

[3] Cf. A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, *The Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, London, 1914, II. 194.

also obvious reasons against supposing that J. P. de Bourbon was the father of Mīrzā Sikandar senior by a Syrian woman from Aleppo. Yet, one of the versions of the Bourbon story gives one Alexander as the son of J. P. de Bourbon.[1] Was de Bourbon perhaps the father of 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy and 'Abdu-llah? How is it possible?

The version recorded by Rousselet in *India and its Native Princes*, p. 428 sqq., seems to bring us close to our own story of Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain and his father. Prince J. P. de Bourbon, it says, after long serving Akbar, would have died at Agra, leaving two sons, whom he had by a Georgian slave of the palace, and the eldest of these two sons, Alexander de Bourbon, as Sikandar de Bourbon, became the favourite of Jahāngīr, who granted him the hereditary office of Governor of the Palace of the Begams, beside the important fief of Sirgarh (Shergaṛh). Georgian and Armenian are practically interchangeable.

These coincidences notwithstanding, we cannot suppose that there were at the same time about Akbar's seraglio two Julianas alike in description, the one known through the Jesuits, the other only through the hereto obscure family traditions of the Bourbons of Bhopal, and we must conclude that J. P. de Bourbon's wife was not a Juliana.

If some papers now in the possession of the Rev. Father S. Noti, S.J., formerly of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, can be relied on, J. P. de Bourbon's wife was an Abyssinian princess by the name of Magdalena, and he remained faithful to her till the end.[2] These papers show that Akbar had made him Rājā of Shergaṛh near Narwar, and that he was still alive in 1606, when he was either 85 or 89 years old. By his wife Magdalena he had two sons: Alexander, born in about 1550 when he was Governor of Diu, and Saveil (Charles?), born to him at Shergaṛh, about 1560, *i.e.*, after the capture of Chitor (*sic*).[3] More I cannot say in this direction without violating another's literary property. Wonderfully enough, J. P. de Bourbon's name and his titles never come under the pen of the Jesuits.

The only story of a Frenchman which has some resemblance with the adventures of J. P. de Bourbon is the following in the Jesuit letters of 1608-09. It agrees a great deal with the Bourbon story in Father Noti's hands.

"A Frenchman of good talent (*de bõ entendimento*), a great workman at casting artillery, was taken by the Turks in the Mediterranean Sea in front of Marseilles and taken to Algiers, where they made him by force a Moor. While going as a soldier in the galleys of Algiers, he was taken by the Christians and kept in prison in the monastery of St. Francis of Valença in Aragaõ [Aragon]. Wishing to lead a free life (*cõ as saudades da vida larga*), he fled from there, travelled through Spain, Italy, Egypt, Ethiopia, and parts of India, and finally came to Lahor and Agra with his wife and children (*filhos*). The King made him Captain of 200 horse. He related many things of the Christians, chiefly about the many miracles of Our Lady of Monserrate. He fell ill, and, as he already knew Father Xavier, he called him, and,

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[1] Sir J. Malcolm, *A Memoir of Central India*, III. 341 *n*.

[2] Is it a mere coincidence that the nurse of Zū-l-Qarnain's children also bore the name of Magdalen?

[3] Chitor was taken in Feb. 1568.

as he had great authority among the Moors, he spoke before them with such affection of Christianity that those who heard him were astonished. The Frenchman confessed to the Father that he was a Christian and that the law of Mahomet had never satisfied him. The Father exhorted him to a general confession, giving him for the purpose a method, and at the same time a book of the Christian doctrine to read; and, as the spiritual physician continued for some days his ministrations to the sick man, he converted him and restored him to the use of the sacraments of Holy Mother Church. He received them with much devotion and many tears, and parted from this present life with manifest signs of salvation."[1]

Fr. Felix says that a note in the Agra Mission Archives states that "the old Church [of Agra] was built by Philip de Bourbon of the House of Navarre and his wife Juliana, an Armenian lady, who was in medical charge of the Emperor's harem. They are both buried in the Church itself. Probably the epitaphs are in Armenian."[2] On what authority is this note in the Agra Mission Archives based? To us it appears partly unreliable. The money with which the first Church of Agra was built came from Jahāngīr, from Khwāja Martin (+ 1611) and from Mīrzā Sikandar senior. And, since the Agra Church built by Jahāngīr was destroyed by Shāh Jahān after December 8, 1635, no Armenian inscriptions are now to be found in the floor of the Chapel which was reconstructed on the spot of the former Church.[3] Is there question of the chapel which preceded the church of 1604?

It has been urged that John Philip de Bourbon *is* mentioned in some of the Jesuit letters, *e.g.* in du Jarric. It is said Prince Salīm in 1602 had in his service one Giovanne Filippo through whom correspondence passed between the Jesuits and Prince Salīm, who was then at Allahābād.[4] It must be remarked, however, that F. Guerreiro's *Relaçam Annal de* 602. *e* 603...., on which du Jarric's account is based, says he was an honourable Italian "who had come from Goa with the Fathers," and whose name was Jacome Felippe (James Philip). The name occurs four times in close succession in Ch. VIII, foll. 59*r*-61*r*. Besides, du Jarric has the name Jacques Philippe.[5] In Father Jerome Xavier's letter (Agra, 6th September, 1604) he is still spoken of as an Italian, but not by name.[6]

The genealogical tree of the Bourbons, as we have it through Col. W. Kincaid, does not tally with what we now learn about Mīrzā Sikandar, his sons and grandsons. We do not mean to discredit the Bourbon story more than we can help, but we fear it must be largely modified. It is vitiated at its very source by making of Bībī Juliana the wife of J. P. de Bourbon. Such as it is, the Bourbon tradition must be a very old one, for it is until now the only Indian account through which the name of a Juliana of Akbar's reign had been perpetuated to us.

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[1] Cf. F. Guerreiro, S.J., *Relaçam annal das covsas.... de* 1607 & 608.... *Lisboa*, 1611, fol. 18*r*. The letters from India are of 1608 and 1609 (see note *ao lector*).

[2] Cf. [Fr. Felix, o.c.], *Catholic Calendar and Directory for the Archdiocese of Agra.... for the year* 1907, p. 204 *n.* 26.

[3] I found within the limits of the Catholic Cathedral compound of Agra only one Armenian inscription. It is in excellent condition, but must be deciphered. It was worked into the arch below the date 1772 on the frontispiece of the Native chapel and forms a window-sill. No one would suspect it there.

[4] Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 88.

[5] Cf. *Troisiesme partie des choses plus memorables....*, Bovrdeavs, 1614, p. 82.

[6] Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, pp. 91, 92. I have examined my photographic copy of the letter.

There are other points which favour the antiquity of the Bourbon house of Bhopal. Saveille Bourbon (*b.* 1582)[1] is said to have married one Miss or Mrs. Allemaine in 1600. Now in Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra, there is an inscription recording that IOĀ ALEMAN/MORREO 1619 | (=John Aleman died in 1619).[2] In 1712 (*sic*), a Francis de Bourbon married a Miss da Silva, who may have been a daughter of Xavier da Silva, who settled at Jaypur, at the Court of Jay Singh II., in the first quarter of the 18th century and became the progenitor of a long line of physicians.[3] Finally, Salvador de Bourbon (*b.* in 1736), who belonged to the sixth generation of Indian Bourbons, married a Miss "Bervette." She was evidently a descendant of the Frenchman Bravette, whom Manucci mentions (*Storia do Mogor*, I. 171) as having come to India in Jahāngīr's reign. Fr. Botelho says he was one of the King's lapidaries.[4] He had a son born to him at Agra, named Jacome Bravette, who is described as still a young man between 1648 and 1654. In December 1912 I found his epitaph in Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra. It runs thus: AQVI IAZ IACO/ME BRAVETTE/FALECEO AOS/I [*perhaps*: 7] DE MARCO/1686./ (=Here lies James Bravette who died on the 1st (7th?) of March 1686). After 1736 several other marriages took place between the Bravettes and the Bourbons.

According to Father A. Strobl's letters, a mission station and a Church with a resident priest were opened at Narwar in 1743, and, according to Col. Kincaid, Francis de Bourbon came to Narwar with all his clan to the number of about 300 souls not long after the plunder of Delhi in 1739. Three miles from there lies the now ruined Fort of Shergaṛh, which was entrusted to him. Fr. Tieffentaller does not, however, speak of any Christians at "Shergaṛh," but at the Narwar Fort. He was himself more than 13 years the Chaplain of the family.[5] He wrote that, after the Rājā's palace, one of the finest buildings within the Narwar Fort, "was the palace of a certain Christian, born of Armenian parents, whom the gentoo Rajah admitted to the government of this province, and whom the Mogol Emperors loaded with honours and favours. He had houses built for all his family, and a Chapel to God, where he and the other worshippers of Jesus Christ, whether relatives or servants, assemble on all Feast-days and Sundays, one of the Jesuit Fathers saying Mass."[6]

Who else but the Bourbons could then have been living at Narwar, near Shergaṛh, which their tradition speaks of as the hereditary fief received from Akbar? And yet the head of the Narwar family at that time is said by the Jesuits to be of Armenian parentage, and Col. Kincaid states that Francis de Bourbon (born in 1680) had married in 1710 an Armenian lady, "a relative of his own," and that he was himself descended from Anthony Bourbon (*b.* 1646), who had married the "grand-daughter of

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[1] Cf. Kincaid; but 1560 *supra*, p. 178.

[2] Cf. E. A. H. BLUNT, *List of Inscriptions on Christian Tombs.... in the U.P. of Agra and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 41.—The word Aleman might mean also "German."

[3] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 48-53. [4] Cf. MS. in my possession.

[5] Cf. BERNOUILLI, *Description Hist. et Geogr. de l'Inde*, vol. I (1786), pp. 4-5. Tieffentaller was at Narwar between July 1747 and the beginning of 1750, also between December 1751 and 1765. A small Catholic Cemetery in the fort of Narwar contains a chapel and several tombs, one of which is dated 1747. Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford, vol. XVIII (1908), p. 397.

[6] Cf. BERNOUILLI, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 175-176.

Yakoob Khan, Nawab related to Afghan family." All this appears to show a connection with Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain. Does it not seem that, on being lost sight of after Nuralla (1670-78), the Zū-l-Qarnain family passed through a period of obscurity at Delhi and suddenly emerged again at Narwar in all its former splendour and with all its ancient traditions of piety? Other descendants would have been the Cardozo's and de Sa's of Agra and Bharatpur (Cf. App. B.).

If the Indian Bourbons belonged to a later period than alleged by themselves, we do not see how or when they could have deserved their sudden rise to power, or owed it to any other, Lady Juliana Dias da Costa, for instance. The family connections of Lady Juliana II. do not appear to point towards the Bourbons. Nor do I see how they could be descended from that bold and hitherto unknown adventurer, a common soldier, who passed himself off among the Dutch of Batavia as Don Luis de Sylveira Lobo, Count of Sarcetas, then came to Madras and Mailapur, where he borrowed a large sum of money from John Petite, a Frenchman, and was "recognised" as the genuine Count of Sarcetas by a Portuguese Missionary; next he went to several Portuguese towns on the West Coast duping everybody; finally he came to Delhi under the name of John de Souza Montenegro, deceived the Moghul Emperor by his genteel airs, married Theresa Dias de Almeida, daughter of John Dias, a noble of Cochin, and Maria Toscana,[1] a Moorish woman who became a Christian at the age of 40, had a son by her, became a renegade, took the name of Dīn Muḥammad,[2] repented and died before September 7th, 1686.[3]

Near Martyr's Chapel, Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra, there is a very indistinct inscription, the date of which may be, from the appearance of the inscription, anything between 1611 and the middle of the 17th century. It runs thus: AQVI IAZ IOAN DELACVILLA / DE BORGONHA QVE MORRE/O EM AGRA AOS MEZ DE AGOSTO DE..../=Here lies Joaõ (Joam) Delacvilla (?) of Burgundy, who died at Agra in the month of August of . . . . —Who was he?

The last word on the Bourbons has not been said. If John Philip de Bourbon can be connected with Zū-l-Qarnain, the earlier and most romantic part of the history of Zū-l-Qarnain's family remains to be told. These pages may help Fr. S. Noti, S.J., in unravelling the very tangled skein of that story. They will also have given my readers a foretaste of the many surprises which the Jesuit letters during two centuries will reveal, when published.

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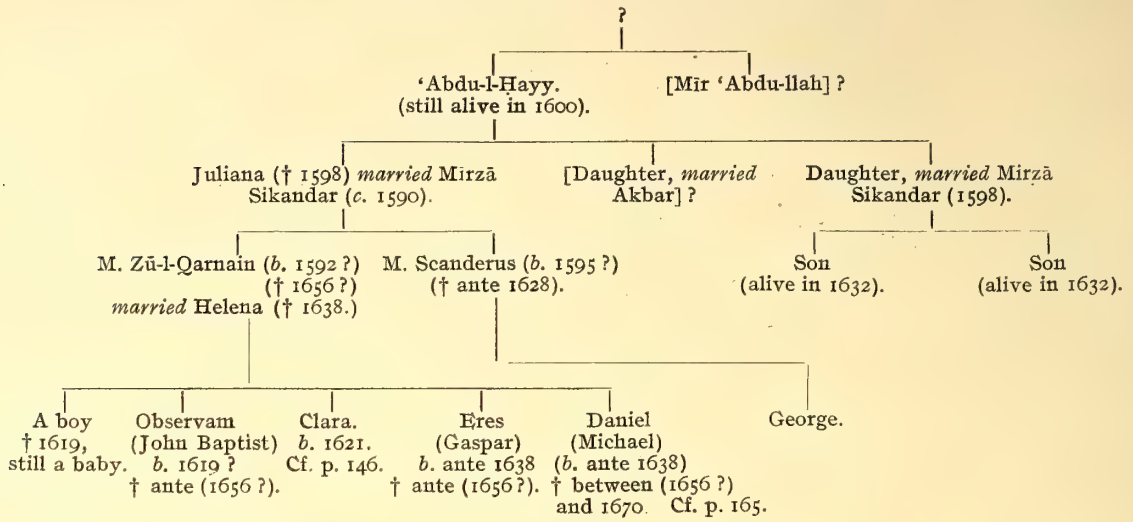
[1] Cf. on her Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, II. 40; III. 216. Her husband, John Dias, a noble of Cochin, was probably related to Agostinho Dias, also described as a noble of Cochin (cf. App. C.). In that case, the "Count de Sarcetas" married into Lady Juliana II.'s family. Manucci knew also a certain John de Souza, a physician at Delhi (1661-62), II. 40, 36 *n.* 2; one Juan Dias de Almeida and his daughter (III. 286).

[2] Cf. Annual Letter of Mogor (1670-78), MS., foll 90*v*-93*r*.

[3] Cf. Annual Letter of Mogor (September 7, 1686), MS., fol. 153.

Tentative Genealogical Table of Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain.


?
'Abdu-l-Ḥayy. (still alive in 1600).
[Mīr 'Abdu-llah] ?
Juliana († 1598) *married* Mīrzā Sikandar (*c.* 1590).
[Daughter, *married* Akbar] ?
Daughter, *married* Mīrzā Sikandar (1598).
M. Zū-l-Qarnain (*b.* 1592 ?) († 1656 ?) *married* Helena († 1638.)
M. Scanderus (*b.* 1595 ?) († ante 1628).
Son (alive in 1632).
Son (alive in 1632).
A boy † 1619, still a baby.
Observam (John Baptist) *b.* 1619 ? † ante (1656 ?).
Clara. *b.* 1621. Cf. p. 146.
Eres (Gaspar) *b.* ante 1638 † ante (1656 ?).
Daniel (Michael) (*b.* ante 1638) † between (1656 ?) and 1670. Cf. p. 165.
George.

N.B.—1. George was Zū-l-Qarnain's true (*verus*) nephew.
2. Zū-l-Qarnain had an uncle, called Jani Beg, at Sāmbhar in 1645.
3. Nuralla, a relative of Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain, was alive at Delhi between 1670-78.
4. A great-granddaughter of Zū-l-Qarnain was Bībī Anna Dessa († 1736, Delhi).
5. M. Sikandar's second wife and her two sons apostatised in Sept. 1632.
6. Only a bold guess could make of John Philip de Bourbon the father of 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy.

APPENDIX A.

The Martyrs' Chapel, Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra.[1]

From the Catholic Cathedral, Agra, to the *Padres Santos'* Cemetery, as it is called, there is a distance of about twenty minutes. It is further to the west, on the present outskirts of the town. The name had been explained until now, I believe, as a corruption of Padre Santus' Cemetery, itself a corruption of Padre Santucci's Cemetery. I have held this view myself, but I now suggest that it is derived from the Portuguese *Cemeterio dos "Padres Santos,"* the Cemetery of the holy Fathers, a common appellative among the Portuguese for their priests.

The history of the little mortuary Chapel, in which about 25 of the Mogor Missionaries lie buried, the oldest Catholic piece of masonry in Agra, is exceedingly curious, and in view of the interest which this Cemetery evokes, we cannot withhold it longer.

Fr. João de Velasco, S.J. (*Goana Hist.* 1600-24, Goa 33, foll. 388*v*-389*r*, *Litt. Ann.*) writes on December 25th, 1612: "The King granted us for burying the Christians a convenient and ample ground, whither the remains of the Christians were transported amid solemn prayer on the 2nd of November [All Souls' Day]; the presents offered by the Christians for the dead were distributed among the poor, whether of the faithful or of the pagans; whatever remained was carried to the jail to comfort the prisoners, which act of charity astonished and edified the Moors not a little. Lately this place was adorned with a Chapel (*templum*), erected with the alms of a pious Armenian, who, free from the bonds of wedlock after the death of his wife, went to Rome and Jerusalem on a pilgrimage to the holy places of our Redemption. From there he went back to his country (*patria*) and bestowed on the two sons left him after his wife's death whatever they had a right to, after which he devoted himself so wholly to God that he called himself only the Lord Jesus' little slave (*mancipiolum*), and did not allow others to call him by any other name. However, he travelled divers countries as a merchant buying and selling goods, and making profits amounting to many thousands of gold pieces (*aurei*=gold mohurs?). But all his gains he gave away to the poor or spent in other works of piety and charity, and that so faithfully that he was loth to subtract anything for his own sustenance: for, he would say repeatedly that these goods were no longer his, but the Lord Jesus', to whom he had consecrated himself. Once, after a long time, five thousand gold pieces were adjudged him at last in a lawsuit, when, to the judge's wonder, he presently distributed among the needy the money he had received; he ransomed very many captives from his own purse, relieved many in their wants, gave dowries to poor women of good character,

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 154.

and thus, like the Lord Jesus' very faithful servant, he spent his goods and his life. Doubtless, he deserved to enter into the joy of his Lord. He was buried in the Chapel (*in templo*) he had built, and he asked Father Xavier to write over his tomb: 'Here lies Martin (*Martinus*), the slave of the Lord Jesus.' This was done, and after his death all that remained of his goods was partly spent in building and adorning the Chapel, as he had ordered, partly given to the poor, whom he had appointed heirs to his property."

Is it not pathetic that the inscription on that good man's grave should have been so long a puzzle to antiquarians, or that his good deeds should be made public again after an oblivion of three centuries? The inscriptions on his tomb, both in Armenian and Persian, are near the right-hand recess of the octagonal chapel, as one enters. These lines, the oldest in the Cemetery, will have been read at times with incredulity, as a piece of vain boasting. How modest an expression they are of great realities and of the gratitude of the poor![1]

We should think that the translation of the remains of the Christians to the new Cemetery took place on November 2nd, 1610, or November 2nd, 1611. Where was the older Cemetery? Here is a clue, perhaps. During my stay at Agra at the end of December 1912, I interviewed several times the Rev. Mother St. Lucy, the Provincial of the Sisters of Jesus and Mary, who came out in 1854, and was shut up in the Fort during the Mutiny. Not in 1861 or 1862, as the Rev. Mother Provincial put it, but in 1875 or 1876, as a Nun, then a child, remembered, they found while digging a well near the convent, and they pointed to the well before the south veran dah, close therefore to the Cathedral compound, 3 stones, each marked with a cross. The stones were about 3 ft. long and 1½ ft. broad.

There were on the stones inscriptions in European characters, and a Capuchin Father, Louis Nuchatelli (?), said: "Look here, these stones are of the 16th century." —"Did he say 16th or 17th century?"—"He said 16th century, if I remember well." —"Strange, because 1600 is the 17th century, and I do not see how the Jesuit Fathers could have had a Church or Chapel at Agra before that date. All the same, they speak of a small Chapel which existed before the one Prince Salīm helped them to build in 1604.[2] What did you take those stones for? Tombstones?"—"Yes," interposed the other Nun, "for after that the girls used to say that the convent was built on a grave-yard."—"In what language were those inscriptions? Portuguese?" "I think so."—"Were the stones thick? In the shape of cenotaphs?"—"No, slabs."—"What colour? Red sandstone? White marble?"—"Not red; whitish, but not marble."—"And where are those stones?"—"Who knows? They may have been kept. They ought to have been. The Fathers were much interested in them, and so were we."—"How often," concluded the younger Nun, "have I not spoken of those stones ever since!" I wrote down this conversation on the very

[1] For the Armenian and Persian inscriptions on the tomb *cf.* E. A. H. BLUNT'S *List of Inscriptions on Christian Tombs ... in the U.P.*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 32, No. 74, where Mortenepus should be read: Martinus. The Armenian has Martyrose, and this would best explain the name "Martyr's Chapel."

[2] *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, pp. 89-90. The Church for which Salīm gave a substantial sum was begun before September 6th, 1604, cf. *ibid.*, p. 93.

spot, but all my efforts to trace the stones failed. Probably, digging the convent garden or the church compound on the side of the well would bring up other stones.

In 1913, Fr. Hyacinth, O.C., Agra, found in the compound of the Cathedral a stone (2 ft. 2 inches × 1 ft. 7 inches) bearing the following inscription :

A QVI IAZ Q P. IOSEP
DE CASTRO DAS
COMPA TRESLADADO
DE LAHOR ONDE MOR
REO. AOS. 15. DDZEB.
1646.

(Cf. *The Franciscan Annals, Agra*, Cathedral Mission Press, 1913, p. 294). This discovery proves clearly that the present site of the Cathedral and compound is the one occupied by the old Jesuit Mission. I do not suppose, however, that it is one of the stones alluded to by the Nuns. What is curious about this inscription is that Father Joseph de Castro's tomb in the Martyrs' Chapel has as inscription: AQVI IAZ/O P. IOSEPH/DE CASTRO FALECEO/LAHOR AOS 15 DE/DEZEBRO D' 1646./= Here lies Father Joseph de Castro. Died at Lahor on the 15th of December 1646). I fancy that the stone in the Martyrs' Chapel was brought from Lahore when the body of Fr. de Castro, after a first interment there, was taken to Agra (*J.A.S.B.*, 1910, p. 529). The inscription lately found would have been intended to take its place, but somehow it was left lying about. Perhaps, it was rejected because it contained flaws. I have copied it exactly from Fr. Hyacinth's letter of Agra, 5th June, 1913. AQVI should be one word; Q (after IAZ) is meaningless; it must be O, for Q (*quondam*) would not be used without the article *o*; JOSEP ought to have an H, but there is instead over the P the sign ∧ worn out with time; the same sign occurs over the E of DZEB, 5th line, where it represents the nasal M; if DAS (2nd line) stands for DA S[ANTA], it is unusual; TR (3rd line) and ND (4th line) are worked into compound letters. The meaning is therefore: Here lies Father Joseph de Castro of the (holy ?) Society, transferred from Lahor, where he died on the 15th December, 1646.

APPENDIX B.

A GREAT-GRANDDAUGHTER OF ZŪ-L-QARNAIN.

In view of the interest which Bībī Anna Dessa's inscription is bound to elicit,[1] I must enlarge on the inscriptions near it.

On December 27th, 1912, I visited the spot where Bībī De Sa's tombstone lies. The site is clearly indicated above. The stones lie under a khirnī-tree, in a field having a well. Altogether there are at that place six stones, three of them with inscriptions.

[1] Cf. *supra* pp. 167-168.

The other two inscriptions state:—

No. 2. +

[IA]S IOAO CARDOZ
[O O]BIIT EM BHART
[P]VR POR NOME I[?DE?]
[P]VRTVGVEZ KA
?NANO: 25 DE D
EZEMBRO 1761.

(*Proposed translation.*)

[Here] lies João Cardozo, (who) died at Bhartpur [Bharatpur]. By (the) name of (i.e., *alias*) Portuguese Khān. Year 25th December 1761.

The Agra MS. divides thus: *por nome vrtuguezkana no* (by name Urtuguezkana on the). I do not think that the word AQVI for "here" ever stood in the beginning. There would have been no room for it on the first line. The inscription could not have begun either with [SEBA]STIAO (Sebastian). For the title Khān recurring, see p. 187, No. 5.

No. 3. +

AQUI IAIS
DOMINGO
S CARDOZ
O DESA FA
LECEO EM
AGRA A 22
IULHO D' 17[3]—.

(*Translation.*)

Here lies Domingos Cardozo DeSa. Died at Agra on the 22nd of July 17[3]—.

I hesitated between 173— and 175—. The anonymous Agra MS. has 173—. It translates Domingos by Dominick, an old spelling. A reading of 1876 has 175—.

These six stones are cenotaphs, single blocks of hard stone, and executed in the best style of the cenotaphs in Padres Santos' Cemetery, *i.e.*, the style of Muḥammadan cenotaphs. These stones have not apparently been shifted since 1876. Still, I do not see why the writer in the *Agra Arch. Soc. Trans.*, 1876, should have spoken of a mound. A footpath across the fields passed just over stone No. 2, and this in the long run will obliterate the inscription. The inscriptions had lost little of their clearness during these last 60 years. I think it proper to represent to the Archæological Department of Agra, whose solicitude in these matters deserves the highest commendation, that these stones should be protected from injury either by means of a raised platform or a railing.

Within 5 minutes from the place just described, under a big nīm-tree, in what a native in the fields called Chamalbārā Khet, we found another cenotaph resting on a low narrow pile of red bricks. I was told that the Hindūs worship it on Thursdays, burning *ghī* and offering sweetmeats and flowers. The Agra MS. notes the same. Its head-line: "Inscription on the grave in the old cemetery; the grave worshipped by the natives" is suggestive.

The following appears on the cenotaph:—

No. 4.

+

AQVI FA	CDRE DA
LECEO RI	CRVS AO
TA EM B	S 10 DE D
HARAT	EZEMBR°
PVR FILH	DE 1761 A
A DE ALD	NNOS.

(*Translation*): Here died Rita at Bharatpur, daughter of Aldcdre da Crus on the 10th of December of the year 1761.

The meaning intended is evidently: Here lies Rita, daughter of . . ., who died at Bharatpur on . . . . The Agra MS. read *Aldecore* where I saw *Aldcdre*. This is probably an abbreviation for Aldcandre, itself a corruption of Alexandre, Alexander.

With two companions, two boys, I explored the fields in a radius of 5 minutes from No. 4. We examined the stones to be seen in the fields and at the wells, but found no other tombstones. At the wells, worked into the rude masonry, were a number of red sandstone blocks, with carvings, which could not have been brought from very far. I conjecture that they formed the facings and floors of the platforms on which the fashionable cenotaphs we had found must have been resting.

On our way from Puya Ghat Road to No. 4, our first discovery, we came upon an erect tombstone with a Persian inscription of 5 lines each on the two faces of the stone. Scrolls of flowers emerging from a vase were insculped on both (?) faces. As it bore no cross, we paid little attention to it. It is a noticeable landmark. There were hardly any people in the fields; hence, we elicited little or no information. Another, not a stranger to Agra as myself, and with more leisure than I had, might be more successful in settling whether others of the Zū-l-Qarnain family were buried there.

To the inscriptions above I must add a fifth one mentioned in the Agra MS., as in the same direction. Neither I nor the *Agra Arch. Soc. Trans.* (1876) noticed it in the fields.

It ran as follows:—

No. 5.

[AQ]UI IAS	ECEO EM
[M]ADALE	[B]HARATPUR
[N]A CARD	A 10 DE 1768.
OZA FAL	

The parts within [ ] are mine.—AIO (last line) represents, perhaps, AN̄O, since the month is left out. The meaning would be:—

Here lies Madalena (Magdalen) Cardoza, [who] died at Bharatpur. Year 1768.

Cardoza is a feminine ending for the family name Cardozo. I have come across not a few other examples in India of making Portuguese family names in *o* subject to gender.[1]

[1] I now find this inscription figured in *Trans. Arch. Soc. Agra* (Jan.—June 1875), where the 2 last lines are: [B] HARAT PUR AOS 19 / [M] AIO DE 1758. The Agra MS. might therefore be later than 1876.

We have, then, in the fields, at a short distance of Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra, 5 inscriptions recording 3 family names: da Crus, Cardozo and de Sa, the period covered being 1730-1768. One, a da Crus, and two Cardozos died at Bharatpur; Bībī Anna De Sa died at Delhi, one Cardozo de Sa died at Agra, and all are buried at Agra, close to one another, beyond the limits of Padres Santos' Cemetery.

Leaving out of count the da Cruz inscription, which is some distance from the rest, it is quite natural to suppose that the six stones which lie together form a family reserve, especially as on one of them the names of Cardozo and de Sa are united. In fact, formerly they were covered with a dome. Cf. *Trans. Arch. Soc. Agra* (Jan.—June 1875), p. xvi. The Cardozo and de Sa families would have been related to Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain. However, the fact that the only inscriptions found in the fields date only from 1730 to 1768 militates against the supposition that the earlier generations of the Sikandar family were buried in that direction.

It is curious that the Agra MS. should speak of "old cemetery" in connection with our No. 4. If we consider the distance and the regularity of the walls enclosing Padres Santos' Cemetery, it is improbable that those fields ever formed part of Padres Santos' Cemetery, nor could there have been on that side a cemetery older than the latter. It is, perhaps, significant that, while five Jesuit Fathers were buried in the Martyrs' Chapel of Padres Santos' Cemetery from 1730 to 1763, I found in that cemetery only three inscriptions to laymen for the same period. Yet, I copied *all* the inscriptions not noticed by E. A. H. Blunt, both in Padres Santos' Cemetery and in and near the Cathedral (old and new). Two lay inscriptions are dated between 1700-1760; 2 between 1710 and 1720; 9 belong to 1770-1780, and 6 to 1790-1800. One is either of 1720 or 1770; 1 of 1751, 1 of 176(4?) and one of 1768. The inscription of 1751 refers to an Armenian. These figures apply to inscriptions in European characters. As for the Armenian inscriptions, E. A. H. Blunt has 2 between 1720 and 1730; but of the 83—out of a possible 110—which Fr. Felix published from an old MS. in the Agra Archives, none lies between 1730 and 1768. Mr. E. A. H. Blunt speculates also on this anomaly (pp. 31-32 of his book), and it is not likely that the absence of the Court from Agra solves the whole problem. Was there for a time a prohibition to inter lay people in Padres Santos' Cemetery?

Be the explanation what it may, we find in Padres Santos' Cemetery one more inscription that may refer us back to Zū-l-Qarnain. The French is wretched, but the sculptor may have been partly at fault.

CEV ROOS LE CORP DE ALEX ANDRE DECANE CARDOSO/PERINCUE KAND MORT LAN 1775 AGARA.

Unless DECANE stands for *Dakhinī* (= from the Dakhin or Deccan), which is improbable, seeing that the name Cardoso comes next, I propose to read: DEÇA (Deça, De Sa), *né* Cardoso, though it involves, I fancy, the anomaly of a man's putting the name of his wife or of his mother before his father's. Perhaps, he was the son of Domingos Cardozo de Sa (cf. No. 3) The meaning would be: "Here lies (Ci repose) the body (le corps) of Alexander Deça, *né* Cardoso, Feringue [Firinghī] Khān, deceased at Agara (Agra) in the year 1775."

Notice the re-appearance of the name Alexander. Among the Catholic inscriptions from Agra and Sardhana (cf. E. A. H. Blunt, *op. cit.*) one may notice a certain predilection for the name Juliana, too.

E. A. H. Blunt (*op. cit.*, p. 15, No. 42) has the following inscription to another Cardozo from Sardhana: "Sacred to the memory of Manuel Cardozo, who departed this life, Thursday, September 15, 1808, aged 105 years." He notes that a "Frederick Cardozo is mentioned as a servant, and then a pensioner, of the Begam Samru, doubtless a relation of this centenarian." (Reference: *Dyce-Sombre Depositions*).[1]

APPENDIX C.

Notes on Lady Juliana Dias da Costa.[2]

I feel inclined to think that this renegade was Agostinho Dias, father of the famous Lady Juliana of Shāh Ālam's time. Valentyn says that her father was a merchant at Cochin, who, when the Dutch took the place, went to Goa, thence to Bengal and Mogor, his daughter Juliana being born to him in Bengal.

Valentyn must be wrong about two points, *i.e.* (1) that her father left Cochin after the Dutch took it, which was in 1663, and (2) that Juliana was born in Bengal. If Juliana was born in Bengal after 1663, she could not have been, as asserted by Valentyn, 55 years old in 1712, whereas, if she was born in 1658, as Gentil has it, who married in her family, she would have been 54 years old in 1712. Fr. Emmanuel Figueiredo, S.J., says she was born shortly after Zū-l-Qarnain's death. Gentil appears to have the correct date of her birth. In that case she was not born in Bengal, as Gentil also says[3]; for I take it that her father is the renegade, who from Cochin passed to Bengal, and was brought to Agra after the capture of Huglī (1632-33), as we now hear from Fr. Botelho. My reason for identifying him with the renegade is that we hear of one Agostinho Dias in Mogor before 1663. Manucci refers to him. They were together in Multan. "One day, a Portuguese by name Agostinho Dias begged me to abandon the company of the eunuch [Basant], because he knew of a certainty that there existed an order of Aurangzeb for his seizure and execution." The information proved correct. Basant was killed shortly after at Lahore in 1659. (*Storia do Mogor*, I. lxxix, 363-365). By itself, this passage does not prove our contention. It must be compared with a Persian biography of Juliana referred to by Mr. Beveridge in his article on Dona Juliana (*East and West*, Bombay, July, 1903), the translation of which biography by Prof. E. H. Palmer was published in Maltebrun's *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, vol. for 1865. This biography connects Juliana and her mother with the capture of Huglī, the two having been made slaves, it is asserted, to one of Shāh Jahān's ladies. In the case of Juliana this is impossible, since she died in 1732,

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[1] My earlier discussion of these inscriptions will be found in E. A. H. Blunt, *op. cit.*, 1911, Nos. 984-87. I had not seen the stones then.

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 163, *n.* 3.

[3] The statement in Gentil may be borrowed from Valentyn.

aged 75.[1] In the case of her father and mother, I consider that, in the light of Fr. Botelho's allusion, the Persian biography in correct. Juliana's father became medical attendant of Prince Muazzam and died in Golconda shortly before Prince Muazzam was imprisoned by his father, which latter event took place in March 1686. (Cf. H. Beveridge's article in *East and West*, op. cit.). The author of the Persian biography was alive in 1774 and appears to have been related to Juliana's descendants. His name, which has been read Gastin or Gaston Brouet, must be Augustine Bravette or Bravet, also corruptly written Bervette. About the Bravettes see p. 180 above.

APPENDIX D.

Some Unknown Persons.

Mr. H. Beveridge found in the *'Amal Ṣāliḥ* an allusion to two brothers, who were great in Hindustānī and Greek music, and who had the curious names of Baqbai or Baqhai and Fath Hai. "I wonder," he writes, "if they were Armenians." (*Letter of June* 8, 1913). From conversations with Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth I gather that Hai is a distinctive Armenian title, that the Hais are the sons of Haik, the founder of the Armenian nation, Armenia being called Haiastan. (Cf. his *Hist. of the Armenians in India*, p. 3).

In the beginning of the first volume of the *'Amal Ṣāliḥ* there is question of a Manṣūr Firinghī, who, in the 16th or 17th year of Jahāngīr's reign, was in command of 8000 Decanis. He must be the Manṣūr Khān Farangī whom we find mentioned in the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (A. Rogers' and H. Beveridge's translation), II. 258, 271. In 1623, he was raised to the mansab of 4,000 personal and 3,000 horse, but was killed the same year when, in a fit of drunkenness, he went to attack single-handed a body of his enemies.

There is in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal a Persian treatise on medicine, materia medica and surgery, the *Tuhfat el Masiha*. Dr. D. Hooper, who took an interest in the book, gathered from it some details concerning the author, one Dominic Gregory Yutist [?], also known as Dakhani Begbin Raphael Yutist, surnamed Lazar Begbin Joan Yutist or Yaḥya Begbin Ibrahim Begbin Qarāqāsh Begbin Yunas (Jonas) Beg. He was a Greek Christian and a native of Aleppo in Syria, whence his ancestors came to India and settled in Shāhjahānābād (Delhi). Dakhani Beg, according to his own statement in the preface, was a pupil of Sylvester Cross [da Cruz ?]. He left Shāhjahānābād and settled in Udaipur as a servant of Jagat Singh, the Udaipur Rānā. It was here that he compiled his Pharmacopœia in 1749 and dedicated it to his patron, Rānā Jagat Singh.[2] We add this note with the faint hope that someone may chance to throw light on this curious genealogy.

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[1] Gentil, *Mém. sur l'Indoustan*, p. 378. The Viceroy of Goa writes in 1715 that she was already more than 70 years old! Cf. J. A. Ismael Gracias, *Uma dona Portugueza*, Nova Goa, 1907, p. 163.

[2] From a letter of Dr. Hooper to the author (Calcutta, May 2, 1912).

APPENDIX E.

Note on Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain from Armenian Sources.

By Mesrovb J. Seth.[1]

The following account of Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain is a literal translation from the original Armenian of Thomas Khojamall. This account is found as an Appendix to the second volume of Thomas Khojamall's "History of India" in Armenian, which, he says in his preface, was translated by him from the original Persian at Allahābād under the following circumstances:—

"In the year 1768, on the 15th Damah [one of the Armenian months], at the time of Shah 'Alam, at the Capital City of Ellabas [Allahābād], where was the great Dewan Khalsoo, whose name was Rajah Syedraff, and the other Rajah Driran, who were my friends, at my earnest request and desire, I received from these persons, and in the course of 12 days I translated from the royal Persian books into our language, which was completed on the 26th Damah."[2]

Thomas Khojamall's manuscript in Armenian was found at Agra in 1822 in the possession of one Satoor Arratoon of that place, and, as it was badly worm-eaten, it was copied afresh by one Gabriel Andreasian at the instance of the Armenian Bishop Pogose *en route* to Gwalior. The good Bishop brought the copy to Calcutta and it remained here in manuscript until 1849, when it was edited and published by the Armenian poet and journalist, the late Mesrovb David Thaliatin.[3]

THE ADOPTION BY KING AKBAR OF THE SON OF HAKOBJAN OF JULFA,[4] WHOSE NAME WAS QULQURNELL.

"Akbar Shah the Great, Emperor of India, son of Nasiruddin Humayon, ascended the throne in the year of our Lord 1554.[5] In his days there had come from Julfa a Mr. Jacob, with his wife, and he resided at Kashmir engaged in trade. There a son was born to them; but, unfortunately, not finding a priest at that place to baptize the child, they named him, according to their own wishes, Qulqurnell.

"The mighty Emperor during this time goes to Kashmir to visit his subjects, and, whilst going about incognito, he comes across the child of Mr. Jacob and is much pleased with his beauty. He orders some of his chiefs to stay there and ascertain whose child he is and to take him with his parents to him. The chiefs, having found out, took the parents with him to the Emperor. When Akbar heard that he was of the Armenian nation, he became very glad. He liked the child very much, and, turn-

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[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 120; 120 *n.* 1.

[2] Sic.

[3] Thomas Khojamall's account of Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain seems to me to have been written by himself from traditions, and not to have been translated from the Persian.—H. H., *S.J.*

[4] Hakob is the Armenian name for Jacob, *jan* being a Persian affix, meaning life.—*M. J. S.*

Has this name anything to do with Yakoob Khān, the Nawab related to the Afghan family, from whose granddaughter Francis Bourbon was born in 1680? Cf. Col. W. Kincaid, *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, III (Jan.—April, 1887), p. 170.—H. H., *S.J.*

[5] 1556, rather.

ing to the father, said: 'Oh, Mr. moosafīr [traveller] and respected merchant, will you give me or not your son, so that I may adopt him, for I have no son?' Mr. Jacob having bowed replied: 'My lord King, live for ever. Although I and mine are your servants, yet I shall not give him willingly, for I am an Armenian by nationality and a Christian, and you are a Turk and Mohammedan; if I were to give you my child and you make him a Mohammedan, I shall be disgraced amongst my own people and they will upbraid me by saying that either for money or through force I gave my son to the King.' The King was greatly pleased at this pious and fearless reply, and he swore that he would never interfere with the religion of either the child or the parents. 'Remain firm in your religion,' he said, 'I shall be exceedingly glad; but, as I have no child, I shall adopt this child.'

"Then he ordered that, dressed in regal robes, they should be taken to his palace and that the child be kept in every kind of comfort as his son as long as he remained in Kashmir. Then, when he returned to Akbarabad [Agra], he took with him this very adopted Qulqurnell with his parents and there gave to Mr. Jacob for his residence a place near the Seakhana [1] (or Armoury) of the King. He then ordered that they should build a Church, have an Armenian priest brought out and follow their ancestral faith. Hearing this, there came to Akbarabad from Julfa an Archimandrite,[2] a priest and many Armenian families, who were very well received by the King, who granted them 5000 bigahs of land at Akbarabad for building houses, gardens, farms and other important places. But Qulqurnell, the adopted son of the King, was always at the Palace, where he was a great favourite of both the King and the Queens, and you may say he was being taken from the arms of one to another.

"God knows how to make his beloved respected before foreign nations, because the King was kind enough to allow an Armenian child to remain pure in his religion and for his sake show respect to his nation; therefore God too was pleased to reward him according to his wishes; hence, in the year 1563, on the 17th of Rabi-ul-avval, He gave the King a male child, from his favourite Queen, and he was called Mir Salim Salathin, that is to say, heir-apparent. The mighty Emperor too was not unaware of this divine favour, for it is said that he would always say, 'God looked at me and gave me this my second child through the coming of the Armenians and my favourite son Qulqurnell.' And thus the two children growing up together were very fond of each other, and the King seeing their innocent love was exceedingly pleased.

"When Qulqurnell came of age, Akbar gave him landed properties, namely Jagirs, the town of Hooghly in Bengal, the province or pergannah of Samar [Sāmbhar] in the district of Akbarabad, whence comes good salt, and the country of Punjab in Lahore. Then Qulqurnell commenced building himself grand palaces with shops all round, and he had jewellers, that is Johurris,[3] whom he occupied, for they say he himself was very fond of buying and selling precious stones. It seems he was by

[1] *Sīlāḥ-khānā.*

[2] There is question of an Armenian Bishop who, unable to proceed to Malabar by sea for fear of the Portuguese, went to North India by Persia, but died on the journey in or before 1600. His books were robbed and came by and by into J. Xavier's possession. Cf. ANTONIO COLAÇO, S.J., *Relaçam Annal.... de 600. y 601* (Translated from Fr. Guerreiro's Portuguese *Relaçam*), Valladolid, 1604, p. 60.—H. H., *S.J.*

[3] *Jauharī* = jeweller.

nature a very humble and meek person, but the King Akbar liked him so much that without his order nobody could do anything, either rich or poor. It is said that whoever wished to go to him was allowed freely and boldly, and he never allowed the request of those who went to him to remain ungranted. He would neither eat nor drink, not that he wished to show himself off with pride, but that he had made a habit of it. But they say he had the Mansab [rank] of seven thousand and paid much attention to it.

"In the year of our Lord 1605, King Akbar died and Mirza Salim Salathin succeeded him and was called Nur-ud-din Jehangeer. When the whole world were going to congratulate the King on his accession, Qulqurnell trembling through fear would not come out of the house and would not go to offer his felicitations to the King. Several times he sent word to him and invited him to come, but his false fear compelled him to run away by himself and go to his jagir at Hooghly. This escape made the King very, very sorry, so he ordered that all the Armenians be watched. Afterwards when he learnt that the escape was more through fear than anything else, he wrote on oath, 'Fear not, I and you are brothers. Do you not know my love from my youth? Come to me, and, whatever may be your requests, I shall grant you the same. Is it likely that I should be ungrateful towards my father's behest and think of harming you? If you do not come willingly, I shall have you brought in bonds.' In like manner, our own people [the Armenians] beseechingly wrote to him to come.

"When he came and presented himself, the King loved him much and said, 'Why do you now keep aloof, brother? Am I going to take back from you the properties presented to you by my father, or is there anything wanting which I will not make good? Ask, even half of my kingdom, and I shall grant it to you.' Our hermit king to-be fell on his face to the ground and said, 'My Lord, I verily know your love and favour, but I beg of you to allow me to stay at home like a poor man and pray for you.' The King said, 'Since that is your wish, I am glad; do as you like, but come and see me sometimes.'

"Henceforward, having retired from all important affairs, he gave himself up to singing, which in the Indian language is called *Rāg*, and he made so much progress that he was not inferior to the very best singers of olden times. His name is proclaimed in the Indian work called *Rāgmālā*. Following such trivial pursuits, he neglected himself, his children (of whom, they say, some are still to be found at Chandernagore in Bengal), as also his properties and his own nation."

Many points in this Armenian account are out of focus, exaggerated, unreliable, or wrong: *e.g.*, the name of Zū-l-Qarnain's father, his origin from Julfa, his meeting Akbar first in Kashmīr, Zū-l-Qarnain's birth before that of Prince Salīm, the date of Prince Salīm's birth (1563), Akbar's attributing it to the prayers of the Armenians, the arrival at Agra before or about 1600 of Armenian priests and their establishing a church there, the grant of 5000 bīghās of land to the "*Armenians*" of Agra, Mirzā

Zū-l-Qarnain's manṣab of 7000, etc. Manṣabs above 5000 were reserved to His Majesty's "august sons." Cf. *Āīn* (transl.), I. 237.

Zū-l-Qarnain's *jāgīr* at Huglī may be a reminiscence either of the concession made by Akbar to the Portuguese in 1578-80 or of its being restored to them, perhaps through the Mīrzā's mediation, after 1632. Cf. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. X, Pt. I, January-March 1915, pp. 48, 109.

In Zū-l-Qarnain's disappearance from the Court on the accession of Jahāngīr we see also a distortion of the facts. He was only 14 years old at the time. The facts intended are probably these. When Sikandar, his father, came from Sāmbhar to Agra, at the end of 1605 or beginning of 1606, to congratulate Jahāngīr on his accession, Jahāngīr tried to tamper with his religion, and Sikandar, fearing probably that he would do the same with his two children then at the Court, took them away with him to Sāmbhar. When at Lahore (1606), Jahāngīr, remarking the absence of the boys, had a search made for them. They were brought back, and shortly after forcibly circumcised. Sikandar on hearing of this was inconsolable. For three days he wept and refused all food. One of his servants was sent to Lahore to take information, and the Fathers wrote back to say that it was not safe for him to come himself. After that the King acted as if nothing had happened. (Cf. Fr. GUERREIRO, S.J., *Relaçam.... de* 606. & 607., foll. 152*v*-155*r*). According to Father Botelho (cf. *supra*, p. 160), Zū-l-Qarnain disappeared after his forcible circumcision, and was at last found and brought back.

A search should be made for the *Rāgmālā* containing the Mīrzā's name. It contains perhaps in addition some of his Hindustānī or Hindī compositions.

It is a curious fact that our Armenian author looked towards Chandernagore for Zū-l-Qarnain's descendants. Had he not heard of the Bourbons of Narwar and Shergaṛh and their claiming descent from him? It is the more curious because Khojamall on his tombstone in Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra, declares: "Thomas, son of Khoja Mall of Ispahan. I was servant of the Council of Chinsurat. 1789, January 22nd."

Among the Catholics of Agra there is the same tradition as among the Armenians about large gifts of land granted to the Jesuit Fathers and situated at Agra, and the wonder is why the English Courts of law set aside the claims of the Catholic Mission to these concessions.—H. H., *S.J.*

MAY 7 1920
National Museum

MĪRZĀ ZŪ-L-QARNAIN,

A CHRISTIAN GRANDEE OF THREE GREAT MOGHULS, WITH NOTES ON AKBAR'S CHRISTIAN WIFE AND THE INDIAN BOURBONS.

By Rev. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

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MEMOIRS

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VOL. V, No. 5, pp. 195—205.

MISCELLANEA ETHNOGRAPHICA, III.

BY

N. ANNANDALE, F.A.S.B.

WITH NOTES BY G. H. MEERWARTH AND H. G. GRAVES.

Smithsonian Institution
MAY 7 1920
National Museum

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National Museum

Miscellanea Ethnographica.[1]

PART III.

Weighing Apparatus from the Southern Shan States. *By* N. ANNANDALE, D.Sc., F.A.S.B.

[With Plates XLII—XLV.]

The apparatus described in these notes is that commonly used for weighing agricultural produce and dried fish in the markets of the villages situated round the Inlé Lake in the state of Yawnghwe. These markets are held every five days and are frequented not only by both the civilized people and the hill tribes of the surrounding country, but also by wandering Chinese merchants from Yunnan; Siamese copper coins of the reign of the late king Chululongkorn are current, but I did not meet any Siamese people.

The specimens described were obtained in February and March, 1917 either at Fort Stedman on the east side of the lake or at Yawnghwe. With one exception (No. 11112) they belong to types that were used indiscriminately by the different indigenous races that frequent the market. The most numerous of these races are the Intha ("Sons of the Lake"), a Burmese-speaking people whose dialect is said to support their legendary origin from Tavoy; the Shans; the Danu (people of mixed Burmese and Shan ancestry); the Taungyo, a hill-tribe living east and north of the lake; the Taungthu, another hill-tribe living chiefly to the south and perhaps allied to the Karens; the Panthey or Mahommedan Chinamen of Yunnan, and Chinamen from the Kiangsu province who have travelled up the Yangtse and then overland. Punjabis, Nepalis and Paharis from Kumaon in the Himalayas are also present, but they are recent settlers in the country.

The system of weights employed with all the different kinds of apparatus is in theory at any rate that of Upper Burma.

1 viss, peittha or peithha	100 tikals (3·65 lb.)
1 tikal	40 mats
1 mat	2 mu
1 mu	2 pé
1 pé	6 ywe

I do not propose to discuss either the geographical distribution of the different kinds of weighing-beams described, or their mechanical significance. On the latter

[1] Parts I and II of these "Miscellanea" were published in vol. I of the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1907.

point my friend Mr. H. G. Graves has been kind enough to add some notes, while Dr. G. H. Meerwarth's remarks on the bismer weighing-beam in Russia have an interesting bearing on the distribution of that primitive instrument. My object has been to place on record the bare facts about the apparatus actually in use at the begining of 1917 in a definite district, but probably soon to be replaced by devices of greater mechanical perfection though of less ethnographic interest.

With one exception the specimens described are in the collection of the Indian Museum, the numbers quoted in reference to each being from the Museum register.

The collection was exhibited at a general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the evening of the 2nd of May, 1917. Mr. H. G. Graves and Dr. G. H. Meerwarth have been kind enough to embody the remarks they made after the exhibition in the notes published on pp. 200 and 201, *postea*. I have to thank Dr. F. H. Gravely for the photographs reproduced on pls. XLIV and XLV.

No. 11116. **Scales and Weights** (Pl. XLII, fig. 1; pl. XLIII, figs. 1-3, and pl. XLIV).

Burmese (*Intha*) *name.*—*Yazu.*

Locality.—Fort Stedman, Inlé Lake, Southern Shan States.

The beam is made of iron, and consists of a roughly cylindrical rod 50 cm. long and about 8 mm. in diameter. In the middle it is squared and thickened to hold the indicator, and at the extremities flattened and turned first upwards and then downwards and inwards to form a hook. The indicator is an upright iron rod 14 cm. high. Above, it is roughly cylindrical, but its basal part is flattened in the plane at right angles to that in which the ends of the beam are flattened. At its extreme base it forms a pin with quadrangular cross-section and passes through the beam. Where it does so it is welded into position to give it the necessary rigidity. It is ornamented somewhat crudely by indentations of the sides, and terminates in a small sphere or globule. The indicator is suspended by means of a spindle-shaped pin in a narrow plate of iron. The pin is welded through the basal part of the former, and rests at each side in a circular hole contained in a heart-shaped prolongation of the side of the plate. The plate is flattened in the vertical plane at right angles to the main axis of the beam, and is ornamented in much the same way as the indicator. It is pierced near its upper extremity for the reception of a suspending cord. The scale-pans are of bamboo basketwork covered with *thitzi*[1], a compound of wood-oil (derived from the tree *Melanorrhoea usitata*) and damar resin. They are circular and rather shallow, not very exact in shape. Their diameter is about 28 cm. Four cords are passed through each pan near its edge, at equal distances apart. Each cord is knotted below the hole through which it passes, but not fastened in any way above. The cords are about 79 cm. long. They are formed of well-twisted fibre of two strands, and are 3 mm. thick. Above, a short distance below the beam, they are knotted together and hung

[1] This compound, which is of a dead black colour, is much used by all the races of the Southern Shan States for covering basketwork in order to render it waterproof. All the Intha boats are painted with it.

from a double hook of crude iron, where the upper part of which passes through a hole in the terminal hook of the beam.

The weights used with these scales are cast in light brass or some other alloy. They invariably take the form of an animal seated on a polygonal or oblong base. The animal most commonly represented is the Chinese Mandarin Duck (*Aix galericulata*), which is not known to occur in the Shan States. The form is of course conventionalized [1], but can be distinguished without doubt in the larger weights; in the smaller ones, owing to difficulties of casting, it becomes degenerate (*cf.* figs. 1, 2, 3 on plate XLIII). Sometimes an entirely conventional lion takes the place of the duck (see the figure of a specimen from Arrakan on the same plate, fig. 6). There are eight weights in a complete set. They weigh respectively 1/4, 1/2, 3/4, 1, 3, 6, 11½ oz. and 1 lb. 13 oz. avoirdupois.

The specimen of scales figured is of the size most commonly used in the Intha markets, but smaller and larger ones can be obtained. In use scales of the type are not held in the hand, but suspended either from the horizontal twig of a bamboo stuck upright in the ground, or, very commonly, from a paddle either fixed vertically in a slanting position, or tied across other paddles to form the framework of a temporary bazaar-stall of mats. As most of the people come to the markets by boat, paddles are much used for purposes of the kind. See the photograph reproduced on plate XLIV.

Scales of the type are much used in weighing vegetables, tobacco, small quantities of dried fish and prawns and, indeed, all the smaller objects of commerce not too valuable to be weighed by goldsmith's scales.[2] They are as a rule very inaccurate.

No. 11117. **Steelyard** (Pl. XLII, fig. 2; pl. XLIII, fig. 7).

Burmese (Intha) name.—Lee (li).

Locality.—Fort Stedman, Southern Shan States.

This is by far the most highly finished piece of apparatus in the collection. It is a typical steelyard.

The beam is of dark wood turned and polished, tapering towards one end, with ornamental turning work at both ends and with the scale inlaid in white metal. It is 100 cm. long and its greatest diameter is 3·8 cm. The indicator is a flat iron rod 24 cm. long and 2·8 cm. broad at the point at which it issues from the beam. Its base passes right through a slit in the beam and is held in position by a mass of some resinous compound. Towards its upper end it tapers somewhat, but the tip is truncate. Its greatest thickness is only 5 cm. This indicator is fixed in a wooden holder by means of a nail-shaped iron pin that passes through both, and is welded into the iron but allows free movement of the wood. Between the holder and the indicator there are on either side several thin iron discs. The method by which the holder is suspended is best shown in the figure. From one end of the beam hangs, at the end of a short chain and a twisted iron rod, a large iron hook. The object to be weighed is hung from this.

[1] The bird is commonly said to be the Brahminy Duck (*Casarca rutila*).

[2] These are not of local manufacture. They belong to the common Chinese type.

The scale (text-figure 1) is marked on the beam by means of small round pins of white metal let into the wood and hammered flat. These pins are arranged in transverse and horizontal lines and in circles. Every fifteenth transverse line ends in a large circle and between every pair of horizontal lines there are five pins arranged thus . . . . The circles are from 6 to 6·5 cm. apart, those at the broader end of the beam being a little nearer together than those at the narrow end. There is a single pin in the centre of each circle. The distance between the centres of each two consecutive circles represents a weight of 5 viss; that between each transverse line of pins of 1 viss, and that between each dot in the longitudinal series 2 tikals.

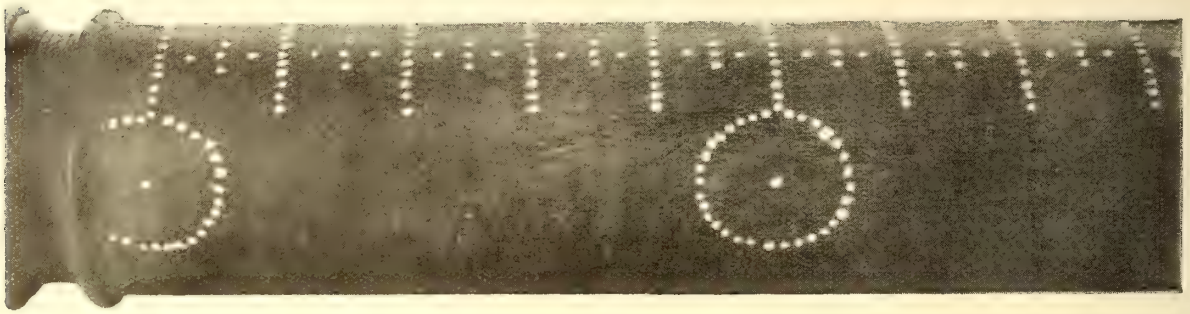


Fig. 1.—Broader end of the beam in steelyard (No. 11117), pl. XLII, fig. 2; showing part of scale. Actual size.

The weight (pl. XLIII, fig. 7) that is moved along this scale weighs 11½ lb., and has a diameter of 12 cm.; it is of white metal, circular in form, flattened at the base and rounded above. It is suspended from the beam by means of a short loop of cord and an iron chain of S-shaped links of rather artistic design.

The specimen is considerably smaller than some that are used in the Intha bazaars. The steelyard is used in these markets for weighing heavy objects such as large baskets of rice or dried fish, blocks of ornamental stone, etc. I have no photograph showing it in use.

No. 11118. **Bismer** (Pl. XLII, fig. 3; pl. XLV, fig. 1).

Burmese (*Intha*) *name.*—*Peikthagangdo* (= "viss-beam").

Locality.—Fort Stedman.

This is a bismer, or weighing-beam without moveable weights, of very simple construction, with five suspending strings fixed in position.

The beam is of white wood hacked into shape with a *dao* or large knife. Its cross-section in the middle is roughly circular but at one end, which bears the strings, the upper surface is ridged and at the other, from which the scale-pan is hung, a little flattened. The length is 44 cm. and the greatest diameter about 4 cm.

The strings are passed through V-shaped passages in the ridged part of the beam. These passages have been bored by means of a hot iron. They occupy only the upper part of the beam. Each string is a loop of thin and coarsely twisted two-ply cord. The loop is formed by knotting the two ends of the cord together. Each is about 8·5 cm. long.

The pan is of basketwork formed in an open pattern of narrow strips of bamboo. It is circular and has a diameter of 26 cm.; the concavity is not great. The pan is hung from the beam by four cords of the same make as the suspending strings; they are about 46·5 cm.; each passes through the pan and is knotted below. Above the four cords pass through a vertical hole in the beam and are then knotted together.

Beams of this type are in common use in the bazaars of the Southern Shan States and are not prohibited by law. Some are of better construction than the one figured, the wood being often turned and polished and the suspending strings fixed round the beam in grooves instead of being threaded through a part of it. The strings, however, are always fixed and of a limited number; a loop moveable along a scale on the beam is never used as in Indian and Scandinavian beams of the type.[1]

No. 11112. **Small Beam with Moveable Scale-Pan** (Pl. XLII, fig. 4; pl. XLV, fig. 2).

Taungthu name.—*Kywe htoe.*

Locality.—Fort Stedman.

This type of weighing-beam is at first sight very like the bismer but is distinct in that the position of the scale-pan relative to the centre of the beam is shifted to obtain balance instead of that of the point of suspension.

The beam in the specimen figured is 47·5 cm. long. It is of dark wood carefully smoothened and polished (but not turned on a lathe) and divided into three parts carved out of the same piece of wood. There are two terminal parts of equal length joined together in the middle by a much shorter, barrel-shaped portion through which the indicator passes. One of the terminal parts is conical in shape, the other thin and cylindrical. The cylindrical part is pierced vertically in eight places, the outermost hole being near the end of the beam. Five of the holes bear loops of string or of brass wire (two are of the latter substance); the string loops are knotted, and the wire loops turned over, above the beam. These are for the suspension of a scale-pan.

The indicator is a flat strip of wood with parallel sides and cut off square above; below the beam it has a flattened "head" to keep it in position; it is not fastened into the slit in the beam through which it passes by either pegs or adhesive substance, but fits into it fairly tight. The suspender is a forked cylinder of wood, conical above and ornamented both above and below by a number of simple parallel transverse grooves. A string passes through the conical upper part; the connection with the indicator is effected by a common iron nail of commercial origin which passes through both suspender and indicator near the base of the latter. There are several mepal disks on the nail between the two.

The scale-pan is of open bamboo basketwork and about 29 cm. in diameter. It is suspended by three two-ply cords about 32·5 cm. long. These are knotted together

[1] Bismers with fixed strings are also used in the Malayo-Siamese villages of the eastern Siamese Malay States, but I have no other evidence that this form of bismer is characteristic of the Shan or Tai peoples.

For notes on and figures of Indian bismers see Annandale, *Mem. As. Soc. Bengal*, I, pp. iv-v, pl. C (1907), and Chaudhuri, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XI, pp. 9-16 (1915).

above and fastened to the lower half of an S-shaped piece of iron wire, the upper part of which can be attached to the loops of string or metal suspending from the beam.

The old Taungthu woman who used this beam for weighing out garlic (Plate XLV, fig. 2), though aware that the unoccupied holes in the thin end of the beam might be utilized for additional loops, did not know to what weights they would correspond. She said that the outermost loop she used corresponded to a weight of 15 tikals, the innermost to one of 1 viss, the intermediate loops representing 20, 25 and 50 tikals.

I saw this kind of beam used only by Taungthu women. It was much scarcer in the markets than any other.

No. 11119. **Large Beam with Moveable Scale-pan** (Pl. XLII, fig. 5; pl. XLV, fig. 3).

Burmese (Intha) name.—Peikngadaung.

Locality.—Fort Stedman.

The beam is of the same type as the last but larger, of better construction, of almost cylindrical form throughout its length and with only three loops for suspending the scale-pan. The wood is not turned, though smoothened and polished.

The length of the beam is 1·17 m. and the greatest diameter (at the end furthest from the scale-pan) 3·7 cm.; at the narrower end it is 2·8 cm. The indicator, which resembles that of No. 11112, is much nearer the latter end than the former, weight being given to the thicker part of the beam by its great length rather than by much greater thickness. The forked suspender is not elaborately ornamented as in No. 11112 and is fastened to the indicator by a wooden peg. The scale-pan, which is of the same substance and practically the same pattern as that of the other specimen but of rather finer workmanship, is about 48 cm. in diameter. Its three cords, knotted together above as usual, have no metal loop but are merely twisted through the hanging loops on the beam when in use. The cords are about 51 cm. long.

The three hanging loops do not seem to represent any very definite weights but rather certain amounts of betel leaves, in weighing which in bulk this form of beam is mainly, if not exclusively, used.

——o——

The "Bismer" in Russia. By Dr. G. H. Meerwarth.

The Scandinavian weighing-beam in early times found its way into the Slavonic countries. Even the name has been preserved, for the Russian "bezmen" corresponds to "bismer." Weighing-beams are now prohibited by law in Russia and their use is limited to out-of-the-way places where the police regulations are not so strictly enforced. The enormous distances from a centre where legally permitted scales and proper weights can be bought make the weighing-beam a necessity for remoter parts of the country.

There are four variations of the "bezmen." Common to all is the wooden beam with marks showing the weight. These marks show first the parts of a pound (quarters or even eighths), then single pounds up to ten. From ten to twenty pounds each mark corresponds to two pounds, from ten to forty the division is into five pounds. Generally the marks end here, forty pounds or a pood being the unit for big weights. To the end of the beam opposite to the marks a hook is fixed, to which the goods to be weighed are tied. The difference is in the way the beam is suspended. The different types may be numbered 1, 2, 3. No. 1 is of the simplest form. Both ends of the beam have the same weights so that only a little less than one-half of the beam (for we have also to count in the weight of the hook) can be used for the marks. To get rid of this inconvenience a constant weight is fixed to the marks-end of the beam, thus allowing to suspend it not in the middle as in No. 1, but near the hook-end (No. 2). Often this weight is not suspended but melted into the beam, thus permitting considerable fraud (No. 3).

The second type is of the steelyard class; it is called "kanter." The sling from which the beam is suspended and the different weights are shown by a permanent weight which moves from mark to mark. This instrument is chiefly used to weigh big quantities of substances like fodder, straw, etc.

——o——

Note on the Elementary Mechanics of Balances and Steelyards. *By* H. G. Graves.

The simplest weighing device consists of a plank centrally supported like a seesaw and bearing the weight and the article to be weighed at its opposite ends. If the weights are equal in amount and at equal distances from the ends, the seesaw will balance. If they are unequal, there will also be a balance if they are placed at different distances from the centre in such a manner that the distances are inversely proportional to the weights. In other words, if W is the weight, A the article to be weighed, D the distance of the weight from the fulcrum and L that of the article,

$$\text{then } A : W :: D : L, \text{ or } AL = WD.$$

That is, the weight multiplied by its distance from the fulcrum is equal to the article multiplied by its distance when there is equilibrium, and this statement is true for all levers.

The seesaw, however, is top heavy with the weights perched on it, so the equilibrium is unstable and the plank will not readily remain horizontal, but tilts over to either side indifferently. Hence it is not easy to see whether the balance of weight has been attained, but this defect may be remedied by suspending the weights under the plank so as to bring the centre of gravity of the system as a whole below the fulcrum which is the centre of support. The beam remains horizontal as long as there is no excess on either side, and the device, figs. 1 and 2, then becomes the ordinary balance, fig. 3, or the steelyard. All this of course is a matter of elementary knowledge, but it has been set forth at length to show how the formula is derived.

The equation $AL = WD$ is equivalent to saying that the weight of the article is equal to the weight of the weight multiplied by the distance of the weight from the fulcrum and divided by the distance of the article from the fulcrum. For convenience of reference these factors may be written weight size, weight position, and article position, thus:—

$$A = WD/L \textit{ or } \text{Article size} = \text{Weight size} \times \frac{\text{weight position}}{\text{article position}}.$$

Accordingly with lever-weighing mechanism, the weight of an article can be determined by observing the amount of variation in the factors on the right-hand side of the equation when they are changed to produce equilibrium. The change may be confined to any one factor alone, the other two being kept constant, this being the simplest method. Or any combination of two factors may be varied, the third being unaltered. Or all three may be varied and noted. This gives seven possible methods, for if there is no variation at all, only one weight of article could be measured, and of course any variety of machine can be used for this purpose by keeping everything constant.

It is needless to say that there are many other methods of weighing, the spring balance being perhaps the most familiar; but when levers are employed, all appliances must fall in one of these eight classes whether simple or compound levers are used. It is not proposed here to deal with compound lever machines or machines in which some form of parallel motion or other linkages are introduced in order to enable the weight or load to be placed above the beam without producing unstable equilibrium.

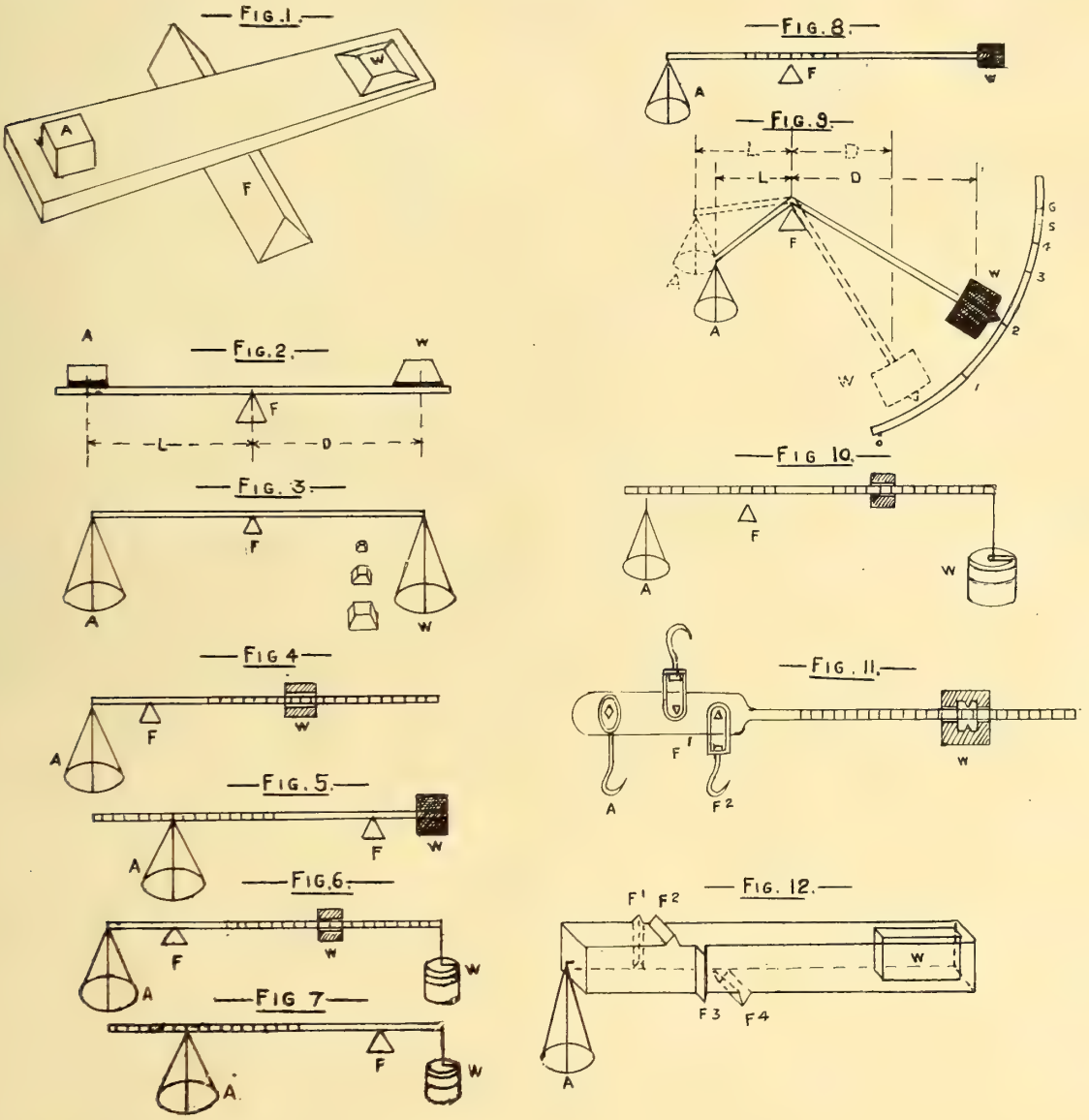
The possible variations then are:—

Class.	*Variable.*
1.	Weight size alone, Fig. 3.
2.	Weight position alone, Fig. 4.
3.	Article position alone, Fig. 5.
4.	Weight size and weight position, Fig. 6.
5.	Weight size and article position, Fig. 7.
6.	Weight position and article position, Figs. 8 & 9.
7.	Weight size and position and article position, Fig. 10.
8.	No variable.

These are shown diagrammatically in figs. 3 to 10 in which the article A, the fulcrum F, and the weight W are marked. Class 1 is represented by the ordinary scales or balance; Classes 2 and 4 by the more ordinary steelyards; Classes 3 and 5 by the less ordinary steelyards; Class 6 by the bismer or steelyard with a moveable fulcrum fig. 8, or by bent lever apparatus fig. 9, in which the fulcrum is practically fixed while the effective length ratio of the arms alters as the device swings; Class 7 with all factors variable is too complicated for practical use in a simple form; and Class 8, as said above, only gives one fixed weight. No other type is possible for lever-weighing machines, but the possible variations of structural details are enormous.

The ordinary scales or balance with equal arms, and a series of weights, is made and used in a thousand different ways. In the crudest shape, a simple stick suspended

by a string at the centre has a pan hung at each end by three strings. The weights are rough lumps of stone and there is no pointer; so the seller and buyer watch for the horizontality of the beam, and the buyer keeps an open eye to see that the seller does not hold the suspending string too close to the beam, nor assist the horizontality with a little finger. A common trick of the dishonest tradesman is to make the arm on the weight side slightly longer than the other. This gives short weight, but the



purchaser can counter the swindle by insisting on the article and weights being reversed in the pans. Then he will get more surplus than previously he was in defect.

From the crude form there is every gradation in shape, size and material up to the delicate balance of the chemist which can weigh fractions of a milligramme. In these balances the adjustable weights in the pan are supplemented by a moving weight or rider on the beam and the device then falls into class 4. Occasionally the

weight arm is intentionally made much the shorter so that special weights of smaller size can be used for convenience of manipulation, but the equal armed type is most common. The swinging pans are inconvenient for many purposes, so special arrangements are devised, using links and parallel motions in order that the pans may be placed above the beam; but it would be hopeless to pursue this part of the subject into all its ramifications.

In the ordinary steelyard, one arm is shorter and heavier than the other, and the longer arm is generally graduated. Then either the weight slides along this graduated arm as in fig. 4, or, more rarely, the pan, carrying the article to be weighed, is moved along it as in fig. 5. In either case the position gives the measure. Sometimes removable weights are used alone or in combination, as in figs. 6 and 7, to give the approximate weight while the slide is used to make the finer adjustment.

As with balances, there are to be found all variations from the stick and string type up to the reversible steelyard with two fulcra F^1 F^2 represented in fig. 11, which can be used for weighing light or heavy articles within a limited range.

Sometimes instead of a sliding or removable weight, a sliding telescopic arm with graduations is used. Or a hinged weight, which can be folded over so as to lie nearer to or farther from the fulcrum, is mounted on one side and then the instrument will only give two measurements. A common form of coin-tester consists of a weighted lever with recesses, properly spaced and sized in the longer arm to receive coins of different denominations.

At the best of times the steelyard is rather a clumsy instrument in its simpler form. To use a colloquial phrase, it waggles about. So generally it is more convenient to mount it in a stand and connect it either directly or indirectly through multiplying levers, to a platform on which is placed the article to be weighed. In these forms the steelyard is utilised for weighing anything from a letter to a locomotive. The levers may be straight or bent but, if the latter, they are kept so nearly in one position that there is no change of leverage as in the bent lever or pendulum type considered under the next class.

The sixth class, in which the distance of the weight and the article from the fulcrum are simultaneously altered, embraces two main forms:—(1) the movable fulcrum or bismer type fig. 8, and (2) the fixed fulcrum bent lever or pendulum type fig. 9.

The bismer type, as Dr. Annandale has remarked, is found in several centres, but is not nearly so widely spread as the balance or steelyard. For equal differences of weights the lengths of the graduation vary, and are best found by actual tests Sometimes the fulcrum or suspension-point is moved along the beam; at other times a separate suspension-string is placed at each of the fulcra, and the weight is then determined by noting the particular string used as the support when the beam is level. Many variations could be devised, and the writer ventures to suggest that the form shown in fig. 12 is more or less novel. In this the beam is square and has four fulcra, F^1 F^2 F^3 F^4, one on each side; but the beam might be round with a projecting continuous spiral rib, to act as a fulcrum wherever it touches the support. By

turning or rolling the beam over on a flat surface until it begins to tilt, the weight of the article is shown by suitable marks on the part of the beam which lies uppermost at that moment. But there is no new thing under the sun, and these devices are not far removed from the ordinary form of letter-balance in which a sliding ring, which acts as the fulcrum, is moved along a graduated rod that has a weight at one end and a clip at the other.

The pendulum type in its simplest form is shown in fig. 9 in which a bent weighted lever is suspended at its highest point. When an article is placed in the pan, the other weighted end swings upwardly and the pan goes down until there is equilibrium and the weight is then read on a suitably placed scale. The weight of the heavy arm and article are not altered as they swing, but their effective distances increase and decrease proportionately as shown in full and dotted lines. In other words the lengths of a horizontal line cut by perpendiculars from the fulcrum and two centres of gravity change until AL=WD when L and D are these cut off lengths.

The graduations when one size or one position, or when one size plus one position, are variable, are of equal size; but when the ratio of two positions changes, the graduation has to be made on a decremental scale so that the marks are 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/5, 1/6, etc., of the length of beam from one end for equal increases of weights. Thus, unless special dispositions of the weight is made by suitably shaping the beam, the graduation marks will be decreased in length in the proportion of 1/6, 1/12, 1/20, 1/30, 1/42, etc. As with all the other forms, innumerable variations are possible, and a search through the records of the Patent Office would show some of them; but to give the results of such a search too many illustrations and too many complicated descriptions would be necessary, and no attempt has been made to follow the lever when it merges into a wheel or pulley, or becomes a spring.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLII.

SCALES AND WEIGHING-BEAMS FROM FORT STEDMAN BAZAAR.

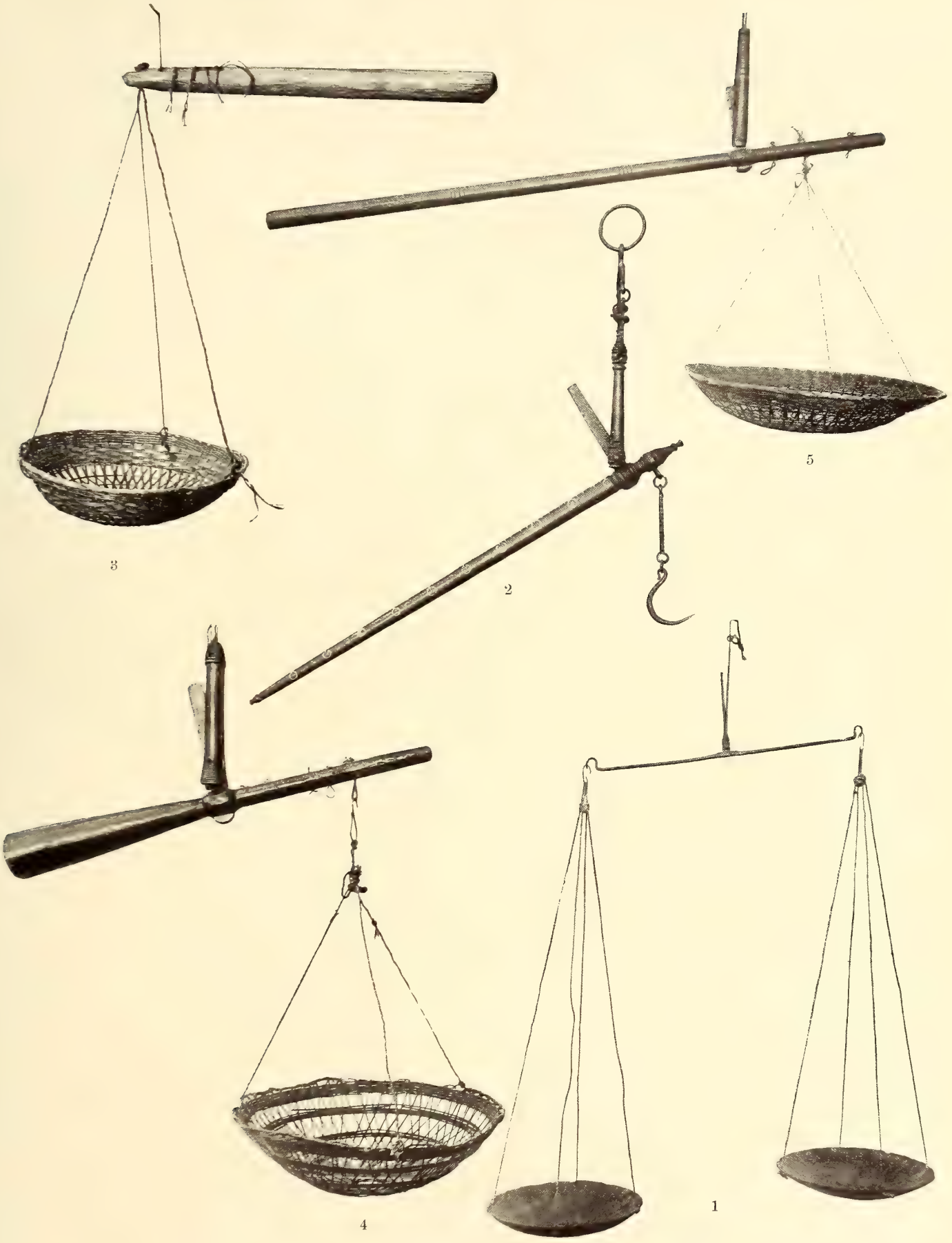
FIG. 1.—Scales (No. 11116). Length of beam 50 cm. Weights used with these scales are figured on pl. XLIII, figs. 1-4.

,, 2.—Steelyard (No. 11117). Length of beam 100 cm. The moveable suspended weight is not shown on this plate, but see pl. XLIII, fig. 7.

,, 3.—Bismer (No. 11118). Length of beam 44 cm.

,, 4.—Small weighing-beam with moveable scale-pan (No. 11112). Length of beam 47·5 cm.

,, 5.—Large weighing-beam with moveable scale-pan (No. 11119). Length of beam 117 cm.



S. C. Mondul, Photo.

WEIGHING-BEAMS AND SCALES FROM THE S. SHAN STATES.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLIII.

Metal Weights from the Southern Shan States and other parts of Burma.

(All the specimens except Nos. 4 and 7 are shown of the actual size. No. 4 is magnified to twice the actual size, while No. 7 is considerably reduced).

Fig. 1.—Largest weight in an unused set of pale bronze (No. 11116): purchased in Fort Stedman bazaar; Feb., 1917.

,, 2.—Second weight in the same set.

,, 3.—Smaller weight (used) from another set of better workmanship. (In my own possession.)

,, 4.—Smallest weight (used) in a set from Yawnghwe bazaar. Twice the actual size.

,, 5.—"Duck" weight (No. 5467) of bronze from Tsagain, Upper Burma. Presented to the Indian Museum by the late Dr. J. Anderson, F.R.S.; from the Yunnan Expedition of 1868.

,, 6.—"Lion" weight (No. 6204) of bronze from Arrakan. Presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Capt. Bogle in the year 1837.

,, 7.—Weight of white metal used with steelyard (No. 11117) in Fort Stedman bazaar; Feb., 1917. Considerably reduced.

5

1

3

4

7

2

6

S. C. Mondul, Photo.

BURMESE METAL WEIGHTS.

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1917.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLIV.

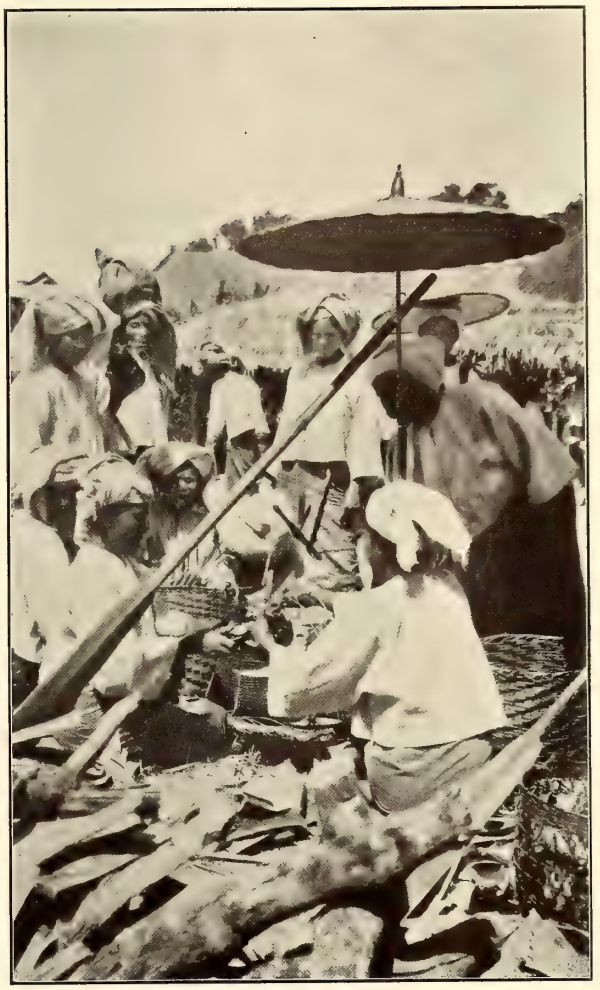
SCALES IN USE IN FORT STEDMAN BAZAAR; FEBRUARY, 1917.

FIG. 1.—Scales used for weighing tobacco, suspended from the horizontal twig of a bamboo under an umbrella.

,, 2.—Scales used for weighing vegetables, suspended from an oar fixed in a slanting position to an upright bamboo, to which an umbrella is also fastened.

,, 3.—Scales used in weighing small dried fish in a temporary shed made of oars and mats. The scales are suspended from an oar fixed horizontally. The large basket in the foreground was filled with small dried prawns of the genus *Caridina*. The small basket beside it was used in measuring out the prawns.

1



2

3

SCALES IN FORT STEDMAN BAZAAR.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLV.

Weighing-beams in use in Fort Stedman Bazaar; February, 1917.

Fig. 1.—Small weighing-beams of the bismer type used by Intha women in weighing cakes of fermented soy beans and other condiments (No. 11118).

,, 2.—Beam with moveable scale-pan (No. 11112) used by Taungthu woman in weighing garlic.

,, 3.—Large beam of the same type used by Intha men and women in weighing betel leaves in bulk (No. 11119).

1

2

3

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A REVISION OF THE LIZARDS OF THE GENUS TACHYDROMUS.

BY

G. A. BOULENGER, LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S.

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By G. A. Boulenger, LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S.

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[With plates XLVI and XLVII].

INTRODUCTION.

The species of *Tachydromus*, a genus of Lacertidæ characteristic of the Far East, and the only one of the family to extend eastward of the Bay of Bengal, are much in need of revision. A number have been described since the publication of the third volume of the British Museum Catalogue of Lizards, in which, owing to insufficient material, I united several that have since proved to be perfectly valid. The importance to be attached to various characters, such as the number of rows of plates along the back and belly, of inguinal pores, and of chin-shields, has often been exaggerated and has led to the establishment of species which seem to be untenable. My object in giving very detailed descriptions, with notes on individual variations, accompanied by tabulations of the numerical characters in the extensive material now at my disposal,[1] is to convey a clearer view of the state of things and thus to enable future workers to form a more correct idea of the value to be attached to these characters. I trust to have succeeded in avoiding the two extremes into which previous authors have fallen, viz. of over-multiplying species and of underrating the importance of certain modifications which may appear trivial at first.

Although generally averse to the multiplication of generic divisions, I feel compelled to propose two new genera for species previously described under *Tachydromus*, viz. *T. dorsalis*, Stejneg., and *T. kuehnei*, Van Denb., the former differing in the more normal dorsal lepidosis, the latter in the form of the digits, unique in the family Lacertidæ.

I have also to offer a suggestion as to the exact relationship of *Tachydromus*, which has been regarded as occupying a very isolated position in the family to which it belongs. The northen species *T. amurensis*, Peters, shows it to be much nearer to *Lacerta* than was hitherto believed, as I explain in my comments on that species, which differs so much from *T. sexlineatus*, Daud., the type of the genus, and stands at the other end of the series.

Tachydromus, Daud.

Tachydromus,[2] Daud. Hist. Rept. iii, p. 251 (1802); Wagl. Syst. Amph., p. 157 (1830); Wiegm. Herp. Mex., p. 10 (1834); Dum. et Bibr. Erp. Gén., v, p. 155 (1839); Gray, Cat. Liz., p. 52 (1845); Günth. Rept. Brit. Ind., p. 69 (1864); Lataste, Ann. Mus. Genova (2) ii, 1885, p. 125; Bouleng. Cat. Liz., iii, p. 3 (1887), and Faun. Ind., Rept., p. 168 (1890).

Tachysaurus, Gray, l.c.

[1] 158 specimens, from a great variety of localities.

[2] Originally *Takydromus*, contrary to classical usage.

Head shields normal.[1] Nostril pierced between the nasal, one or two postnasals, and the first upper labial. Lower eyelid scaly. Collar more or less distinct or absent. Back with large plate-like subimbricate scales with strong keels forming continuous lines; sides with small juxtaposed or granular scales; ventral plates more or less imbricate, often pointed and keeled. Digits cylindrical or slightly compressed, with smooth or somewhat tubercular lamellæ inferiorly. Femoral pores reduced to one[2] to three. Tail long or extremely long, cylindrical.

Eastern Asia.

The parietal foramen is constantly present and pterygoid teeth are absent or reduced to 2 to 5.

The term 'inguinal pores' has been universally used for the one or two pores on each side of the præanal region, as is the rule in this genus, and no exception could be taken to this terminology were it not that when more than two pores are present, the series extends on to the thigh. As the single pore is part of the series known as femoral pores in the other Lacertidæ it is more logical, in view of securing a uniform terminology, to discard the term 'inguinal' and to express the state of things in *Tachydromus* by saying that the series of femoral pores is reduced to one to three. In several forms of *Lacerta* and *Latastia*, when the number of femoral pores falls very low, the reduction takes place from the distal end of the thigh, thus leading to the condition in *Tachydromus*, as specimens of *Lacerta vivipara* and *Latastia longicaudata* with only five femoral pores show very clearly. It is also noteworthy that in the African analogue of *Tachydromus*, *Poromera*, Blgr., the series of femoral pores, though a long one, ends at some distance from the knee-joint.

Synopsis of the Species.

I. Head not more than $1\frac{3}{4}$ times as long as broad.

A. 4 supraoculars, first very small (rarely absent); dorsal plates in 5 to 8 longitudinal series, ventrals in 8 or 10.

1. 4 or 5 pairs of chin-shields (very rarely 3); ventral plates in 8 longitudinal series, feebly keeled or all except the outer smooth; 29 to 40 plates and scales round middle of body.

Dorsal plates in 7 or 8 longitudinal series; ventral plates in 22 to 28 transverse series; 3 femoral pores on each side; rostral in contact with frontonasal; tail $1\frac{3}{5}$ to $2\frac{1}{5}$ times length of head and body .. 1. *T. amurensis*, Peters.

Dorsal plates in 5 to 7 longitudinal series; ventral plates in 22 to 25 transverse series; 2 (very rarely 3) femoral pores on each side; rostral nearly always in

[1] *i.e.* a frontonasal, a pair of præfrontals, a frontal, a pair of frontoparietals, a pair of parietals, an interparietal, and an occipital.

[2] Inguinal pore.

contact with frontonasal; tail 2 to $3\frac{1}{3}$ times length of head and body .. .. .. 2. *T. tachydromoides*, Schleg.

Dorsal plates in 8 longitudinal series; ventral plates in 27 to 29 transverse series; a single femoral pore on each side; nasals in contact behind rostral .. 3. *T. wolteri*, J. G. Fisch.

2. 3 pairs of chin-shields (very rarely 4); ventral plates keeled, often strongly; 33 to 48 plates and scales round middle of body.

Dorsal plates in 5 to 7 (rarely 8) longitudinal series; ventral plates in 8 longitudinal and 20 to 30 (usually 26 to 28) transverse series; a single femoral pore on each side .. .. 4. *T. septentrionalis*, Gthr.

Dorsal plates in 7 or 8 longitudinal series; ventral plates in 8, more frequently 10, longitudinal and 27 to 33 transverse series; 1 or 2 femoral pores on each side. .. .. 5. *T. formosanus*, Blgr.

B. 3 supraoculars, first large and in contact with the second loreal; dorsal plates in 4 longitudinal series, ventrals in 12.

Ventral plates in 22 to 25 transverse series; 26 to 28 plates and scales round middle of body; 3 pairs of chin-shields; 2 or 3 femoral pores on each side; tail a little over twice length of head and body .. 6. *T. khasiensis*, Blgr.

II. Head at least nearly twice as long as broad; ventral plates strongly keeled.

A. Dorsal plates in 7 to 10 longitudinal series; ventral plates in 6 or 8 longitudinal and 26 to 31 transverse series; a single femoral pore on each side.

37 to 45 plates and scales round middle of body; 3 pairs of chin-shields, rarely 4; 3 or 4 supraoculars; tail $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{3}$ times length of head and body .. 7. *T. smaragdinus*, Blgr.

28 to 32 plates and scales round middle of body; 4 or 5 pairs of chin-shields; 4 supraoculars; tail $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 times length of head and body .. .. 8. *T. sauteri*, Van Denb.

B. Dorsal plates in 4 or 6 longitudinal series, ventrals in 10 or 12; 28 to 38 plates and scales round middle of body; 3 supraoculars, third rarely in contact with frontoparietal; 1 to 3 femoral pores on each side.

Dorsal plates in 4 (rarely 6) longitudinal series, ventrals

in 21 to 28 transverse series; 3 (rarely 4) pairs of chin-shields; collar more or less distinct; head about twice as long as broad; tail 3 to 5 times length of head and body .. .. 9. *T. sexlineatus*, Daud.

Dorsal plates in 6 longitudinal series, ventrals in 30 transverse series; 4 pairs of chin-shields; no trace of a collar; head $2\frac{1}{3}$ times as long as broad; tail $2\frac{2}{5}$ times as long as head and body .. 10. *T. haughtonianus*, Jerd.

1. Tachydromus amurensis.

Tachydromus amurensis, Peters, Sitzb. Ges. Naturf. Fr. Berl. 1881, p. 71; Bouleng. Cat. Liz., iii, p. 6 (1887); Günth. Ann. and Mag. N.H. (6) i, 1888, p. 169; Bouleng. Ann. and Mag. N.H. (6) v, 1890, p. 137; Nikolsky, Herp. Ross., p. 92 (1905); Stejneg. Herp. Japan, p. 245 fig. (1907).

Body feebly depressed. Head about $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as long as broad, its depth equal to the distance between the anterior corner of the eye and the tympanum, its length $3\frac{3}{4}$ to 4 times in length to vent in males, $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{2}{3}$ times in females; snout obtuse, with obtuse canthus, as long as or slightly shorter than the postocular part of the head. Pileus $1\frac{3}{4}$ to 2 times as long as broad. Neck as broad as the head. Limbs short; the hind limb reaches the elbow or the axil in males, barely the wrist in females; foot as long as the head or slightly longer. Tail $1\frac{5}{5}$ to a little over 2 times the length of head and body.

Nostril pierced between three shields. Rostral not touching the nostril, broadly in contact with the frontonasal, which is broader than long and as broad as the internarial space; præfrontals forming a median suture or separated by a small azygous shield;[1] frontal as long as its distance from the end of the snout, $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as long as broad, of nearly equal width throughout, or narrower behind than in front; parietal a little longer than broad (not more than $1\frac{1}{4}$), in contact with the upper postocular and with 3 or 4 temporals; interparietal a little longer than broad; occipital much shorter than the interparietal, its posterior border usually convex and projecting beyond the parietals. 4 supraoculars, first very small, sometimes divided into two, or in contact with the frontal, second and third equal or second the longer, fourth small but larger than the first, sometimes not in contact with the fronto-parietal;[2] 4, rarely 3 or 5, superciliaries, first longest, all in contact with the supraoculars, or with 2 or 3 granules between them. Nasal forming a suture with the anterior loreal[3] above the small postnasal; posterior loreal longer than the anterior; 4 upper labials[4] anterior to the subocular, which is narrower beneath than above, sometimes very slightly. Temporal scales small, smooth or feebly keeled; tympanic shield present; one or two enlarged upper temporals often present.

4, rarely 5[5], pairs of chin-shields, the two or three anterior meeting in the middle; 19 to 24 gular scales in a straight line between the symphysis of the chin-

[1] In a male from Chabarovka.
[2] In a female from Chabarovka.
[3] Which is divided into two in a male from Chabarovka. In a female from Chabarovka.
[4] 5 on one side in a male from Chabarovka.

shields and the median collar-plate, anterior granular and smooth, posterior enlarged, imbricate, smooth or faintly keeled, and merging gradually into the collar, which is composed of 8 to 11 rounded or obtusely pointed plates, the median smooth, the outer feebly keeled.

Dorsal plates obtusely pointed or rounded behind, in 6 longitudinal series, with 1 or 2 smaller plates on the median line, or in 8 series in front and 6 behind; sides with one upper and 3 or 4 lower series of keeled scales and a median granular area. Ventral plates in 8 longitudinal and 22 to 28 transverse series, the outer pointed and feebly keeled, the others smooth, broader than long and shaped as in *Lacerta vivipara* 30 to 40 plates and scales round the middle of the body. Præanal plate large, smooth, entire (males) or longitudinally divided or semidivided (females), bordered by one semicircle of small plates.

Upper surface of limbs with rhombic keeled scales, much smaller than the dorsals. 3 femoral pores on each side.[1] Subdigital lamellæ single or partly single and partly divided, 19 to 23 under the fourth toe.

Caudal scales strongly keeled, pointed or shortly mucronate, in somewhat longer and shorter whorls alternately, the fourth or fifth of which contains 16 to 20 scales. The scaling of the regenerated tail similar to that of *Lacerta vivipara*.

Brown or olive-grey above, uniform or with irregular dark brown spots; sides with a broad dark brown or black band, the upper border of which may show a series of indentations; a dark streak on the canthus rostralis; usually a more or less distinct light, dark-edged streak from the lower eyelid to the shoulder, passing through the lower part of the ear-opening, sometimes continued as a series of spots to the base of the hind limb. Lower parts yellowish or greenish white.

Measurements, in millimetres.	1.	2.	3.	4.
From end of snout to vent	55	53	66	65
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, fore limb	20	19	—	21
Head	12	12	13	14
Width of head	8	8	9	9
Depth of head	6	6	—	7
Fore limb	19	19	20	20
Hind limb	25	27	27	27
Foot	12	14	—	14
Tail	117	—	—	—

1. ♂, Chabarovka. 2. ♂, Seoul. 3. ♀, Kasakewicha (type). 4. ♀, Chabarovka.

Particulars of specimens examined.[2]

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
♂, Chabarovka, Ussuri	55	35	7	8	26	8	22	3	20
,, ,, ,, ...	54	35	7	8	25	10	22	3	21
♀, ,, ,, ...	65	40	8	8	28	9	24	3	23
,, ,, ,, ...	65	33	7	8	27	9	19	3	22
♂, Seoul, Corea	53	35	7	8	24	10	21	3	23
♀, Corea	50	30	8	8	22	10	22	3	19

[1] A female from Chabarovka shows an ill-defined fourth pore on the right side.

[2] In addition to these I have examined the type, a female from Kasakewicha, on the Amoor, preserved in the Berlin Museum.

1. Length from snout to vent (in millimetres). 2. Scales and plates round middle of body. 3. Longitudinal series of dorsal plates and scales. 4. Longitudinal series of ventral plates. 5. Transverse series of ventral plates. 6. Plates in collar. 7. Gular scales in straight median line. 8. Femoral pores on each side. 9. Lamellar scales under fourth toe.

Habitat. South-Eastern Siberia, Manchuria, Corea.

T. amurensis is the most *Lacerta*-like species of the genus, and its agreement in many respects with *L. vivipara*[1] is the more noteworthy for the fact that the latter is the only species of *Lacerta* which extends eastward to the Pacific Ocean.[2] The agreement is not only in the form of the head and the comparatively short tail, but also in the shape and arrangement of the head-shields, especially those bordering the nostril, and the occasional separation of the fourth supraocular from the frontoparietal,[3] and of the ventral shields. As the scaling of the back and the coloration may very well be derived from the condition in *L. vivipara*, I have little doubt that the genus *Tachydromus* is to be regarded as directly modified from an oriental species of *Lacerta* connected with *L. vivipara*, if not from that species itself.

2. Tachydromus tachydromoides, Schleg.

Lacerta tachydromoides, Schleg. Faun. Japon., Rept., p. 101, pl. i, figs. 5-7 (1838).

Tachydromus japonicus, Dum. et Bibr. Erp. Gén. v, p. 161 (1839); Günth. Rept. Brit. Ind., p. 69 (1864); Hilgend. Sitzb. Ges. Nat. Fr. Berl., 1880, p. 112.

Tachysaurus japonicus, Gray, Cat. Liz., p. 52 (1845).

Tachydromus tachydromoides, part., Bouleng. Cat. Liz., iii, p. 5 (1887).

Tachydromus tachydromoides, Günth Ann. and Mag. N.H. (6) i, 1888, p. 169; Stejneg. Herp. Japan, p. 247, fig. (1907).

Tachydromus holsti, Bouleng. Proc. Zool. Soc., 1894, p. 733, pl. xlix, fig. 1.

Body feebly depressed. Head $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{2}{3}$ times as long as broad, its depth equal to the distance between the anterior corner of the eye and the tympanum, its length $3\frac{2}{3}$ to 4 times in length to vent in males, 4 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ times in females; snout pointed, with strong canthus and nearly vertical loreal region, as long as the postocular part of the head. Pileus $1\frac{4}{5}$ to 2 times as long as broad. Neck as broad as the head. The hind limb reaches the axil, the shoulder, or the collar in males, the wrist, the elbow, or the axil in females; foot 1 to $1\frac{1}{3}$ times as long as the head. Tail 2 to $3\frac{1}{3}$ times the length of head and body ($1\frac{2}{3}$ times in the very young).

Nostril pierced between three shields. Rostral not entering the nostril, nearly always in contact with the frontonasal[4], usually broadly; frontonasal as long as broad or slightly broader, as broad as the internarial space or a little broader; prefrontals forming a median suture;[5] frontal as long as its distance from the end of the snout, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 times as long as broad, usually narrower behind than in front; parietals as long as broad or a little longer than broad (up to $1\frac{1}{3}$), interparietal $1\frac{1}{3}$ to 2 times as long as broad; occipital small, much shorter than the interparietal, often

[1] I have therefore represented details of that species on plate XLVI for comparison with *T. amurensis*.

[2] The Easternmost specimens show, on an average, a lower number of pores (5 to 11) than the Western.

[3] A character which has become fixed in *T. sexlineatus*, at the other end of the series.

[4] Two exceptions, male from Koshikeu and female from Koyosun, in which the nasals meet behind the rostral.

[5] Sometimes separated by a small azygos shield, according to Stejneger.

separated from it by the parietals meeting in the middle, sometimes reduced to a granule. 4 supraoculars, first very small, rarely in contact with the frontal,[1] second and third equal or second the larger, fourth small but larger than the first; 4, rarely 5, superciliaries, first or first and second longest; a complete or, more often, incomplete series of granules between the supraoculars and the superciliaries, exceptionally reduced to 2 or 3 granules. Nasal forming a suture with the anterior loreal, above the small postnasal;[2] anterior loreal shorter than the second; 4 upper labials, rarely 3[3], anterior to the subocular, which is narrower beneath than above. Temporal scales small, more or less distinctly keeled; 2 or 3 enlarged upper temporals, the first not in contact with the fourth supraocular; tympanic shield present.

4 pairs of chin-shields,[4] the two or three anterior meeting in the middle; 18 to 25 gular scales between the symphysis of the chin-shields and the median collar-plate, anterior granular, smooth, posterior enlarged, imbricate, pointed, smooth or more frequently feebly keeled and merging gradually into the collar, which is composed of 9 to 12 pointed, smooth or keeled plates.

Dorsal plates obtusely pointed or rounded behind, in 4 or 6 longitudinal series, with 1 or 2 series of smaller plates on the median line, making 5 to 7 series altogether; sides with one upper and 3 to 6 lower series of keeled scales and a median granular area. Ventral plates in 8 longitudinal and 22 to 25 transverse series, the outer pointed and keeled, the others also pointed, or rounded or truncate behind, smooth or feebly keeled. 29 to 35 plates and scales round the middle of the body. Præanal plate large, smooth, very rarely longitudinally divided,[5] bordered by one semicircle of small plates.

Upper surface of limbs with rhombic keeled scales, much smaller than the dorsals. 2, very rarely 3, femoral pores on each side. Subdigital lamellæ mostly divided, 20 to 26 under the fourth toe.

Caudal scales strongly keeled and shortly mucronate, in somewhat longer and shorter whorls alternately, the fourth or fifth of which contains 14 to 20 scales.

Brown or olive above, sometimes greenish on the anterior part of the back, uniform or with small irregularly scattered blackish spots; sometimes a light dorso-lateral streak, starting from the superciliary edge; usually a dark brown or blackish lateral band[6] from behind the eye, sometimes with a few light spots, the upper edge often crenulated; a dark streak on the canthus rostralis; a more or less distinct light or white streak, often black-edged, from the lower eyelid to the shoulder, through the lower part of the ear-opening, sometimes continued as a streak or series of spots to the base of the hind limb. Lower parts white, throat and breast sometimes greenish. Tail pale brown or reddish, with a dark lateral streak.

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[1] Absent on one side in a female (Lataste collection).

[2] The postnasal is absent and the first loreal transversely divided into two in a female from Tokyo.

[3] 3 on both sides in a female from Tsu Shima, on one side in a female from Takanori.

[4] One exception with 3 and one with 5 out of 66 specimens examined by Stejneger. 3 on one side and 4 on the other in the type of *T. holsti*.

[5] Female from Nagasaki.

[6] This band is totally absent in the types (female and young) of *T. holsti*, as well as in a female from Nagasaki.

Measurements, in millimetres.	1.	2.	3.	4.
From end of snout to vent	62	57	62	59
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, fore limb	22	21	22	21
Head	15	14	14	13
Width of head	9	9	9	8
Depth of head	8	7	7	7
Fore limb	23	20	20	19
Hind limb	33	32	28	28
Foot	17	17	15	15
Tail	180	160	150	150

1. ♂, Nagasaki. 2. ♂, Kochi Keu. 3. ♀, Japan (Lataste Coll.). 4. ♀, Myianoshita.

Particulars of specimens examined.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
♀, Kiusiu, type	59	32	6	8	24	10	20	2	25
♂, Nagasaki, Kiusiu	62	35	6	8	22	11	25	2	25
♀, ,, ,, ...	50	33	6	8	24	10	24	2	26
♂, Takamori, ,, ...	46	34	5	8	22	10	20	2	20
♀, ,, ,, ...	41	33	6	8	25	9	20	2	23
♂, Moje, ,, ...	50	32	6	8	24	12	23	2	24
♀, Onsen Mt., Shimabara, Kiusiu (type of *T. holsti*).	47	32	6	8	23	10	19	2	22
♂, Tsu Sima	60	34	6	8	24	11	24	2	23
,, ,, ...	53	34	6	8	23	10	22	2	23
♀, ,, ...	44	29	5	8	25	9	20	2	22
♂, Koshi Keu, Shikoka	57	29	5	8	22	11	21	2	23
,, ,, ,, ...	52	35	5	8	23	11	24	3	26
♀, Tokyo, Hondo	54	32	6	8	26	11	23	2	23
,, ,, ,, ...	43	30	6	8	24	11	18	2	20
♂, L. Hakone, ,, ...	57	34	6	8	24	10	19	2	24
♀, Myianoshita, ,, ...	59	33	6	8	24	10	18	2	22
,, Koyosun, ,, ...	54	32	6	8	25	9	25	2	24
♂, Japan (Lataste Coll.)	54	35	7	8	22	9	24	2	24
♀ ,, ,, ...	44	33	5	8	23	9	21	2	23
.. ..	62	33	7	8	25	11	23	2	24

Explanation of table same as for the preceding species, p. 212.

Habitat. Japan, from Yezo to Kiusiu and Tsu Sima.

This species is very closely allied to the preceding, differing in the more pointed snout with stronger canthus, 5 to 7 longitudinal series of dorsal plates instead of 7 or 8, and nearly constantly 2 femoral pores instead of 3.

3. Tachydromus wolteri, J. G. Fisch.

Tachydromus wolteri, J. G. Fischer, Jahrb. Hamb. Wiss. Anst., ii, 1885, p. 82 ; Günth. Ann. and Mag. N.H. (6) i, 1888, p. 169 ; Stejneg. Herp. Japan, p. 247 (1907).

Tachydromus tachydromoides, part., Bouleng. Cat. Liz., iii, p. 5 (1887).

Body feebly depressed. Head $1\frac{3}{5}$ to $1\frac{2}{3}$ times as long as broad, its depth equal to the distance between the anterior corner of the eye and the tympanum, its length

4 times in length to vent; snout pointed, with strong canthus and nearly vertical loreal region, as long as the postocular part of the head. Pileus $1\frac{4}{5}$ to 2 times as long as broad. Neck as broad as the head or a little narrower. The hind limb reaches the elbow; foot as long as the head or slightly longer.

Nostril pierced between three shields. Rostral not entering the nostril; nasals forming a very short suture behind the rostral; frontonasal broader than long, as broad as the internarial space; a small shield often present between the præfrontals;[1] frontal as long as its distance from the end of the snout, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{2}{3}$ times as long as broad, of nearly equal width throughout; parietals $1\frac{1}{3}$ times as long as broad; interparietal $1\frac{1}{3}$ to 2 times as long as broad; occipital small, much shorter than the interparietal. 4 supraoculars, first very small, second and third equal, fourth small but larger than the first and rarely in contact with the frontoparietal;[2] 4 or 5 superciliaries, first longest, separated from the supraoculars by a complete series of granules. Nasal forming a suture with the anterior loreal, above the small postnasal; anterior loreal shorter than second; 3 to 5 upper labials[3] anterior to the subocular, which is narrowed beneath than above. Temporal scales small, keeled; 3 enlarged upper temporals; tympanic shield present.

4 pairs of chin-shields, the 3 anterior meeting in the middle; 24 to 26 gular scales between the symphysis of the chin-shields and the median collar-plate, anterior granular, smooth, posterior enlarged, imbricate, pointed, and keeled, merging gradually into the collar, which is composed of 10 to 12 pointed, more or less distinctly keeled plates.

Dorsal plates rounded behind, in 8 longitudinal series, those of the two median series smaller; sides with a more or less distinct upper and 3 or 4 lower series of keeled scales and a median granular area. Ventral plates in 8 longitudinal and 27 to 29 transverse series, the outer pointed and keeled, the others rounded or truncate behind and smooth. 36 to 38 plates and scales round the middle of the body. Præanal plate large, smooth, bordered by one semicircle of small plates.

Upper surface of limbs with rhombic keeled scales, much smaller than the dorsals. A single femoral pore on each side. Subdigital lamellæ mostly divided, 19 to 22 under the fourth toe.

Caudal scales strongly keeled and shortly mucronate, equal or in somewhat longer and shorter whorls alternately, the fourth or fifth of which contains 18 to 20 scales.

Olive above, with a more or less distinct light dorso-lateral streak and a dark olive lateral band; a white, black-edged lateral streak from the loreal region through the lower part of the ear-opening to the base of the hind limb; a dark streak along each side of the tail. Lower parts yellowish or greenish white.

Measurements, in millimetres.	1.	2.	3.
From end of snout to vent	45	45	46
„ „ „ „ „ fore limb	16	17	16
Head	11	11	11

[1] Specimens from Seoul and Kiu Kiang.

[2] On one side in the specimen from Kiu Kiang.

[3] 4 on one side and 5 on the other in the type, 3 on one side and 4 on the other in the specimen from Kiu Kiang.

Measurements, in millimetres.	1.	2.	3.
Width of head	6·5	7	7
Depth of head	6	6	6
Fore limb	15	16	17
Hind limb	20	20	23
Foot	11	11	12

1. ♂, Chemulpo, type. 2. ♂, Seoul. 3. ♂, Kiu Kiang.

Particulars of specimens examined.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
♂, Chemulpo, Corea, type.	45	36	8	8	27	10	26	1	19
,, Seoul, ,, ...	45	36	8	8	29	10	24	1	20
,, Kiu Kiang, China	46	38	8	8	29	12	24	1	22

Table as on p. 212.

Habitat. Corea and China (Kiu Kiang).

Closely allied to *T. tachydromoides*. Differs in having 8 longitudinal series of dorsal plates, 27 to 29 transverse series of ventral plates, instead of 22 to 24, in males, and a single femoral pore.

4. Tachydromus septentrionalis, Gthr.

Tachydromus septentrionalis, Günth. Rept. Brit. Ind., p. 70, pl. viii, fig. E.[1] (1864), and Ann. and Mag. N.H. (6) i. 1888, p. 166; Boettg. Ber. Senck. Ges. 1894, pp. 139, 145; Bouleng. Proc. Zool. Soc., 1899, p. 161, fig.; Werner, Abh. Bayer. Ak. 2, xxii, 1903, p. 354; Van Denb. Proc. Calif. Ac. (4) iii, 1912, p. 242.

Tachydromus tachydromoides, part., Bouleng. Cat. Liz. iii, p. 5 (1887).

Takydromus septentrionalis, part., Stejneg. Herp. Japan, p. 232 (1907).

Body not or but slightly depressed. Head feebly convex or even quite flat above, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ times as long as broad, its depth equal to the distance between the anterior corner or the centre of the eye and the tympanum, its length $3\frac{2}{3}$ to $4\frac{1}{5}$ times in length to vent in males, 4 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ times in females; snout pointed, with strong canthus and nearly vertical loreal region, as long as the postocular part of the head. Pileus 2 to $2\frac{1}{5}$ times as long as broad. Neck narrower than the head. The hind limb reaches the wrist, the elbow, or the axil in females, the axil or the shoulder in males; foot 1 to $1\frac{1}{3}$ times as long as the head. Tail $2\frac{1}{3}$ to $3\frac{1}{3}$ times as long as head and body.

Nostril pierced between 3, rarely 4, shields. Rostral not entering the nostril, often narrowly in contact with the frontonasal,[2] which is as long as broad or slightly broader than long, as broad as or a little broader than the internarial space; præfrontals forming a median suture; frontal as long as its distance from the end of the snout or a little shorter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{2}{3}$ times as long as broad, usually narrower behind than in front; parietals $1\frac{1}{3}$ to $1\frac{2}{3}$ times as long as broad; interparietal $1\frac{1}{3}$ to 2 times

[1] The male type specimen figured is represented with an intact tail, which is not the case, as may be seen from Günther's description. The tail has been imagined by the artist. Such restorations were often resorted to in those days, and have given rise to much confusion, as in the case of *Chitra indica* in the same work.

[2] In 15 specimens out of 39 examined by me; in 8 out of 12 examined by Van Denburgh.

as long as broad ; occipital small, much shorter than the interparietal, rarely nearly as large, often separated from it by one or two small shields or by the parietals meeting in the middle. 4 supraoculars, first very small and rarely broken up into 2 or 3 granules, or in contact with the frontal,[1] or absent,[2] second and third equal or second the longer, fourth small but larger than first and rarely broken up into 2 or 3 ; 4 or 5 superciliaries, first or first and second largest and usually in contact with the supraoculars ; a series of granules, rarely complete, between the supraoculars and the superciliaries. Nasal forming a suture with the anterior loreal above the postnasal,[3] often forming a very short suture with its fellow behind the rostral ; anterior loreal shorter than the second, sometimes divided into two[4] and forming a triangle with the postnasal ;[5] usually 4 upper labials, sometimes 3 or 5,[6] anterior to the subocular, which is usually narrower beneath than above. Temporal scales small, more or less distinctly keeled ; 1, 2, or 3 enlarged upper temporals, the first not in contact with the fourth supraocular ; tympanic shield present, narrow and elongate.

3 pairs of chin-shields,[7] the first or first and second meeting in the middle; 20 to 30 gular scales between the symphysis of the chin-shields and the median collar-plate, anterior granular and smooth, posterior enlarged, imbricate, pointed and keeled, and merging gradually into the collar, which is composed of 8 to 12 pointed, keeled plates.

Dorsal plates obtusely pointed or rounded behind, in 4 longitudinal series, with 1 or 2 series of smaller plates on the median line, and rarely[8] with an additional series of smaller plates between the two outer series, making 5 to 8 altogether in the middle of the body ; often 6, 7, or 8 in front and 4 or 5 behind ; 2 to 4 series of keeled scales near the ventral plates, separated from the dorsals by a granular area. Ventral plates in 8 longitudinal and 24 to 30 (usually 26 to 28) transverse series, obtusely pointed, more or less strongly keeled, and shortly mucronate. 34 to 48 plates and scales round the middle of the body (usually 35 to 40). Præanal plate moderately large or rather small, smooth, rarely feebly bicarinate and longitudinally bisected,[9] often not broader than long, with smaller, usually keeled plates in front and on the sides.

Upper surface of limbs with rhombic keeled scales and granules. A single femoral pore on each side. Subdigital lamellæ partly single and partly divided, mostly divided, 23 to 29 under the fourth toe.

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[1] In a male from Kiu Kiang.

[2] In a female from Kiu Kiang and in a young from Da-zel Valley, Chikiang.

[3] Unless its posterior part be severed to form a second postnasal, as in a female from Kiu Kiang.

[4] In 4 specimens from Kiu Kiang, in one from Da-zel Valley, and in one from Kuatun.

[5] As in *Lacerta agilis*. – In a male from Kiu Kiang, the postnasal forms a suture with the second loreal, below the anterior.

[6] 3 on both sides in a female from Kiu Kiang, on one side in a female from Chusan and in a young from Che King near Chusan ; 5 on both sides in a male from Kuatun and in a female from Ningpo ; on one side in two males from Kiu Kiang and in a female from Shanghai.

[7] 3 on one side and 4 on the other in two specimens from Kiu Kiang and in another from Kuatun. A similar example of asymmetry has been recorded by Werner.

[8] Male and female from Kuatun, female from Shanghai. [9] Female from Kiu Kiang.

Caudal scales strongly keeled and shortly mucronate, the keels forming 4 very strong ridges on the upper surface of the basal part of the tail, the whorls nearly equal in length, the fourth or fifth containing 14 to 18 scales.

Olive, brown, or coppery red on the back, olive, green, or blue on the sides, usually with a light greenish, often black-edged dorsolateral streak, starting from the superciliary edge; a more or less distinct dark canthal streak and a dark band on the temple and side of neck, or continued along the body, sometimes with blue spots, edged below, but no further than the shoulder, by a light streak starting from the lower eyelid. Lower parts yellow, often greenish on the sides.

Measurements, in millimetres.	1.	2.	3.	4.
From end of snout to vent	75	69	67	65
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, fore limb	26	27	24	25
Head	18	17	16	16
Width of head	11	11	10	10
Depth of head	10	10	8	8
Fore limb	27	27	23	24
Hind limb	37	36	32	32
Foot	19	19	17	17
Tail	—	245	205	155

1. ♂, Ningpo, type. 2. ♂, Kuatun. 3. ♀ Kuatun. 4. ♀, Kiu Kiang.

Particulars of specimens examined.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
♂, Ningpo, type	75	36	6	8	28	10	25	1	25
♀ ,, ,,	47	38	6	8	28	12	25	1	25
♂ ,,	60	38	7	8	27	10	29	1	27
♀ ,,	72	36	6	8	30	11	25	1	27
♂, Snowy Valley, Ningpo.	71	35	7	8	27	11	24	1	27
♀, Shanghai	65	40	7	8	26	10	23	1	24
,, ,,	56	48	8	8	28	11	28	1	26
,, Chusan	68	36	6	8	27	10	23	1	26
,, Kiu Kiang	65	37	5	8	29	11	22	1	26
♂, Kiu Kiang Mts.	66	35	5	8	27	10	25	1	24
,, ,, ,, ,,	65	37	6	8	27	9	20	1	25
,, ,, ,, ,,	65	40	6	8	26	11	25	1	25
,, ,, ,, ,,	65	35	5	8	27	12	28	1	25
,, ,, ,, ,,	62	38	5	8	26	11	27	1	25
,, ,, ,, ,,	60	39	5	8	24	10	22	1	24
,, ,, ,, ,,	56	39	6	8	26	11	28	1	26
,, ,, ,, ,,	51	40	6	8	26	10	25	1	26
♀ ,, ,, ,,	70	37	6	8	29	10	30	1	26
,, ,, ,, ,,	70	36	5	8	28	11	24	1	24
,, ,, ,, ,,	69	34	6	8	28	9	23	1	23
,, ,, ,, ,,	65	34	6	8	28	8	22	1	27
,, ,, ,, ,	65	41	6	8	28	12	26	1	25
,, ,, ,, ,,	58	35	5	8	27	11	20	1	23
,, ,, ,, ,,	57	38	5	8	27	11	26	1	23

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
♂, Kuatun	69	35	5	8	26	11	22	1	26
,, ,, ...	69	38	6	8	28	12	24	1	25
,, ,, ...	68	39	6	8	27	10	25	1	29
♀ ,, ...	70	38	6	8	28	11	26	1	28
,, ,, ...	67	38	8	8	28	11	23	1	25
,, ,, ...	67	44	8	8	28	10	25	1	26

Table as on p. 212.

Habitat. China along the Yang-tse-Kiang, north-west to the Province of Kansu, south-east to Fokien.

With an insufficient material, in 1887, I unfortunately united this species with *T. tachydromoides*, from which it is perfectly distinct, differing chiefly in the number of chin-shields and of femoral pores, as well as in the constantly keeled ventral plates. The first two characters are not known to suffer any exceptions in the two species here compared, although large series have been examined by me and by others; and this is very remarkable considering that the number of chin-shields certainly varies in *T. smaragdinus* and *T. sexlineatus*, as observed by Van Denburgh, by Stoliczka, and by Annandale, whilst specimens with either one or two femoral pores occur in *T. formosanus* and *T. sexlineatus*.

5. Tachydromus formosanus, Blgr.

Tachydromus formosanus, Bouleng. Ann. and Mag. N.H. (6) xiv, 1894, p. 462; Stejneg. Herp. Japan, p. 235 (1907); Van Denb. Proc. Calif. Ac. (4) iii, 1912, p. 245.
Takydromus septentrionalis, part., Stejneg. op. cit., p. 232.
Takydromus stejnegeri, Van Denb. t.c., p. 243.

Body not or but slightly depressed. Head feebly convex, $1\frac{3}{5}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ times as long as broad, its depth equal to the distance between the anterior corner or the centre of the eye and the tympanum, its length $3\frac{2}{3}$ to 4 times in length to vent in males, 4 to $4\frac{1}{4}$ times in females; snout pointed, with strong canthus and nearly vertical loreal region, as long as the postocular part of the head. Pileus 2 to $2\frac{1}{5}$ times as long as broad. Neck narrower than the head. The hind limb reaches the elbow in females, the axil or the shoulder in males; foot 1 to $1\frac{1}{5}$ times as long as the head. Tail 2 to $3\frac{3}{5}$ times as long as head and body.

Nostril pierced between 3 shields. Rostral not entering the nostril, rarely in contact with the frontonasal,[1] which is as long as broad or a little broader, or longer than broad and in contact with the frontal;[2] præfrontals usually forming a median suture, or separated by an azygos shield;[3] frontal as long as its distance from the end of the snout, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ times as long as broad, a little narrower behind than in front; parietals $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as long as broad; interparietal $1\frac{1}{3}$ to 2 times as long as broad; occipital small, much shorter than the interparietal, often separated from it by the parietals meeting in the middle. 4 supraoculars, first very small,

[1] In 27 specimens out of 283 examined by Van Denburgh (about 10 p.c.).
[2] In a male from Taipeh and in another from Punkiho.
[3] In a female from Punkiho.

rarely absent,[1] second and third equal or second the longer, fourth small but larger than first; 4 or 5 superciliaries, first or first and second longest, first in contact with the supraoculars,[2] followed by a series of granules, or series of granules complete. Nasal forming a suture with the anterior loreal, above the postnasal, usually forming a short suture with its fellow behind the rostral; anterior loreal shorter than the second; usually 4 upper labials, rarely 3,[3] anterior to the subocular, which is narrower beneath than above. Temporal scales small, obtusely keeled; a large anterior upper temporal, not in contact with the fourth supraocular, usually followed by one or two smaller shields; tympanic shield present, narrow and elongate.

3 pairs of chin-shields,[4] the first or first and second meeting in the middle; 20 to 29 gular scales between the symphysis of the chin-shields and the median collar-plate, anterior granular and smooth, posterior enlarged, imbricate, pointed and keeled, merging gradually into the collar, which is composed of 10 to 12 pointed, keeled plates; no gular fold.

Dorsal plates obtusely pointed or rounded behind, in 6 longitudinal series, usually with 1 or 2 series of smaller plates on the median line, making 6 to 8 altogether in the middle of the body; usually 8 or 10 in front and 6 or 7 behind; 2 or 3 series of keeled scales near the ventral plates, separated from the dorsals by a granular area. Ventral plates in 8, or more frequently in 10,[5] longitudinal and 27 to 33 transverse series, obtusely pointed, strongly keeled, and shortly mucronate. 33 to 38 plates and scales round the middle of the body. Præanal plate moderately broad, sometimes not broader than long, smooth or feebly bicarinate, rarely longitudinally bisected,[6] with smaller keeled plates in front and on the sides.

Upper surface of limbs with rhombic keeled scales and granules. One or two femoral pores on each side.[7] 24 to 29 lamellar scales under the fourth toe.

Caudal scales strongly keeled and shortly mucronate, the keels forming 4 very strong ridges on the upper surface of the basal part of the tail, the whorls nearly equal in length, the fourth or fifth containing 14 to 18 scales.

Brownish olive above, sometimes with darker spots which may form lines along the keels of the dorsal plates; often a yellowish or greenish white dorso-lateral streak, starting from the superciliary edge; a dark streak from the nostril to the eye, and a dark band on the temple and on the side of the neck, often continued on the body, where it may be spotted with greenish white, a light streak from the lower eyelid,

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[1] 4 specimens present this exception, according to Van Denburgh.

[2] The rule in *T. stejnegeri* of Van Denburg; in 9 specimens examined by him the series of granules between the supraoculars and the superciliaries is complete, as is the rule in the typical *T. formosanus*.

[3] 3 on each side in a male from Punkiho and in a female from Kanshirei.

[4] 4 shields on one side in two specimens examined by Van Denburgh.

[5] Van Denburgh says the ventrals are in 8 rows, not reckoning as such the adjacent plates which are often quite as long and must be regarded as ventrals.

[6] In one of the types from C. Formosa.—Two keeled plates in 3 specimens and two smooth plates in one of *T. stejnegeri*, two keeled plates in 4 specimens and two smooth plates in 2 of *T. formosanus* (out of 178), according to Van Denburgh.

[7] Van Denburgh found 2 pores on one side in one specimen referred by him to *T. stejnegeri*; the specimens with a single pore (with 9 exceptions out of 284 specimens) are regarded as typical *T. formosanus*.

through the lower part of the ear-opening, to the shoulder, sometimes continued on the side of the body. A black streak on the hinder side of the thigh. Lower parts yellowish or greenish white.

Measurements, in millimetres.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
From end of snout to vent	41	45	44	50	45	52
,, ,, ,, fore limb	16	17	17	21	18	19
Head	10	12	10	13	11	12
Width of head	6	7	6	8	7	7
Depth of head	5	6	5	6	6	6
Fore limb	14	15	15	18	16	16
Hind limb	20	22	21	26	23	23
Foot	11	12	10	15	13	13
Tail	87	—	122	165	138	140

1. ♀, Taiwanfoo, type. 2. ♂, C. Formosa, type. 3. ♀, C. Formosa, type. 4. ♂, Taipeh, co-type of *T. stejnegeri*. 5. ♂, Punkiho. 6. ♀, Kanshirei.

Particulars of specimens examined.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
♀, Taiwanfoo, type	41	36	8	10	32	10	23	2	24
♂, Central Formosa, type	45	35	7	8	29	12	22	2	25
♀ ,, ,, ,, ...	46	36	7	10	30	10	24	2	24
,, ,, ,, ,, ...	44	37	8	10	31	11	28	2	24
,, ,, ,, ,, ...	41	38	7	10	30	11	29	2	24
♂, Taipeh, co-type of *T. stejnegeri*. ..	50	34	6	8	28	11	26	1	29
,, Tainan, ,, ,, ..	47	36	7	10	29	11	26	1	26
,, Punkiho	45	35	7	10	27	11	20	1	25
♀, ,, ...	32	34	7	10	22	12	25	1	25
,, Kanshirei[1]	52	33	8	10	30	10	23	1	24
,, Tamsui	44	37	8	8	30	12	25	1	24

Table as on p. 212.

Habitat. Formosa and Pascadores Islands.

T. formosanus is very closely allied to *T. septentrionalis*, differing in the presence of 6 series of large plates along the back instead of 4, and by the frequent presence of 10 series of ventral plates instead of 8. The size is smaller and the green colour is absent from the sides. I am convinced that Van Denburgh's proposal to separate this species into two, one with normally two femoral pores (*T. formosanus*), the other with one (*T. stejnegeri*) is untenable, the general agreement being too great and the supposed distinctive characters too slight and too inconstant to justify such a course.

6. Tachydromus khasiensis, sp.n.

Tachydromus sexlineatus, part., Bouleng. Cat. Liz. iii, p. 4 (1887), and Faun. Ind., Rept., p. 169 (1890); Günth. Ann. and Mag. N.H. (6) i, 1888, p. 167.

Body scarcely depressed. Head about $1\frac{3}{4}$ times as long as broad, its depth equal to the distance between the centre of the eye and the tympanum, its length

[1] This specimen was received from the Museum of the California Academy under the name of *T. stejnegeri*. Yet in his description Van Denburgh refers all the specimens from Kanshurei to *T. formosanus*, thus showing the uncertainty in distinguishing the two supposed species. The author rightly observed that unfortunately no one of the distinctive characters is absolutely constant in all specimens.

4 to $4\frac{1}{3}$ times in length to vent in males, $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 times in females; snout pointed, with sharp canthus and nearly vertical loreal region, as long as the postocular part of the head. Pileus twice as long as broad. Neck narrower than the head. Hind limb reaching the wrist in females, the elbow in males; foot as long as the head. Tail a little over twice the length of head and body.

Nostril pierced between 3 to 5 shields. Rostral usually entering the nostril; upper head-shields rugose; frontonasal broader than long, not or but slightly broader than the internarial space; præfrontals forming an extensive suture; frontal as long as or shorter than its distance from the end of the snout, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{2}{3}$ times as long as broad, of subequal width throughout or a little narrower behind than in front; parietals $1\frac{1}{3}$ to $1\frac{2}{3}$ times as long as broad; interparietal $1\frac{1}{3}$ to 2 times as long as broad, much longer than the occipital, which may be broader. 3 supraoculars, first longer than the second and usually in contact with the second loreal; 3 superciliaries, second longest; no granules between the supraoculars and the superciliaries. Nasal forming a suture with its fellow behind the rostral and with the anterior loreal above the postnasal, which may be very small or absent, in which case the loreal borders the nostril; anterior loreal shorter than the second; 3 or 4 upper labials[1] anterior to the subocular, which is not or but little narrower beneath than above. Temporal scales moderately large or rather small, hexagonal, keeled; 1, 2, or 3 large upper temporals, first sometimes in contact with the fourth supraocular; a long and narrow tympanic shield.

3 pairs of chin-shields, first and second in contact in the middle. 17 to 22 gular scales in the median line, anterior narrow, juxtaposed, smooth or faintly keeled, posterior increasing in size, imbricate, keeled, and merging gradually into the collar, the plates of which are very distinct, pointed, keeled, and 10 or 11 in number.

Dorsal plates truncate or shortly mucronate behind, in 6 or 8 longitudinal series on the neck, in 4 on the body. Ventral plates obtusely pointed or shortly mucronate, strongly keeled, in 12 longitudinal and 22 to 25 transverse series. Sides with one upper and one lower series of smaller keeled scales and a median granular area. 26 to 28 plates and scales round the middle of the body. Præanal plate rather large, smooth or feebly bicarinate, bordered by a semicircle of small keeled plates.

Upper surface of limbs with rhombic keeled scales. 2 or 3 femoral pores on each side. Subdigital lamellæ single, 19 or 20 under the fourth toe.

Caudal scales strongly keeled and mucronate, the keels forming 4 very strong ridges on the upper surface of the basal part of the tail; the whorls nearly equal in length, the fourth or fifth containing 14 or 16 scales.

Olive above, with a yellowish or greenish white, usually black-edged dorso-lateral streak starting from the superciliary edge; a dark lateral band from the nostril, through the eye and involving the upper half of the ear-opening, to the tail, edged below by a light streak. Lower parts greenish white (in spirit). Tail reddish in the young.

[1] 3 in two specimens, 4 in two, 3—4 in the two others.

Measurements, in millimetres.	♂	♀
From end of snout to vent	48	51
„ „ „ „ „ fore limb	19	17
Head	11	10·5
Width of head	6·5	6
Depth of head	5	5
Fore limb	16	15
Hind limb	20	21
Foot	11	11
Tail	—	108

Particulars of specimens examined.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
♂	48	27	4	12	24	11	21	3-2	19
„	48	26	4	12	24	10	19	3	?
„	44	26	4	12	22	11	18	2	19
♀	53	28	4	12	23	10	22	2	20
„	51	28	4	12	25	10	21	2	19

Table as on p. 212.

Habitat. Khasi hills, near Assam. Six specimens, from the collection of Dr. T. C. Jerdon, are preserved in the British Museum. Jerdon referred them to *T. sexlineatus* (Proc. As. Soc. Beng. 1870, p. 72).

This species may be regarded as intermediate between *T. tachydromoides* and *T. sexlineatus*, as observed by Günther in 1888: "Specimens of *T. sexlineatus* from Khassya, in the British Museum, have on the whole a somewhat shorter and less tapering snout, also shorter toes than the typical form, and approach in these respects *T. meridionalis*."

7. Tachydromus smaragdinus, Blgr.

Tachydromus smaragdinus, Bouleng. Proc. Zool. Soc. 1887, p. 147, pl. xvii, fig. 2, and pl. xviii, fig. 1, and Cat. Liz. iii, p. 509 (1887); Günth. Ann. and Mag. N.H. (6) i, 1888, p. 168; Stejneg. Herp. Japan, p. 236, fig. (1907); Van Denb. Proc. Calif. Ac. (4) iii, 1912, p. 247.

Body scarcely depressed. Head twice or nearly twice as long as broad, its depth equal to the distance between the centre of the eye and the tympanum, its length $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 times in length to vent in males, 4 to $4\frac{1}{4}$ times in females; snout acutely pointed, with sharp canthus and nearly vertical loreal region, a little longer than the postocular part of the head. Pileus $2\frac{1}{5}$ to $2\frac{1}{3}$ times as long as broad. Neck narrower than the head. Hind limb reaching the elbow or the axil in females, the axil or the shoulder in males; foot a little longer than the head. Tail $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{3}$ times as long as head and body.

Nostril pierced between 3 or 4 shields. Rostral sometimes entering the nostril; frontonasal as long as broad or longer than broad; præfrontals forming a usually extensive suture: frontal as long as or a little shorter than its distance from the end of the snout, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 times as long as broad, narrower behind than in front; parietals $1\frac{1}{3}$ to $1\frac{2}{3}$ times as long as broad, often separated from the very small occipital by one

or two small shields or by the parietals meeting in the middle. 3 or 4 supraoculars,[1] first, if present, very small or reduced to a granule, second usually longer than the third, fourth small and sometimes broken up into granules; 4 or 5 superciliaries, first and second elongate, first often in contact with the second supraocular; a complete or incomplete series of granules between the supraoculars and the superciliaries. Nasal usually forming a suture with its fellow behind the rostral[2] and with the anterior loreal above the postnasal, which may be very small or absent;[3] anterior loreal shorter than the second; 4, rarely 5,[4] upper labials anterior to the subocular, which is usually not or but little narrower beneath than above. Temporal scales very small, granular, obtusely keeled, 10 to 15 on a line between the orbit and the tympanum; an enlarged anterior upper temporal, exceptionally[5] in contact with the fourth supraocular; a very narrow tympanic shield usually present.

3 pairs of chin-shields, first or first and second, exceptionally all three,[6] in contact in the middle. 21 to 34 gular scales in the median line, anterior granular and faintly keeled, posterior increasing in size, imbricate, keeled, and merging gradually into the plates of the very distinct collar, which are pointed, keeled, and 10 to 13 in number.

Dorsal plates truncate, obtusely pointed or rounded behind, in 8 or 10, rarely 7, longitudinal series on the body, equal or the median pair smaller and more irregular, often in 10 series anteriorly and 7 posteriorly. A lateral series of large keeled scales, corresponding to the light lateral streak, separated from the ventral plates by 2 or 3 series of smaller scales and from the dorsals by a broad granular area. Ventral plates pointed and mucronate, strongly keeled, in 6 or 8 longitudinal and 26 to 31 transverse series. 37 to 45 plates and scales round the middle of the body. Præanal plate rather large, entire and often bicarinate in males, usually longitudinally divided in females, with smaller keeled plates on the sides.

Upper surface of limbs with rhombic keeled scales. A single femoral pore on each side. Subdigital lamellæ mostly divided, 23 to 27 (exceptionally 31) under the fourth toe.

Caudal scales strongly keeled and shortly mucronate, in subequal whorls, the fourth containing 14 to 18 scales.

Bright green above; a pale yellow streak along each side, from the upper lip to the groin or to above the axil, passing below the tympanum;[7] males usually with a broad grey or bronzy lateral band above the yellow streak. Lower parts greenish yellow.

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[1] Of the 11 type specimens before me, 5 have 4 supraoculars, 5 have 3, and one has 4 on one side and 3 on the other In the original description I noted 4 supraoculars in 19 cases out of 26.

[2] Van Denburgh finds the rostral in contact with the frontonasal in about 69 p. cent. of the specimens from Amami, in about 10 p. cent. of those from Kikaiga, and in about 5 p. cent of those from Okinawa.

[3] Absent in one specimen. [4] On one side only in 3 specimens

[5] In one specimen.

[6] In one specimen.—Van Denburgh finds, 4 pairs in 12 cases, and 3 on one side and 4 on the other in 16, out of 151 specimens.

[7] The specimens from Miyako examined by Van Denburgh show no trace of the light lateral streak, even on the head. In some of the specimens from the Northern islands there is a light dorso-lateral streak.

Measurements, in millimetres.	♂	♀
From end of snout to vent	50	55
„ „ „ „ „ fore limb	18	20
Head	12	13
Width of head	6·5	7
Depth of head	5	6
Fore limb	20	20
Hind limb	27	27
Foot	15	14
Tail	137	152

Particulars of specimens examined (the types).

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
♂	56	42	8	8	29	10	21	1	24
„	50	39	8	6	26	13	22	1	27
„	49	37	8	6	32	10	27	1	26
„	47	38	9	6	29	11	27	1	24
„	46	38	10	8	28	12	25	1	25
„	45	39	9	6	29	10	25	1	23
♀	55	40	10	6	29	12	27	1	24
„	54	45	9	6	28	12	34	1	26
„	54	40	9	6	29	12	29	1	31
„	49	39	8	6	31	12	27	1	26
„	44	37	7	6	30	13	29	1	27

Table as on p. 212.

Habitat. Loo Choo or Riu Kiu Islands: Okinawa, Miyakoshima, Amami, Oshima, and Kikaiga.

According to Van Denburgh, the specimens from Miyakoshima have the ventrals in 8 longitudinal series and lack the light lateral streak, whilst those from the other islands have the ventrals in 6 series, rarely 8, and the light lateral streak is present.

This is a very sharply defined species, equally remote from *T. septentrionalis* and from *T. sexlineatus*, although occupying a somewhat intermediate position between the two as regards form and lepidosis.

8. **Tachydromus sauteri**, Van Denb.

Takydromus sauteri, Van Denb. Proc. Calif. Ac. (4) iii. 1909, p. 50, and t.c. 1912, p. 251.

Body scarcely depressed. Head twice or nearly twice as long as broad, its depth equal to the distance between the centre of the eye and the tympanum, its length 4 times in length to vent in males, $4\frac{1}{4}$ times in females; snout acutely pointed, with sharp canthus and nearly vertical loreal region, a little longer than the postocular part of the head. Pileus $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{3}$ times as long as broad. Neck narrower than the head. Hind limb reaching the elbow in females, the axil in males; foot a little longer than the head. Tail $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 times as long as head and body.

Nostril pierced between 4 or 5 shields. Rostral entering the nostril; frontonasal

longer than broad; præfrontals forming an extensive suture; frontal a little shorter than its distance from the end of the snout, $1\frac{2}{3}$ times as long as broad, narrower behind than in front; parietals $1\frac{2}{3}$ times as long as broad; interparietal $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{2}{3}$ times as long as broad, separated from the very small occipital by the parietals meeting in the middle. 4 supraoculars, first very small, second longer than the third, fourth small but larger than the first; 3 superciliaries, first and second elongate; a complete series of granules between the supraoculars and the superciliaries. Nasal usually forming a suture with its fellow behind the rostral[1] and in contact with the anterior loreal above the postnasal, unless its posterior portion be detached to form a second postnasal;[2] anterior loreal as long as or shorter than the second; 4 upper labials[3] anterior to the subocular, which is not or but little narrower beneath than above. Temporal scales very small, granular, obtusely keeled, 12 on a line between the orbit and the tympanum; a feebly enlarged anterior upper temporal; a very narrow tympanic shield.

4 pairs of chin-shields,[4] the 3 anterior in contact in the middle. 22 to 24 gular scales in the median line, anterior granular and faintly keeled, posterior increasing in size, imbricate, keeled, and merging gradually into the plates of the very distinct collar, which are pointed, keeled, and 10 to 12 in number.

Dorsal plates obtusely pointed or rounded behind, in 7 or 8 longitudinal series on the body, the median smaller.[5] Ventral plates obtusely pointed and mucronate, very strongly keeled, in 6 longitudinal and 27 or 28 transverse series. 2 or 3 series of keeled scales on the side above the ventral plates, separated from the dorsals by a broad granular area. 28 to 32 plates and scales round the middle of the body. Præanal plate rather larger,[6] bicarinate, with one or two smaller keeled plates on each side.

Upper surface of limbs with rhombic keeled scales. A single femoral pore on each side. Subdigital lamellæ single, or partly single and partly paired, 24 under the fourth toe.

Caudal scales strongly keeled and shortly mucronate, in subequal whorls, the fourth containing 12 or 14 scales.

Bright green above; a white streak along each side, from the upper lip to the groin, passing below the tympanum and along the upper half of the outer row of ventral plates, continued on the base of the tail. Limbs and tail often reddish. One of the specimens described by Van Denburgh has a dark red-brown band along the side, from the eye, just above the white streak, to the tail, where it spreads over the upper surface. Lower parts white.

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[1] Rostral in contact with the frontonasal in 2 specimens out of 51 examined by Van Denburgh.

[2] As in one of the two specimens here described.

[3] 5 in the type specimen described by Van Denburgh.

[4] 5 in one specimen, 3—4 in another, according to Van Denburgh.

[5] According to Van Denburgh, there are usually two median series of small plates anteriorly and one posteriorly, or 3—2—1, 2—1—0, 1 throughout, or 1—0. One specimen has only 1 row of large plates on each side of the back, separated by about 7 rows of smaller, irregular plates

[6] Exceptionally divided, according to Van Denburgh.

Measurements, in millimetres.	♂	♀
From end of snout to vent	52	55
„ „ „ „ „ fore limb	19	19
Head	13	13
Width of head	7	6·5
Depth of head	6	5·5
Fore limb	22	20
Hind limb	26	26
Foot	15	14
Tail	200	195

Particulars of specimens examined.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
♂, Cochun	52	28	7	6	27	12	22	1	24
♀ „	55	32	8	6	28	10	24	1	24

Table as on p. 212.

Habitat. Formosa.

Closely allied to *T. smaragdinus*, but readily distinguished by the number of chin-shields, the lower number of plates and scales round the middle of the body, the longer tail, and the position of the light lateral streak.

9. Tachydromus sexlineatus, Daud.

Takydromus sexlineatus, Daud. Hist. Rept. iii, p. 256, pl. xxxix (1802); Brongn. Mém. Sav. Etr. Ac. Paris, i. 1806, p. 627, pl. ii, fig. 8; Dum. et Bibr. Erp. Gén. v, p. 158 (1839); Gray, Cat. Liz., p. 52 (1845); Günth. Rept. Brit. Ind., p. 69, pl. viii, fig. C. (1864); Stoliczka, Journ. As. Soc. Beng. xii, 1872, p. 87; Günth. Nov. Zool. ii. 1895, p. 499; Laidlaw, Proc. Zool. Soc. 1901, p. 310; Annandale, Journ. As. Soc. Beng. (2) i. 1905, p. 140; Bouleng. Vert. Faun. Mal. Pen., Rept., p. 79 (1912); De Rooij, Rept. Ind.-Mal. Arch. i, p. 154, fig. (1915).

Takydromus quadrilineatus, Daud. t. c., p. 252.

Tachydromus ocellatus (Cuv.), Guér. Icon. R. An., Rept. pl. vi, fig. 3 (1829); Duvern. R. An., Rept. pl. xi (1836).

Tachydromus typus, Gray, Ann. N.H. i. 1838, p. 389.

Tachydromus sexlineatus, var. *æneofuscus*, Peters. Mon. Berl. Ac. 1863, p. 405.

Tachydromus meridionalis, Günth. Rept. Brit. Ind. p. 70, pl. viii, fig. D, and Ann. and Mag. N.H. (6) i. 1888, p. 167.

Tachydromus sexlineatus, part., Bouleng. Cat. Liz. iii, p. 4 (1887), and Faun. Ind., Rept. p. 169 (1890); Günth. Ann. and Mag. N.H. (6) i. 1888, p. 167.

Tachydromus sikkimensis, Günth l.c.

Body not depressed. Head about twice as long as broad, its depth equal to the distance between the centre of the eye and the tympanum, its length $3\frac{2}{3}$ to $4\frac{1}{6}$ times in length to vent in males, 4 to $4\frac{1}{3}$ times in females; snout acutely pointed, with sharp canthus and nearly vertical loreal region, as long as the postocular part of the head. Pileus $2\frac{1}{5}$ to $2\frac{1}{3}$ times as long as broad. Neck narrower than the head. Hind limb reaching the elbow or the axil; foot as long as or a little longer than the head Tail 3 to 5 times as long as head and body.

Nostril pierced between 3 or 4 shields. Rostral sometimes entering the nostril; upper head-shields smooth or feebly rugose; frontonasal as long as broad or longer

than broad; præfrontals forming a median suture;[1] frontal as long as or shorter than its distance from the end of the snout, 1½ to 2 times as long as broad, narrower behind than in front; parietals 1⅔ to 2 times as long as broad; interparietal 1½ to 2 times as long as broad; occipital usually shorter than the interparietal, sometimes nearly as long and a little broader, sometimes separated from it by one[2] or two[3] small shields, or by the parietals meeting in the middle.[4] 3 supraoculars, first longer than the second and in contact with the second, loreal, third small and rarely[5] in contact with the frontoparietal; 3, very rarely 4, superciliaries, second longest; granules between the supraoculars and the superciliaries absent or reduced to one or two. Nasal usually forming a very short suture with its fellow behind the rostral[6] and with the anterior loreal above the postnasal;[7] anterior loreal shorter than the second; 4 upper labials, rarely 3[8] or 5,[9] anterior to the subocular, which is narrower beneath than above. Temporal scales moderately large, rhombic or hexagonal, strongly keeled; one, two, or three large, keeled upper temporals, first very rarely[10] in contact with the fourth supraocular; a long and narrow tympanic shield.

3 pairs of chin-shields,[11] first or first and second in contact in the middle; 15 to 24 gular scales on the median line, anterior narrow, juxtaposed, feebly keeled, then increasing in size, imbricate, pointed, keeled, and merging gradually into the rather indistinct collar, which is composed of 8 to 12 plates.

Dorsal plates truncate and shortly mucronate behind, in 6 or 8 longitudinal series on the neck, 4 or 6 on the anterior part of the body; 4, very rarely 6, in the middle of the body, 4 on the lumbar region.[12] Ventral plates obtusely pointed and shortly mucronate, strongly keeled, in 10 or 12 longitudinal and 21 to 28 transverse series. A rather irregular series of large keeled scales borders the ventral plates and is separated from the dorsals by a granular area. 28 to 38 plates and scales round the middle of the body. Præanal plate rather large, more or less distinctly bicarinate, with smaller keeled plates on the sides.

Upper surface of limbs with rhombic keeled scales. 1 or 2, very rarely 3, femoral pores on each side.[13] Subdigital lamellæ single or partly divided, 18 to 26 under the fourth toe, usually 21 to 26.

---

[1] Separated by one or two small shields in one specimen from Saigon and in another from Borneo.

[2] In one specimen from Borneo. [3] In one specimen from Saigon.

[4] Single specimens from S. China, Saigon, Rangoon and Java.

[5] One specimen from S. China, one from Saigon, and two from Great Natuna.

[6] In single specimens from Ma Son Mts., Great Natuna, and Borneo, the rostral is narrowly in contact with the frontonasal.

[7] In one specimen from Saigon the posterior portion of the nasal is detached to form a second postnasal; the postnasal is absent on one side in a specimen from Matang.

[8] On both side in one specimen from Great Natuna and in one from Java; on one side in one from Matang and in one from Java.

[9] On one side in two specimens from Saigon and in one from Great Natuna. [10] In one specimen from Matang.

[11] There are exceptions. Out of 25 specimens from Sikkim Stoliczka found 4 with 4 pairs and one with 3 shields on one side and 4 on the other. Annandale found 2 with 4 pairs out of 27 from the Eastern Himalayas, Assam and Burma.

[12] There is sometimes irregularity on the two sides of the same specimen; thus in a female from Siam there are 2 plates on one side and 3 on the other in the two transverse series of dorsal plates just before the middle of the body.

[13] Stoliczka's statement that they vary from 3 to 6 in Sikkim specimens requires confirmation. The specimens on which his description is based are not in the Calcutta Museum, Dr. Annandale informs me.

Caudal scales strongly keeled and mucronate, the keels forming 4 very strong ridges on the upper surface of the basal part of the tail, the whorls nearly equal in length, the fourth or fifth containing 12 to 18 scales.

Greenish olive, bronze brown, or reddish above, with metallic gloss; usually a white or whitish dorso-lateral streak,[1] often edged with a black line or a broad black band, originating on the superciliary edge or just behind the parietal shield; the black band bordering the white streak produced on the side of the head; a white, sometimes black-edged streak from the loreal region to the shoulder, passing through the middle of the tympanum, sometimes continued on the side of the body; males often with a series of small white, black-edged ocelli above the lower lateral streak; hinder side of thigh often with a black streak; limbs and tail often reddish. Lower parts yellowish or greenish white.

Measurements, in millimetres.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
From end of snout to vent	45	49	57	57	61
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, fore limb	17	18	22	21	21
Head	11	12	14	14	14
Width of head	6	6	7	7	7
Depth of head	5·5	5·5	7	6	6
Fore limb	17	16	20	20	20
Hind limb	23	22	29	28	28
Foot	12	12	15	14	14
Tail	145	200	280	215	255

1. ♂, S. China, type of *T. meridionalis*. 2. ♀, ditto. 3. ♂, Great Natuna. 4. ♂, Java. 5. ♀, Matang.

Particulars of specimens examined.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
♂, Amoy, China	52	28	4	12	23	10	18	1	21
,, S. China (type of T. *meridionalis*)	45	33	4	12	22	9	20	1	21
♀, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	53	32	4	12	24	10	19	1	18
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	49	31	4	12	24	11	22	1	21
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	41	30	4	12	25	10	17	1	19
♂, Man Son Mts., Tonkin	55	32	4	12	25	9	20	1	22
,, Saigon (Lataste Coll.)	60	37	4	10	26	11	23	1	22
,, ,,	53	32	4	10	25	10	18	1	22
,, ,,	53	34	4	10	22	11	20	1	24
,, ,,	52	38	4	10	23	10	24	1	24
♀, ,,	61	33	4	10	26	10	21	1	24
,, ,,	58	34	4	10	27	10	23	1	25
,, ,,	58	34	4	10	27	8	20	1	22
♂, Sittong, Sikkim (Indian Museum).	56	30	4	10	23	10	20	3	25
♀, Rangoon	60	34	4	10	24	11	23	2	26
,, ,,	50	34	4	10	24	10	18	2	25
,, ,,	46	34	4	10	25	9	22	2	23
♂, Bangkok, Siam	57	28	4	12	24	11	20	1	21
♀, ,, ,,	51	33	4	10	23	10	23	1	22

[1] Absent in the specimens from Rangoon.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
♀, Maprit, Siam	56	30	4	10	25	10	20	1	23
♂, Jalor	52	34	6	12	23	12	22	1	21
♂, Great Natuna Id. ..	57	30	4	10	25	11	17	2	22
,, ,, ...	57	32	4	10	25	10	19	2	25
,, ,, ...	55	32	4	12	24	11	20	1	19
,, ,, ...	55	29	4	10	24	20	18	1	20
,, ,, ...	54	32	4	12	23	11	17	1	23
♀ ,, ...	60	31	4	10	23	10	19	2	26
♂, Matang, Borneo	58	34	4	10	21	11	15	2	22
♀ ,, ,, ...	61	29	4	10	22	11	18	2	22
♂, Borneo	57	32	4	10	23	10	20	2	24
,, ,, ...	55	30	4	10	23	9	19	2-1	25
♀ ,, ...	62	33	4	10	23	9	18	2	23
♂, Java	58	32	4	10	25	9	19	1	24
,, ,, ...	57	34	4	10	26	9	23	2	26
,, ,, ...	56	38	4	10	25	10	22	2	24
,, ,, ...	54	32	4	10	24	11	22	2	26
,, ,, ...	53	35	4	10	25	10	22	2	25
♀ ,, ...	49	34	4	10	28	9	23	2	26

Table as on p. 212.

Habitat. From Southern China and the Eastern Himalayas through Indo-China, Assam, Burma, Siam, and the Malay Peninsula to the Malay Archipelago (Natuna Islands, Sumatra, Banka, Borneo, Java). Reaches an altitude of 1,200 m. in Java.

10. Tachydromus haughtonianus, Jerd.

Tachydromus haughtonianus, Jerdon, Proc. As. Soc. Beng. 1870, p. 72; Anders. Proc. Zool. Soc. 1871, p. 156; Stoliczka, Journ. As. Soc. Beng. xli, 1872, p. 88; Günth. Ann. and Mag. N.H. (6) i, 1888, p. 169.

Tachydromus septentrionalis, (non Günth.), Annandale, Proc. As. Soc. Beng. (2) i, 1905, p. 139.

Body not depressed. Head $2\frac{1}{3}$ times as long as broad, its depth equal to the distance between the centre of the eye and the tympanum, its length $4\frac{1}{4}$ times in length to vent; snout acutely pointed, with sharp canthus and nearly vertical loreal region, as long as the postocular part of the head. Pileus $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as long as broad. Neck a little narrower than the head. Hind limb reaching the axil; foot as long as the head. Tail $2\frac{2}{5}$ times as long as head and body.

Nostril pierced between 4 shields. Rostral entering the nostril; upper head-shields smooth; frontonasal longer than broad; præfrontals forming a median suture; frontal shorter than its distance from the end of the snout, $1\frac{2}{3}$ times as long as broad, narrower behind than in front; parietals nearly twice as long as broad; interparietal $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as long as broad; occipital as broad as and shorter than the interparietal. 3 supraoculars, first longer than the second and in contact with the second loreal, third very small and narrowly separated from the frontoparietal; 5 superciliaries, second longest, all in contact with the supraoculars. Nasal forming a very short suture with its fellow behind the rostral and with the anterior loreal above the post-nasal; anterior loreal shorter than the second; 4 or 5 upper labials anterior to the

subocular, which is as broad beneath as above. Temporal scales very small, hexagonal, keeled; two large upper temporals, keeled above, first not in contact with the fourth supraocular; a long and narrow tympanic shield.

4 pairs of chin-shields, the 3 anterior in contact in the middle; 26 gular scales in the median line, anterior narrow, juxtaposed, smooth, posterior increasing in size, imbricate, pointed, strongly keeled, and passing gradually into the ventral plates, there being no trace of a collar.

Dorsal plates truncate and shortly mucronate behind, in 6 longitudinal series on the neck and body. Ventral plates truncate and shortly mucronate, strongly keeled, in 10 longitudinal and 30 transverse series; no large scales bordering the ventral plates. 32 plates and scales round the middle of the body. Præanal plate large, bicarinate, with smaller keeled plates on the sides.

Upper surface of limbs with rhombic keeled scales. A single femoral pore on each side.[1] Subdigital lamellæ single, 22 under the fourth toe.

Caudal scales strongly keeled and shortly mucronate, the keels forming 6 ridges on the upper surface of the basal part of the tail; the whorls nearly equal in length, the fourth containing 18 scales.

Reddish brown above, with a broad whitish streak on each side, proceeding from the superciliary edge; below this a dark brown lateral streak, proceeding from the nostril and passing through the eye and the tympanum; limbs reddish. Lower parts yellowish white.

Measurements, in millimetres.

From end of snout to vent	60
„ „ „ „ „ fore limb	23
Head	14
Wdith of head	6
Depth of head	5
Fore limb	25
Hind limb	30
Foot	16
Tail	145

This species is known from a single male specimen, from Goalpara in Assam, preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which has been kindly entrusted to me for description by Dr. Annandale.

It is closely allied to *T. sexlineatus*, but differs in the still narrower head, the shorter tail, the number of series of dorsal plates, the smaller temporal scales, and the total absence of a collar.

Platyplacopus, g. n.

Head-shields normal. Nostril pierced between the nasal, one or two postnasals, and the first upper labial. Lower eyelid scaly. Collar distinct. Back with large, plate-like, imbricate scales with strong keels forming continuous lines; sides with

[1] Günther's statement that there are 2 pores is due to a misunderstanding of Anderson's description, which mentions "one pair of femoral pores."

granular scales; ventral plates obtusely pointed, imbricate, smooth or feebly keeled. Digits slightly depressed, with large transversely elliptic smooth lamellæ inferiorly, the distal joint compressed, bent at an angle and covered with narrow lamellæ inferiorly. Femoral pores reduced to 3 to 5 on each side. Tail very long, cylindrical.

Southern China and Formosa.

Distinguished from *Tachydromus* by the structure of the digits, which reproduces the condition known in the Geckonid genus *Gymnodactylus*. In this respect it is more specialized than *Tachydromus*, whist nearer to *Lacerta* in having occasionally as many as 5 femoral pores.

1. Platyplacopus kuehnei, Van Denb.

Tachydromus kuehnei, Van Denb. Proc. Calif. Ac. (4) iii, 1909, p. 50, and t. c. 1912, p. 252; T. Vogt. Sitzb. Ges. Nat. Fr. Berl., 1914, p. 99.

Body feebly depressed. Head flat above, nearly twice as long as broad, its depth equal to the distance between the centre of the eye and the tympanum, its length $3\frac{1}{2}$ times (male) in length to vent; snout acutely pointed, as long as the postocular part of the head, with sharp canthus and vertical loreal region. Pileus slightly more than twice as long as broad. Neck narrower than the head. Hind limb reaching the axil (male); foot as long as the head. Tail more than twice as long as head and body.

Nostril pierced between 3 or 4 shields. Rostral not touching the nostril, rarely in contact with the frontonasal;[1] upper head-shields rather rough with faint striæ and pits; frontonasal a little longer than broad; præfrontals forming an extensive median suture; frontal with a median keel, a little shorter than its distance from the end of the snout, as long as the frontoparietals, $1\frac{2}{3}$ times as long as broad, a little narrower behind than in front; parietals $1\frac{2}{3}$ times as long as broad; interparietal $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as long as broad, separated from the smaller occipital by a short suture formed by the parietals. 4 supraoculars, first very small, second and third equal, fourth small; 4 superciliaries, first and second elongate, first in contact with the second supraocular and followed by a series of granules.[2] Two superposed postnasals[3]; anterior loreal much shorter than the second; 4 upper labials[3] anterior to the subocular, which is a little narrower beneath than above. Temporal scales very small, granular, keeled; an enlarged anterior upper temporal, not in contact with the fourth supraocular; a very narrow tympanic shield.

4 pairs of chin-shields, the 3 anterior in contact in the middle; 28 gular scales on the median line, anterior granular, posterior increasing in size, imbricate, feebly keeled, and merging gradually into the plates of the collar, which are pointed, feebly keeled, and 11 in number.

Dorsal plates truncate behind, in 6[4] regular longitudinal series, with a vertebral

[1] According to Vogt. [2] The series sometimes complete, according to Van Denburgh.

[3] This is probably an individual abnormality in the specimen examined by me, as no mention is made by Van Denburgh of two postnasals.

[4] 4 series in one specimen out of 13, according to Van Denburgh.

series of small scales anteriorly. Ventral plates in 6 longitudinal series, only the outer keeled; 28 transverse series. Sides minutely granular. 42 plates and granules round the middle of the body. Præanal plate rather small, bordered by one semicircle of small smooth plates.

Upper surface of limbs with rhombic keeled scales. 4 femoral pores on each side.[1] 23 lamellar scales under the fourth toe.

Caudal scales strongly keeled and shortly mucronate, the whorls alternately a little longer and shorter, the fourth containing 18 scales.

Olive-brown above, the dorso-lateral area (two rows of plates) lighter; two blackish streaks, formed of spots close together, along the middle of the back; a blackish lateral band, from the nostril, through the eye and involving the upper half of the ear-opening, to the base of the tail, dotted with whitish on the body; reproduced tail reddish. Lower parts white.

The specimen selected as the type is thus described by Van Denburgh :—

"The colour above is greenish olive, becoming lighter yellowish olive on the limbs and tail. The sides are dark olive brown. A light line, edged above with dark brown, starts at the nostril, crosses the lower eyelid, the lower part of the ear-opening, and fades away above the axilla. The upper labials, dorsals, limbs and tail are dotted or spotted with dark brown. The lower surfaces are greenish white, tinged with orange on the tail."

Measurements, in millimetres.	♂
From end of snout to vent	60
„ „ „ „ „ fore limb	24
Head	17
Width of head	9
Depth of head	7
Fore limb	23
Hind limb	32
Foot	17

Habitat. This remarkable species was described from 13 specimens from Kanshirei and Taipeh, Formosa; one of these is now preserved in the British Museum. It has since been reported from Southern China, near Canton, by T. Vogt.

Tachydromus chinensis, T. Vogt, Sitzb. Ges. Nat. Fr. Berl. 1914, p. 98, is said to be similar to *P. kuehnei*, but there are only 3 pairs of chin-shields and the ventral plates are obtusely keeled. 3 femoral pores on each side.—Northern parts of the Province Kuangtung, Southern China.

Apeltonotus, g. n.

Head-shields normal. Nostril pierced between the nasal, a postnasal, and the first upper labial. Lower eyelid scaly. Collar distinct. Dorsal scales small, hexagonal, subimbricate, keeled; ventral plates obtusely pointed, imbricate, of median rows smooth or faintly keeled, of outer row strongly keeled. Digits compressed, with

[1] Of the 13 types and co-types, 8 have 4 pores, 4 have 5, and 1 has 4—5.—3 or 4 pores in specimens from Canton according to Vogt.

smooth scales inferiorly. Femoral pores reduced to 2 or 3 on each side. Tail very long, cylindrical.

Loo Choo Islands.

This genus is very closely allied to *Tachydromus*, to which it stands in the same relation as *Bedriagaia* to *Poromora* among African genera. Could we find a lizard combining the dorsal scales of *Apeltonotus* with the other characters of *Tachydromus amurensis*, we would have the connecting link between the latter and *Lacerta vivipara*.

1. Apeltonotus dorsalis, Stejneg.

Takydromus dorsalis, Stejneg. Smithson. Quart. Misc. Coll. xlvii, 1905, p. 294, and Herp. Japan, p. 229, fig. (1907); Van Denb. Proc. Calif. Ac. (4) iii, 1912, p. 242,

Body slender, feebly depressed. Head $1\frac{3}{4}$ times as long as broad, its depth equal to the distance between the centre of the eye and the tympanum, its length about 4 times in length to vent; snout acutely pointed, a little longer than the postocular part of the head, with sharp canthus and vertical, concave loreal region. Pileus $2\frac{1}{4}$ times as long as broad. Neck a little narrower than the head. Limbs slender, with very long digits; the hind limb reaches the shoulder in males, not beyond the axil in females; foot a little longer than the head. Tail 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as long as head and body.

Nostril between 3 shields; nasals forming a very short suture behind the rostral;[1] frontonasal much longer than broad; præfrontals forming an extensive suture; frontal as long as its distance from the end of the snout, about $1\frac{2}{3}$ times as long as broad, narrower behind than in front; parietals about $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as long as broad, outer border convex; interparietal small, narrow, a little longer than the occipital; 3 or 4 supraoculars, if 4, first small and granular, followed by a series of granules separating the supraoculars from the superciliaries, which are 5 in number. Rostral barely entering the nostril; a single postnasal; anterior loreal much smaller than the second; 4 upper labials, rarely 5 or 3, anterior to the subocular. Temporal scales small, strongly keeled; an enlarged, keeled anterior upper temporal shield; a short and very narrow tympanic shield.

4 pairs of chin-shields,[2] the 3 anterior in contact in the middle; gular scales granular anteriorly, gradually enlarged, imbricate, and keeled towards the collar, 26 in a straight median line; collar-plates large, pointed, keeled.

Scales strongly keeled, those on the back larger, about 5 corresponding to 3 ventral plates; 28 to 30 scales across the middle of the body. Ventral plates in 6 longitudinal series, the outer strongly keeled, the others smooth or feebly keeled; 24 transverse series. Præanal plate large, smooth, bordered by a semicircle of small plates, or with two small plates on each side.

Scales on upper surface of limbs large, keeled, larger than the dorsals, on forearm smooth and forming transverse plates. Usually 2, rarely 3, femoral pores on each side. 29 lamellar scales under the fourth toe.

---

[1] Rostral in contact with the frontonasal in one specimen examined by Van Denburgh.

[2] Van Denburgh notes one specimen as having 4 shields on one side and 5 on the other.

Caudal scales strongly keeled, twice as large as largest dorsals, 16 in the fourth whorl.

Bluish slate above, probably greenish in life; a black line from the nostril through the eye to the centre of the ear-opening; a pale, probably yellowish, streak below this from the nostril through the lower eyelid to the lower border of the ear-opening; lower parts greenish or yellowish white.

Measurements, in millimetres.	♂	♀
From end of snout to vent	64	56
Head	16	14
Width of head	9	8
Fore limb	25	23
Hind limb	35	31
Tail	220	195

The above description is compiled from those of Stejneger and of Van Denburgh and from one of the co-types received from the U.S. National Museum.

Habitat. Ishigaki Island, in the Southern Group of the Loo Choo or Riu Kiu Archipelago. The type is preserved in the U.S. National Museum.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLVI.

FIG. 1.—*Tachydromus amurensis*. ♀, Chabarovka.

,, 2.—*Lacerta vivipara*. ♀, Scotland.

,, 3.—*Tachydromus wolteri*. ♂, Seoul.

,, 4.—*Tachydromus formosanus*. ♂, Taipeh.

a. Side view of head. *b*. Upper view of head. *c*. Lower view of head. *d*. Lower view of posterior part of body and hind limb.

Whole lizards natural size, details magnified 2 diameters.

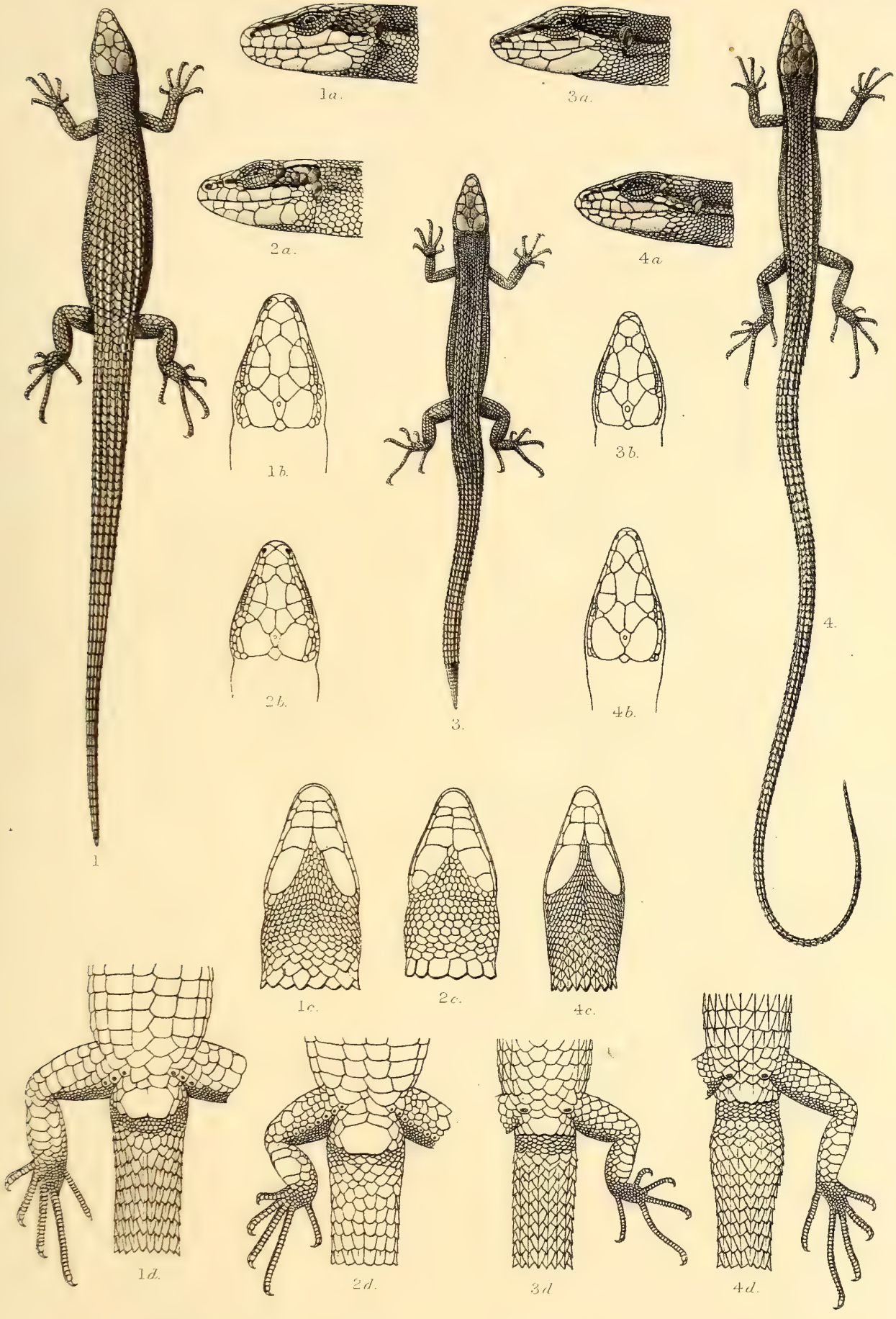

Fig. 1. Tachydromus amurensis.
Fig. 2. Lacerta vivipara
Fig. 3. Tachydromus wolteri.
Fig. 4. Tachydromus formosanus.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLVII.

FIG. 1.—*Tachydromus khasiensis.* ♀, Khasi Hills.

,, 2.—*Tachydromus sauteri.* ♂, Coshun.

,, 3.—*Platyplacopus kuehnei.* ♂, Kanshirei.

a. Side view of head. *b*. Upper view of head. *c*. Lower view of head. *d*. Lower view of posterior part of body and hind limb. *e*. Lower surface of foot.

Whole lizards natural size, details magnified 2 diameters.

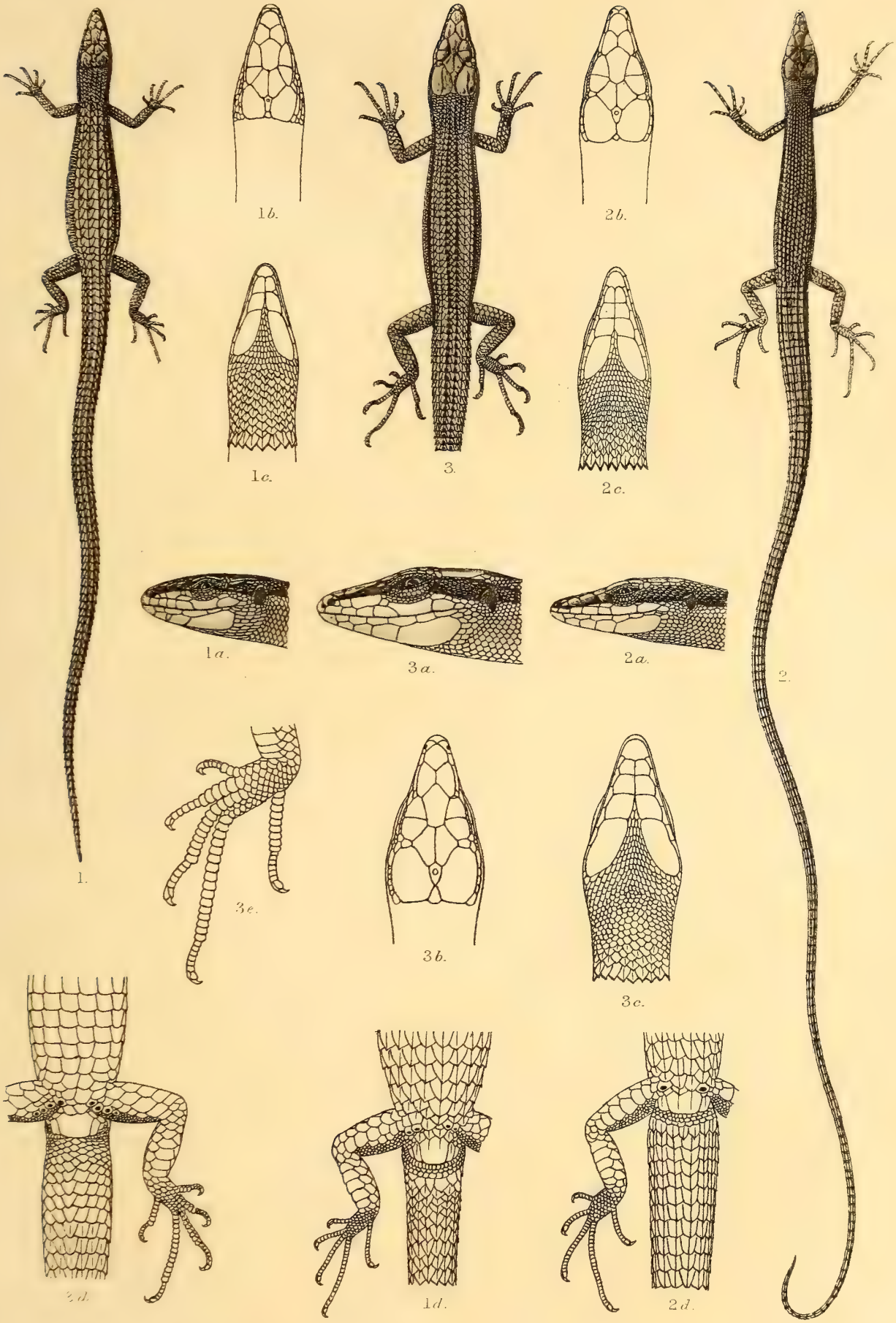

Fig. 1. Tachydromus khasiensis. Fig. 2. Tachydromus sauteri. Fig. 3. Platyplacopus kuehnei.

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NOTES ON CERTAIN HILL TRIBES OF THE INDO-TIBETAN BORDER.

BY

GEORGE DUFF-SUTHERLAND-DUNBAR.

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(*Issued January* 1915.)

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BY

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PART II.

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ANTHROPOMETRICAL SECTION.

BY

J. COGGIN BROWN, M.Sc., and S. W. KEMP, B.A.

PART III.

(*Issued February* 1916.)

PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF A VISIT TO PEMAKOICHEN.

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N.B.—The pagination of this Memoir is not in continuation of that of Part iii of Vol. V. It should also be noted that some plates are dated 1913, the year in which they were prepared, although they were not published until the end of 1914

It is hoped that a narrative of Sir George Sutherland's recent explorations, with a map, will be published subsequently in these Memoirs.—*Editor.*

PREFACE.

THE following account of hillmen of the N.-E. Frontier of India is the result of about four years' study of the peoples concerned It does not pretend to be scientific or exhaustive, but it describes what was either seen, or learnt on reliable authority. It is based on observation and evidence of the Galongs, and the more westerly of the Minyong settlements. Observations made amongst the Upper Abors, communities in the Kamla valley and in the Western Dafla Hills, and notes made about the Mishmis have been drawn on for purposes of comparison.

Only the most reliable evidence available in the various communities visited has been considered, and the favourable circumstances under which the notes were collected made systematic corroboration possible. Steps were taken to preclude collusion amongst the witnesses. Whenever possible three evidences were taken in order to test the truth of the statements on which this account is based. The fragments of mythology in particular are the result of careful investigation and are, in English, what was told, originally, in Galong, Abor and Dafla. The one tale which has not been tested in any way is the Dafla story of the coming of fire.

I wish to record the very great debt of gratitude I owe to Captain R. S. Kennedy, I.M.S., who devoted his perfect command of Tibetan (a language of which I know nothing) and a considerable amount of time in interpreting the statements of Tibetan witnesses whose evidence has greatly enlarged the interest of such notes on trade that I had collected among the different hill communities. The passage dealing with the Abor from the Tibetan standpoint and the interesting comparison between certain features of the Abor and Tibetan languages are entirely due to Captain Kennedy's assistance, for without his help they could never have been written. Much of the evidence elicited from the Tibetans who were examined had to be rejected, being either too vague or showing signs of untrustworthiness, either unintentional or deliberate. The evidence that is here recorded bore the impress of truth and, except where noted as not at first hand, may be taken as probable.

I am gratefully indebted to Mr. S. W. Kemp of the Indian Museum not only for his beautiful photographs and for the rubbings of metal work that illustrate the memoir but for the sympathetic help that he and Mr. Coggin Brown of the Geological Survey of India extended to me during the writing of these pages, and for the infinity of trouble they have so generously taken to help me with the proofs.

The authoritative anthropometrical monograph by Mr. Coggin Brown and Mr. Kemp that is incorporated with this account of the hillmen, gives great scientific value to the Memoir.

I wish to express my grateful thanks to Captain Bethell, 10th Gurkha Rifles,

for his invaluable help in obtaining the required corroboration for various statements I had collected but had not been able to support by confirmatory evidence. Moreover by far the most interesting notes on the Mishmis have been supplied by him. I have every reason to appreciate all the help Captain Bethell has so ungrudgingly given me.

I wish also to express my thanks to Mr. H. R. Meade of the 8th Gurkha Rifles, who placed his wide knowledge of the Abor language at my disposal and patiently interpreted many long and involved stories of folk-lore, at Rotung and Kebang. I am also deeply indebted to Subadar Jangbir Lama of the Lakhimpur Battalion, Assam Military Police, for a great deal of valuable help during the past two years.

GEORGE D-S-DUNBAR.

Abors and Galongs: Notes on certain Hill Tribes of the Indo-Tibetan Border.

By GEORGE D-S-DUNBAR.

[With Plates I—XVI, XVIII—XXIII.]

CHAPTER I.—*History and External Relations.*

Archæological discoveries in Crete and in Egypt, in Assyria and in Tanhuang, have brought before us not only the dry bones of official records, but the everyday life of civilizations that flourished thousands of years ago. Aurignacian art has bequeathed to us vivid indications of the conditions under which our remote ancestors struggled for existence amidst the formidable wild beasts of cave and forest and steppe. But the Abor, and his neighbours, set up no records. He and his forebears have rejected stone. Wood, although his country is almost invisible for the trees, he will have none of. Metal work dug up in cultivation, the remains, possibly, of some pre-Abor race, together with any fragment of broken metal, is liable to be incontinently melted down to suit the needs of the hour much as our own ancestors, to serve a Protean fashion in plate, converted their earlier silver into the three-pronged forks of Queen Anne. His ideas of art are limited to elementary patterns on the loom and to the rough conventional designs of the smith in his clay and wax castings. These are chiefly for discs for the women's girdles and for rough ornaments and charms, and are generally in imitation of designs met with on imports from Tibet. The brass bracelets made by the village smiths furnish the best examples of indigenous art. The tattoo marks with which he and his womenkind adorn their faces and the calves of their legs are of the simplest description. So far as observation can determine there exists in the country nothing, either ancient or modern, comparable to the art of pre-historic man in Central Europe, or to his ancient equivalent and survival, the Bushman of South Africa, for the interesting bowls known as *dankis* and the more or less elaborate bells found throughout these hills are not of local manufacture.

Origin of Name.

The word "Abor" is Assamese for an unfriendly man [1] and should not be confined to the clans living between the Dibang and the Subansiri. It is not a word used in the hills, although during the Dafla expedition [2] some of the inhabitants of the Upper Poma valley described themselves as Tagen Abors, having learnt the expression on some visit to the plains. A hillman calls himself a man of whatever village he belongs to, or if his village is a small one may call himself a Basar, Kebang or Simong man after the dominant community under whose shadow his hamlet is permitted to exist. For although community of interests and blood relationship undoubtedly connect the integral portions of the various hill clans, it is the village and not the clan that thinks and holds and acts together.

---

[1] See Butler "Sketch of Assam," p. 110.

[2] In 1910.

The Minyong general classification of the human race, if not so ingenuous as the Chinese, is extremely simple. The Abors call themselves "Abuit" and all foreigners "Madgu" (this includes the Tibetans). The tribes to the west of the Abors are called Galong. These main groups are, of course, subdivided in their turn.

The Daflas (including the Subansiri tribes, commonly known as Hill Miris), the Apatanangs, Galongs, Abors and Mishmis, that is to say the tribes inhabiting the mountainous zone between the Borheli and the Lohit, possess sufficient similar features to infer a common origin. General appearance and methods of life, folklore, so far as has been gathered, customs and belief, together with an undoubted affinity in the common basis of languages, alike tend to this conclusion.

Boundaries.

The country of the Abors and Galongs is bounded by the Subansiri on the west, and by the Sisseri and the Dibang on the east, and lies in the highlands between the Himalayas proper and the plains of Assam. Their neighbours to the south are the plains Miris, on the west are the Daflas of the Subansiri valley, and to the north lie the tribes known to the Abors and Tibetans alike through the distorted but romantic media of travellers' tales. It appears to be simplest to call the people of the Dihang valley Abor, the people between that watershed (or, at one point, the Siyom river) and the Subansiri Galong, and the tribes living between the Subansiri and the Borheli, Dafla. Their northern neighbours are the Boris and Membas. The Minyongs (who are Abor), the Boris and the Karkas (who are Galong) meet in the Siyom valley.

Communications with Tibet.

It is greatly regretted that circumstances did not permit of exploration contemplated in 1911–12 through the Karka country being carried out. Friendly messages from the *Gams* (village headmen) informed of the intention and the possession of two guides who had proved their competence on a friendly mission through the Memong country gave every prospect of success. The line of exploration would have led through Basar, the metropolis of the Dobangs. From Basar, so it is said, a succession of fertile and populous valleys leads up for about 12 marches through Karka villages. Beyond this are the Buris (or Boris), who bring Tibetan merchandise, salt, cloth, and sometimes a highly-prized sword, down to the most northerly communities of Abors and Galongs. As far as can be gathered from such data as the maps afford, the route indicated above would lead to Tsari. Concerning this place the following statement was made to me by Tugden, a Lha-san, and an ex-monk of Sera monastery, who made the Tsari pilgrimage seven years ago.

According to the ex-monk, the Pilgrim's way from Lha-sa to Tsari leads along a very fair road for the 17 stages to Chesam, which lies below the high snow-capped peak of Tsari. For the most part such interest as this road may possess is purely geographical but, with the orthodox and pious Tibetan, the shrines passed on the way should not be neglected. On the 11th day of the journey from Lha-sa the Chungu-ge monastery is reached. Leaving the main Tsari road a long day's march brings the devout traveller to a sacred lake embosomed on the top of a mountain. Various ceremonies have to be observed before the many-coloured veil (*kapchu*) shrouding the

face of the tarn is lifted, and the worshipper permitted to gaze upon the water that he is forbidden to enter. My informant, whilst admitting that he had not visited Tsari as a twelfth-year pilgrim, laudably endeavoured to uphold his monastic reputation by claiming to have seen the lake unveiled. This sacred peak has an Abor counterpart in Regam, the height dominating the Dihang above Pasighat. The Abors do not make pilgrimages so this peak is not visited.

On the next stage after Chungu-ge there is a temple built over a sacred rock that is covered with images. The two following days lead the pilgrim first to a holy spring, and then to a shrine where the imprint of a mule's hoof is shown on the rock. Chesam is reached on the following day. The Tsan-po is crossed on the 13th day of the journey in boats made of hides ; the ferry is an easy one. It is said that two days down stream from the crossing is the birth-place of the present Dalai-Lama.

Unknown Neighbours.

From Tsari a magnificent view is said to be obtained down a valley running south. This valley is inhabited by the most northern sept of the Loba tribe called Loteu, who are an entirely different race to the Tibetans. They are described as wearing their hair either in a knot on the top of the head, or cut Abor-fashion. They carry bows and their iron-tipped arrows are poisoned, according to my informant, with aconite (*tsendug*). They carry their arrows in the usual bamboo cases. Some have guns, a few of which are of Tibetan manufacture. The Loteus, being in direct contact with Tibet, occasionally wear Tibetan clothes and hats, but the majority are said to wear short white coats generally of wool. They do not appear to wear cane helmets, but in rainy weather use the big leaf hats common throughout the hills and plains in north-eastern Assam. My informant persisted in his statement that the Loba houses seen in the valley were mere huts of the roughest description, and that agriculture was unknown to them. The only light that he was able to throw on what he must have considered a somewhat precarious existence, was that the Loteus collect quantities of earth-worms and cook them without water in bamboo *chungas*, which are commonly used of course as cooking utensils by the Abors further south.

It is suggested as quite possible that the Loteus, with the general distrust and dislike exhibited towards a more northern and practically unknown people, live some way down the valley, and run up temporary shelters when they come to Tsari, which they appear to regard simply as the most profitable of hen-roosts, and the Tibetan pilgrims as the easiest of victims. The Memongs, in their turn, expressed a marked distrust of the Bori traders.

The Loteus wear strings of beads, some of them being obtained by trading with the Tibetans, but a number of necklaces of imitation turquoise appear to be given by the Tsari pilgrims to keep the Loteus from interfering with them. These necklaces were frequently noticed by Lieut.-Colonel Lindsay, 2nd Gurkha Rifles, on his visit to Damroh, but they are almost unknown in the Minyong country below Kebang. They consist of square beads of blue porcelain frequently carved into what appears to be the wheel of life in its simplest form, a form that occurs amongst the symbols with which the *dankis* are ornamented. The Lobas are said to speak a language of their

own (*i.e.* it is not Tibetan), and are also acquainted with the dialect of their eastern neighbours, the Pobas. Those who have dealings with the Tibetans speak a little of that language. The Loteus, from this evidence, are actively engaged in diverting Tibetan goods into the Lo country to the south. Tibetans, according to Tugden, bring down salt, iron, thick whitish or red woollen cloths, musical instruments, swords and necklaces (the Abor "*moni*"), receiving in exchange skins and deer's horns. This last commodity is for the preparation of Chinese medicine. Tugden stated that the salt came, in the ordinary course of trade, from Lha-sa, which does not tend to confirm the Dobang belief that in the Lama country, so it is said, where there are rocks of salt, a human being is sacrificed before the salt is excavated. This account of the articles of commerce tallies with what was learnt in the Memong country of the Boris who come as far down as Kombong, and agrees with quite independent evidence obtained regarding the Bori traders who work yearly, down the left bank of the Subansiri into the Rimi valley and penetrate as far south as Gamlin, a large Karka village, said to be three easy marches from Basar. The Boris do not appear to be a large or widely extended tribe and are possibly to some extent controlled by their Minyong and Galong neighbours, but Boris, Bokas and similar tribes to the west must be the Lo traders met with at the trade marts scattered along the frontier of Tibet.

The plains Miris, on the authority of the Abors of Riu and Kebang, believe that there are three tribes of "Abors" living to the north of the Minyongs. These are the Bakut, who cut their hair in almost European fashion, the Membas who wear long woollen coats and are supposed to be akin to the Tibetans, and the Basin of fabulous strength.[1]

A debt of gratitude is owed to Mr. Coggin Brown of the Geological Survey of India for the following facts discovered by the Dihang Valley Exploration party under Mr. Bentinck, I.C.S., that went up to Singging at the beginning of 1912, and for some interesting legends current about the unknown tribes to the north. Beyond the Minyongs were the Karko Abors, and to the north of this clan the Bomo-Janbo, who differed in appearance from the Minyongs, but seemed to be not unlike the Boris. Their northern neighbours were the Membas. The most northern communities visited told of the Mimats,[2] a race of cave-dwelling cannibals who were called Loma-mani Trunshar[3] (neckless savages). They were reported to exchange cooking-pots, perhaps the *dankis* so highly prized further south, for the bodies of dead Abors. No information could be obtained from Tugden as to the importation of *dankis* into the Lo country.

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[1] It was discovered by the Dihang Survey parties in 1913 that beyond the Bomo-Janbo (or Angong) Abors to the north of the Karko people live the Membas, who are comparatively recent colonists from across the main range. They have not entirely dispossessed the most northern Abors the Tangam —who are still to be found in the poor bleak villages scattered below the gorge. The Bakut may possibly be the Boka, a tribe on the Upper Siyom with whom touch has not been established. No tribe answering to the description of the Basin was discovered.

[2] This is the Abor name for the Tibetans. Their habits were apparently brought forward to give verisimilitude to a bald and unconvincing narrative.

[3] The most northern Abors, on the upper borders of the Memba colonies, are so goitrous as to make this solution of the mysterious people a possible one. A perfect description of the appearance of the "neckless savages" is to be found in Shakespere's Tempest.

Mimats were said to come as far down the river as Panggo but without crossing over to the left bank. In connexion with the tales about the Mimats already alluded to, the Tibetan version given by Tugden is of interest. The Loteus are reported to bury their dead[1] (like the Abors) or throw them into the river (following the custom of the Tibetan peasantry). The Lobas further south are supposed to eat their dead (one account was more explicit and said their parents), a rite or custom known to exist in other places, and found nearest home by S. Jerome, in about A.D. 360, amongst the British tribe of Attecots. My informant heard this when he was at Tsari, from Tibetans, who said that they had seen a cannibal feast in progress, on the occasion of their Twelfth Year pilgrimage. They called the cannibals Mishu Ting Ba. With the Boreads and Unipeds, the Basin and Mimats, mankind, from the days of Pytheas, has peopled the unknown Beyond.

Rindze, a Kamba of Nyarong, which is a little to the north of Chiamdo, was the most satisfactory witness examined ; many of his statements have met with corroboration from other sources, or are borne out by previously recorded information. His evidence bore the stamp of truth and he did not appear to fabricate a story to cover forgetfulness or ignorance but frankly owned up when he had forgotten or did not actually know. The following account given by Rindze of Tsari, which he visited from Gyala Sindang, would not only definitely fix the Tibeto-Lo frontier, but would show that Tibetans do not penetrate south into the Abor country from Tsari, but leave such adventures to travellers in the Tsan-po valley away to the east.[2]

On the 9th stage from Gyala Sindang the route ascends from Droma Lhakang monastery (and the dzong near it) up a shoulder of Tsari to the Trema pass. On this there is no snow, but the peak itself is covered with snow and wrapped in cloud. The top of the Trema-la is the boundary between Tibet and the Loba country. To carry out the Tsari pilgrimage, the devout traveller must go round the mountain, a four days' progress, involving a two days' journey through Loba country. The sacred way runs high up on the mountain side and does not dip into the valley below. Rindze stated that he went with about 200 other pilgrims and that they were attacked on the south side of Tsari by a band of Loba robbers, armed with bows and arrows and long swords. They had no guns and did not apparently use spears, but they discharged volleys of stones on to the pilgrims, who lost 7 killed during the encounter, others dying afterwards of their wounds and injuries. These volleys of stones sound remarkably like that prominent feature of Abor tactics, the stone-shoot. The Lobas were described as wearing sleeveless skin coats that came down to their knees; they wore their hair long, over their shoulders, but cut a straight fringe across their foreheads. Their women were not, of course, with them. According to Rindze, trading at Tsari is conducted on the simple plan pursued by the old Rhine Barons in their commercial transactions with the merchants of Central Europe. The Tibetans are terrified of the

[1] See Buddhism of Tibet by L. A. Waddell ed. 1895, p. 518.

[2] It has been found that the Tibetans habitually bring their yaks over the passes to feed on the high ground on the southern slopes. These side valleys running up to the passes are not inhabited and the roads (such as they are) have to be cut, and the bridges and galleries repaired, every year before the routes are used. The busy season is July and August. Membas occasionally come down as far as Panggo on the right bank. They are more chary of adventuring down the left bank, but have been known to visit Simong.

Lobas, and so go on pilgrimage in large parties, a measure that does not appear to save them from molestation, for they yield up their possessions to the Lobas as soon as they appear. If the "gelt" is not up to Loba expectation the pious, but unfortunate, Tibetans are promptly attacked by the bandits. The Tibetan benevolences largely consist of (imitation) turquoise necklaces,[1] and strings of the blue porcelain beads commonly worn by the Abors, Galongs and the people of the Subansiri Valley, thread of different colours, salt, snuff, and a little silver, a metal that the Lobas do not appear to know or value. Rindze admitted that he lost all the ornaments he had with him at Tsari. He described the valley to the south of Tsari as similar in appearance to the Abor country ; no rivers or villages were visible.

In reviewing the evidence bearing on Tsari it must be borne in mind that, whilst the more acute observer Rindze performed the full Tsari piligrimage, Tugden came from Lha-sa more as a sightseer ; he did not carry out the prescribed journey round the mountain and consequently did not see the enterprising Loteu upon his native heath.

As the inhabitants of the highlands to the north of Assam appear, until the misapprehension has been removed from their minds, to consider it their right to demand payment for the privilege of entering their country, the action of the Loteus to the south of Tsari may be regarded as a somewhat rigorous application of the local Aliens Act. It has been gathered from the evidence elicited that the Loteu, when outside his own principality, brings his methods down to commercial Dutch early nineteenth century, and takes skins and horns to barter with the Tibetans.

Trade Marts.

Rindze furnished interesting accounts of the trade marts at Alando to the east, Gyala Sindang in Kong-me, and Ming-Tsenga to the west, all of which he appears to have visited. Gyala Sindang of the Kambas (and Gyala Sumdo of Tibet) is on the pilgrim's road from Kongbu Gyamda to Tsari. Various other evidences placed Gyala Sindang on the right bank of the Kongbu Gyamda Chhu and just above its junction with the Poba Chhu ; this is inaccurate, or a confusion with Trulung (Poh-tsi-lung). None of my informants had been below Sindang, but Rindze stated that the Kongbus have a story that the Poba joins the Tsanpo which, below the junction, flows into a rock and runs through to the other side and that this is a place of pilgrimage. Rinchen Kandra stated that he learnt at Gyala Sindang that the Poba river flowed down into the Lo Kapta country. Kapta means, apparently, people with tattoo marks on their mouths. This would describe an almost universal custom of the Abors of the lower Dihang valley. Lo is the generic term given by Kinthup to the Abors as a race. He called the Abors living in the Dihang valley, Lo-karpo, Lo-tawa and Lo-nakpo.[2] Clear statements were elicited regarding a flourishing trade at Gyala Sin-

[1] Like the grey pebble necklaces of the Nagas the modern imitation turquoises are far removed from what they seem. The beads are made in Birmingham, or Germany, and find their way to Tsari through Calcutta, Darjeeling and Lha-sa. The more antique necklaces are made of chips of good blue porcelain, and are not associated with western commercial enterprise.

[2] It was learnt in the summer of 1913 in Pemakoichen that the Membas call the Abors of the lower valley Lo-kapta (tattoed Abors) and Lo-nakpo (black Abors). The Abors high up the valley are fair and do not tattoo. These terms are applied specifically to the Simong people. The fair Tangam Abors, scattered thro' the Memba colonies and at Kuging are called Lo-karpo.

dang with the Pobas. Tibetans bring down tea and vessels, etc. of brass or bronze, but not of white metal. The Pobas bring much merchandise from the south, such as musk, shao horns, a very occasional gun, and a few one-handed swords with lizard (monitor ?) skin handles for which the Pobas are famous. These Pobas wear their hair like the Lobas but even longer—to the waist instead of the shoulders. They speak a dialect of Kamba, but Rindze, although a Kamba himself, had difficulty in understanding them. Rindze knew of no minerals ; mules were very plentiful, and there appears to be a certain amount of trade with districts to the West.

Alando is taken to be A.K.'s Alado Giachug, *Giachug* being the Tibetan for a stage on a journey. Here salt (imported from the north) is bartered for white and red rice, peaches, walnuts, chillies (? Tib. *Sibi*), swords, musk, stag's horns, bears' livers and skins that the Pobas give in exchange. The Pobas are in all probability Kambas, and under the Central Tibetan Government. They are said to trade with their neighbours the Lobas. The evidence given describes the Pobas as a very savage race. It seems quite possible that the idea of a ferocious buffer tribe, or zone of tribes, is deliberately encouraged by the trade intermediaries, both Tibetan and Abor, to prevent direct intercourse between Tibet and the communities centred at Simong and in the populous Siyom and Rimi-Siu valleys ; a belief that the existence of bands of Lo-teu robbers to the South of Tsari would undoubtedly foster. Rindze describes the Pobas as wearing either Tibetan clothes or sometimes skins. *Takin* skin coats were found and much admired for their quality and cut by the Mishmi Exploration party up the Ithun River. Deer-skin surcoats are worn, quite commonly, by the hill tribes on raids and forays. The Pobas use rupees obtained from Chinese traders and others. It is thought that the main trade artery runs through the Pobas into the Mishmi country and thence westwards through the communities too far south to be in touch with the trading clans of the north. Mr. Dundas, C.I.E., informs me that *dankis* come down into the Mishmi country from Tibet. They possibly come, therefore, eastward, and south through the Po country along this trade route, a trade route that can be traced as far west as the Subansiri. The Pobas are said to possess a certain number of guns and are reported to manufacture long swords of good workmanship from iron obtained in their own country. A good sword is worth the equivalent to 50 rupees. This statement regarding the working of iron, although possibly correct, requires more direct proof. The manufacture of swords of special excellence in the north most probably refers to Tibet. This is to some extent substantiated by the history given to a sword obtained through the Dobangs from the Karkas who, in their turn, had obtained it from the Boris. Excellent swords are said to be made from iron and steel imported from Assam by the Memongs. Personal observation in those portions of the Dafla and Abor countries that it has been possible to visit afforded no evidence of the working of iron ore in those areas, although, as in the Siemen valley, iron was found to exist. Nor have any iron workings been noticed up the Dibang valley.

In those Kamba statements on which reliance may reasonably be placed, it is noted that gold is washed below Tsetang on the Echhu, a small tributary of the

Tsanpo in the Chumde Gyang district ; copper is said to be worked at Wanko and Mare, five and four days respectively west of Chiamdo. Iron is worked at Lamda, which is in a pine forest and two days to the west of Chiamdo. Chiamdo is said to be a thirty-four days' journey from Lha-sa over a good mule road. The Kambas maintained that the metal (or metals) of which *dankis* are made is found in the Lo country but I have not obtained any proof or even other evidence on this point. Kinthup mentions two gold mines at Lha-gya-ri, 27 miles east from Chetang (Tsetang) and lead mines at Kim-dhung, 90 miles further on.

Rindze stated that, about 9 years ago, he went to a place called Ming-tsenga, about four days' south of Tsetang, and apparently close to the Bhotan frontier. There is a dzong and a monastery (with about 100 monks) at Ming-tsenga, which lies in a district where monasteries are not uncommon and are found still further south. Rindze himself did not go south of Ming-tsenga. It is the scene of a large, annual fair during the 5th Tibetan month, when Tibetans, Kambas, Bhotias,[1] Lobas and Pobas meet to trade. Rindze went for the fair and found living there very expensive. Ming-tsenga is two days' journey from Towang, which the Loteus are not allowed to enter. These Loteus would appear to resemble the Memongs, for the description of their women whom they brought with them, with their long hair parted and tied in a chignon at the back, good-looking, wearing their clothes Bhotanese fashion and adorned with quantities of necklaces of blue or green porcelain beads, would apply equally to the people of the Sipu valley, south of the Siyom. The Loteus at Tsari and Ming-tsenga are practically similar in appearance, and speak what is judged to be the same language. The Abors barter rice and two other cereals, for which the Tibetan is *tre* and *tsi-tsi* (millet ? and Job's tears ?), for salt and imitation turquoise necklaces, which, Rindze affirms, are now made in India, and come through Gyantse from Calcutta. Rindze states that the Loteus bring to Ming-tsenga numbers of *dankis* (which he described with accuracy, but considered to be of poor workmanship) and sell them to the Bhotias. He called these bowls '*tro*,' and said they are made of a whitish brittle metal, called *Trogka*, that is found in the Lo country, where he maintained they are manufactured. They are made of various sizes, are not looked upon as valuable, and are exchanged for salt. Cymbals and other musical instruments are brought down by the Tibetans. Rindze alleged that the Bhotias try to induce people to come over into Bhotan with them, where they are made into slaves.

The course of trade between the different clans can be more conveniently examined when the life of the people is dealt with. But trade routes between the Yamne and the Subansiri may be summarized as follows: North of about latitude 28°, 15′ trade flows into the country from the north ; below this area is a zone into which trade percolates from both north and south ; below this again articles of commerce are either bought directly from the kayah's shops scattered along the Assam frontier or are brought in on the strong tide of trade that, coming south from Tibet through the Mishmi country, sweeps along the lower Abor hills to the Subansiri.

[1] Possibly includes Membas from their detached colonies lying immediately south of the main range.

Direct evidence as to the origin of the Abors and the tribes related to them, is not forthcoming. Family tradition, as handed down from father to son, has been found only in most exceptional cases to go back more than about 200 years. The *mirüs* (medicine men) practically confine their lore to religious rites and to the preservation of tribal mythology. In two of the myths that have been collected a flickering and uncertain light is thrown on an environment very different to present Abor conditions. The first of these tells how the gods, when the earth was parched and dry, with never a spring or a river to refresh it, gave water to a thirsty world. Such a legend could hardly have originated in a land echoing with streams in countless valleys, and where a dearth of water, save on the highest peaks and ridges, is quite unknown. The second legend told by a people who, within the narrow bounds of our historical knowledge, have lived in the heart of lofty mountains and deep-cut valleys, describes how gods and men fought for the possession of the pleasant fruitful plains, how man by a trick deceived the immortals and remained lord of the rich level country, whilst the baffled deities retired to the uplands.

Traditional Origin.

The following tradition learnt in Rotung from one whom the Abors themselves regard as an authority on folklore and ancient history, throws a little light on the origin of the tribes.

Abors, Galongs and Mishmis all came from the stone of creation in Janbo country on the Siring, and settled down together between the Sigon and the Siyom. But, as my informant expressed it, "suddenly the Minyongs drew their *daos* and frightened "the Mili to the Mishmi country and the Mikon to the Galong country." In those days Mishmis, called Midi by the Abors of to-day, were called Mili, and the Galongs Mikon. The Padam are said to have been called originally Lei in their own dialect and Lerju by the Minyongs.

I have gathered, but I am not altogether satisfied, that the Galongs intermarry with their maternal, and not with their paternal relations. As regards Abor septs and their affinity I have corroborative evidence that the Minyongs are divided into two groups Kuri and Kumuing, descendants of two brothers, so named. These are again subdivided into septs. Tusik *Gam* of Riga told me that the Kuri septs in Riga are Tapak, Jamo, Morang, Tali, Tamat, Gao and the less considerable Tasing; whilst the Kumuing are represented by the Muije (Tusik's own sept), Lomtung, Jerang, Tatak, Talom, Tagbo, and the less considerable Muibang, Jeli and Jeku. Madu told me that in his village (Riu) the Kuri septs are Buite, Buime, Buidor, Taki, Tangu, Tapak, Jamo, Siram, Gao and Ering: the Kumuing septs are Talode, Kirtong, Kiriba, Kanyi, Kakong, Tanyi, Talom, Muktum, Mugri and Mukshum. The septs of the Kuri and Kumuing subdivisions of Minyongs intermarry, but the septs themselves are exogamous. That is to say a Talom man and a Talom girl are forbidden to marry. This is the recognized marriage law throughout these hills, and governs the Galong custom as I have noted. The Dobang septs are listed on p. 85. One of my informants, who is an exceptionally evil character, but is credited with a profound knowledge of folklore, told

Septs.

me that there is a sept descended from the Frog Spirit Tatig Uyu and that although they are exogamous the edible frog eaten by other Abors is taboo to them. He said that they are distinguished by the prefix "*tig*" to their names, both men and women.[1] Other statements made by this informant, Joter of Rotung, have proved to be correct and, if this statement were reliable, it would be of exceptional interest as it attributes a definite totemic origin (hitherto undiscovered) to a group distributed among Minyongs, Panggis and Pasis. The tradition given me relates that long ago a frog[2] married a woman and from this union the "Tig" people are descended. I was given several pedigrees in support of this. One of these gave Tigshor the father of Tigior, the father of Tigjir. Tigior being known to me as a Riu man, I asked Madu *Gam* of Riu about him. The pedigree is to some extent corroborated, but the evidence above given to support totemism in the Abor country is sadly discounted by the *Gam's* statement that Tigior is a Pasi of the Payang sept, and that Madu knows no restrictions as to his marriage nor, still more regrettable, does he know anything about the frog people. I regard Madu as exceptionally trustworthy. The statement supporting totemic origin is nevertheless sufficiently interesting to be given —for what it is worth. Corroboration has, however, been obtained for the sacrificial rites offered to the frog spirit by Abors in general. A fowl is decapitated about the time of the ripening of the jack fruit, and the head is tied to a stick put in the ground, as a rule near running water.

Since anthropometrical research, resting secure in far more capable hands than mine was beyond the scope of this paper, language became the one source that remained from which deductions could be drawn. The interesting Milang people, speak a dialect of their own,[3] but amongst the clans that are in touch with Assam, there are two distinct groups of dialects. To the east, in the Dihang valley, is the Pasi, Padam, Panggi and Minyong group, and to the west that of the Dobang, Memong and allied septs that are all included in the term Galong. Although the language changes to some extent in each successive zone of the valley, the dialects spoken by Kebang and Tuting are surprisingly similar. "H" for "s," or "r" for "h" in fact pronunciation generally, and the common use of idioms rarely heard nearer the plains make it difficult, but not impossible, for a traveller acquainted with the language as spoken in Kebang to converse with the more northern villagers. There is a closer resemblance between the Dafla and Galong languages than there is between Galong and Abor. None of these are written languages. Out of the considerable number of Abor and Tibetan words that were compared the following, only, were similar. The resemblance, such as it is, is interesting, but is far too weak to form an argument in favour of a common origin.

Language.

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[1] This latter statement is remarkable for, although the Minyong custom is to preserve the same prefix from father to son [e.g. Madu son of Malut and Dutem son of Dugong], Minyong women are given names beginning with Ya. It may be noted that all Abors have two names, one their birth name the other that by which they are generally called, such as Dakot—Takot, Taring—Dering (father's name Derang). The same rule applies to women.

[2] *Tatig* in Minyong Abor.

[3] The following short list of words of the Milang language, given by a Dambuk (Padam) Abor whose relations live in Milang, is offered in the spirit that provided the late Professor Owen with single bones from which he reconstructed

English.	Abor.	Galong.	Tibetan.
father	abu	abwa	ab-pa
mother	ane	ana	a-ma
man	milong	nir-bong	ni
young man	ya-me		shu-pa
dog (generic)	e-ki	e-ki	ki
dog (m.)	e-ki ki-bo	e-ki gari-pwe ki-po	
bitch	e-ki ki ne		ki-mo
bear	si-tum		tom
tree	e-shing	o-si-goh	shing-dong

'e' is an Abor affix frequently used to denote the Nominative case.

In Abor, *ne-shin* means weeds, whilst *e-shing* means a tree; *shing* is used in speaking of particular trees, as follows:—the silk cotton tree *shing-gi*, trees of the citron group *shing-kin*.

English.	Abor.	Galong.	Tibetan.
one	(a) - ter (ko)	leken	chik
two	(a) - nyi (ko)	(sir) - inyi - (ko)	ni
three	(a) - um (ko)	(sir) - um - (ko)	sum
four	(a) - pi-(ko)	(sir - pi - (ko)	shi
five	(a) - nga-(ko)	(sir) - nga - (ko)	nya

Ko, or *kong*, is given by Lorraine as the affix used in speaking of houses (with the exception of the numbers 8 and 10). This differentiation of numeral adjectives by numeral particles is met with in other cases. The personal pronoun I is *ngo* (or *ñya*) in Abor and Tibetan. I have also been informed that 'I' and '5' are '*nya*' in Burmese, a language that appears to possess the same peculiar differentiation of the form of numeral adjectives as the Abor language. With reference to '*kong*,' a house in Abor is *e-kum*, but in Tibetan it is *kang-ba*. The Padam Abors call the space under the house *kit-kung*.

English.	Abor.	Tibetan.
to die	shi	shi-wa
an eye	a-mik	mig

It is interesting to observe that the Tibetan word for an eye occurs in the Abor phrase "*a-mig mig yab a do-em*," 'in the twinkling of an eye' [Lorraine]. The verb 'to see' is dissimilar in the two languages. In noting that the words for articles of commerce, such as salt, musk and wool, which might perhaps have been reasonably

extinct animals, in the hope that they may be of interest. The equivalents of Nipong and Epom, Ngang-po and Apomu respectively, are not unlike the Abor spirits. Simong is apparently called Rugau and the Padam people Padam-le-apkai. The *beyop* is worn and called *cho-bu*. House *anyuk* dao *ai-ok*, man *mi-yu*, woman *ma mi*, dhan *dü-ki*, husked rice *püm-ki*, fire *ā-mi*, water *shā-nu*, tree *hung-da*, salt *tā-pu*, fish *ung-u*, dog *ak-eh*, fowl *Ā-chu*, mithan *ā-shu*, pig *ai-egu*, death *miu-shi-kor*, birth *u-chi-jungyi*, *apong* is *ai-yu*, to drink it *ai-chung mi*, coat *hug-di*, the numerals one to ten are *akān*, *neh*, *hām peh*, *pangu*, *s(h)ap*, *rang-al*, *rai-eng*, *kain-yem*, *hang-rago*. If from so meagre a collection any deduction appeared possible it would be that some of the words more nearly resemble their equivalents in Memba and Bhotia than in Abor.

expected to be similar are different in the two languages, it may be recalled that the Loteus were said to learn the Tibetan names for trade purposes.

The following sentences give examples of the constructions of Abor and Tibetan :—

1. I gave it to my brother,
[Abor] Ngo ngo-ke bui-ru em bi to.
I my brother to given have.
[Tibetan] Ngapeunje la ter-wa yin.
I brother to gave.

2. I was in the jungle when you called.
[A] No-ke gog-do dem ngo yum-ra lo dung-ai.
your calling whilst I jungle in was.
[T] Kyo ke-tung tu nga shing-la de wa-yin
you calling-time I jungle in was (sitting).

3. Where does this road lead ?
[A] Si lambe si in-ko la pui du-ne.
This road this where reached.
[T] Lamga di kaba leb-gi-re.
Road this where will it reach.

4. How many boats are there there ?
[A] De lo e-lung e-dit-ko du-ne.
There boats how many are.
[T] Pa-gi tru kat-so du-ga.
There boats how many are.

It may also be noted that certain words are common to the Limbus and Rais of Nepal and the Abors of the Dihang Valley. The few words that have been collected would need to be augmented into a considerable list before any scientific value could be attained. But the fact that certain words in common use are similar may be of some interest. Various customs and beliefs are also alike.

Migrations.

It is for consideration that the desiccation of Central Asia may possibly have driven the ancestors of the Abors and kindred tribes through the passes of the north down into the mountainous zone they now occupy. The legend existing amongst the Subansiri Daflas that they originally came from the east would not controvert it. Whether the clans came sweeping down into what we now call Assam on the full tide of invasion, to be washed back to the hills when once more the invader became the invaded, is hidden in the mists that obscure so much of the past history of this frontier. Once established in the highlands immediately to the south of the Himalayas proper the gradual increase of population and the corresponding difficulty in finding sufficient land for cultivation within reach of the village, periodically obliged a portion of the community to seek fresh woods to convert into fields and pastures new. At first, referring to conditions in the Dihang area, the colonies spread east and west and then, as the available sites eventually became occupied by flourishing communities, the tide

of migration began to set definitely south into the narrow valleys nearer the plains. The following examples illustrate this tendency. Ledum, a village of 52 houses (in 1911), is known to have existed on its present site prior to 1820. The best local evidence obtainable, evidence that on other matters has been proved to be reliable, stated that Ledum migrated from Yemsing, and that Yemsing came from Pangin. Pangin is stated to have been a colony of Karko. Mishing is a 20-year old offshoot of Kebang, and the village of Dosing (Dobang name Sidaw) broke off 10 years ago from Yemsing. These colonists all came over the 6000 ft. range that walls off the Abor country proper from Assam, but, as a general rule, Abor migrations have followed the waterways.

Kebang appears to have come down from Riu, and from the fact that, as a large and flourishing community, it entered into hostilities with Riga three generations back, was certainly in existence over a hundred years ago. Rotung, Babuk, and Kalek are all recent, or comparatively recent, offshoots from Kebang. Rotung is partly Panggi Abor. To this gravitation towards the south there exist two known exceptions. Simong, influenced no doubt by tribal conditions, has sent its colonists northward. The other exception is furnished by Bomo-Janbo.[1]

Minyong evidence, that is to some extent corroborated, declares that the Abors originally came from a place called Telilidung, in what is described as the Bori country. The legend is recorded that here the Abors and all creation sprang from a rock that may be seen to this day, with the foot prints of the new-born creation impressed upon it. According to the Pasi *mirü* of Roi-ing the Pasis have an almost similar legend, calling the stone of creation Kililitung. From the Bori country the Minyongs are said to have migrated South founding Pangkang and then Riga, and spreading westward to the villages of Jamoh and Pai-um. Pai-um is a village still in existence on the left bank of the Siyom, and corresponds to the position indicated by my informant, namely two days' journey west of Riga. Since then the Minyongs have gradually crept down the main valley.

The Pasial group of villages to the west of the gorge above Pasighat is made up of Pasis and of Minyongs (chiefly of Riu origin). The migration of the Pasis according to one of their own *mirüs* is as follows. The clan originally came from the banks of the Siring river. From there the Pasis have wandered slowly south, from Ringong[2] to Simong, thence to the village of Yamne, somewhere near the head-waters of the Yamne river. From there they went to Pasi, the place that gives its name to the people of the Balek Pasial community. Five generations ago Pasi colonists came down through Sipang [Sibang, or Sipong stream ?] and, crossing the Dihang, settled on the southern slopes of Bapu hill. They were shortly followed by Minyong settlers.[3]

[1] In 1913 Bomdo and its allied villages were visited. Bomdo and Janbo are the oldest communities, the other villages up to Tuting being colonized from the parent villages further south. It is conjectured that the "Angong" Abors (if not other clans of this people) came down the Sirapateng (Sigon) over the pass at the head of this river, and then colonized up the main valley until checked by pressure from the Membas who rather more than 100 years ago entered the country very possibly by the Doshung la.

[2] Siring is too common a name for a stream to be traceable. The Angong Abors told me that their parent village, now deserted, was Ringong on the river of that name.

[3] There are Pasis of four different septs settled in Riu.

The migration of the Abors in a southerly direction, down the valley, may be considered as fairly well established.

It would seem, though no evidence has been sifted on the point, that the Padam clan have steadily crept down the Yamne valley on the one side and towards the Dibang on the other. Meybo [1] and Siluk seem to have been in existence three generations (90-100 years) ago. The Padam tendency has been to push the Mishmi settlers west from their earlier colonies about the Ai-eng country and the Sisseri river, back over the Dibang. The Abors have not succeeded in establishing themselves on the left bank of the Dibang river.

The obvious trade advantages that have opened out within the last thirty years have attracted the colonies of Padam and Minyong Abors down to the plains of Assam, where they can easily obtain salt, iron and cloth from the Hindu traders of Sadiya, Laimekuri and Dibrugarh. At one time, until they had killed most of the trees, the Abors brought down a considerable amount of rubber to barter for their necessities of life. The colonies at the foot of the hills have adopted many of the customs of the plains people, and these influences are gradually spreading northwards. The use of boats and casting nets, methods of agriculture and the substitution of bazaar-bought thread for their own cotton are the more noticeable examples. In one of the more southerly Dobang villages a ball game (learnt from the Bengalis of Dibrugarh, it is believed) is now enthusiastically played. It is not unlike rounders.

The normal causes of migration, that operate so clearly in the abrupt and comparatively unproductive zone through which the Dihang flows as it comes nearer the plains, do not exist in the same degree in the Dobang and Memong country. The older settlements of these clans are in wide fertile valleys that can easily support a large population and the necessity for migration does not arise with any frequency. Consequently Galong migrations cannot be traced to anything like the same extent as the movements of the Minyongs and Pasis. The most careful investigations have failed to trace the Dobang movements further back than the Ising settlement ; from there Basar appears to have been colonized ; from Basar the villages of the Siemen valley claim their origin. Ising and Basar are about 10 miles apart and are large and flourishing communities to this day. It is however believed that the Galongs and Subansiri Daflas once lived in the Yamne valley, and that the Galongs, at all events, migrated by the gorge at Pasighat along the foot of the hills and up the Siemen valley.

The Memong village of Nomdir claims Ising as its parent village. These two places are a long day's march apart, over the ridge that divides the Subansiri and Dihang drainage areas. The Memongs affirm that they are descended from one Memong whose brother Rolero, so it is maintained, gives his name to the clan of Rolero, which is believed to inhabit the country on the right bank of the Siyom, about 28° 15′ parallel of latitude. With this clan touch has not as yet been established.

The migratory lines of the clans may be summarized as follows: the Minyong and Pasi from north to south, the Padam southwards and eastwards from their metropolis Damroh, and the Galongs, Dobang Tadun, and quite possibly Memong

[1] Membu.

and Rolero (when once the trans-Dihang migration was effected) influenced solely by local conditions, moving their villages on to some other spur, in any direction within very few miles of their old site, or sending an off-shoot, such as Degog from Koiyu, on to a spur on the opposite bank of the river by which they have settled.

Relations with Assam.

The earlier rulers of Assam, or Uttar Gol,[1] to restore to the country the romance of by-gone centuries that knew the Brahmaputra as the Hradya, the Daoinas of Ptolemy, or the Chiamay and the Dibang as the Cshudra Lohita, appear to have made no serious invasions of the highlands to the north. The steep, roadless, forest-clad mountains cut by rivers on which boats, if they could live at all, could be used only with great difficulty, were no temptation to the lords of the rich valley below, who were, however, occasionally goaded into offensive action by the persistent raiding of frontier communities. It is not therefore surprising that the relations between the rulers of the plains of Assam and the hill tribes as recorded by Gait[2] were spasmodic and unfriendly. The first reference to the hill tribes that this authority believes to be authentic is made by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang who, in order to study Buddhism, travelled through India in the early part of the seventh century. Beal's translation[3] gives Hiuen Tsiang's remark that "the "frontiers (of Kamarupa) are contiguous to the barbarians of the south-west of "China. These tribes are in fact akin to those of the Mān people (i.e. the S.-W. "barbarians) in their customs. After a two months' journey we reach the south-"western frontier of the province of Szechuen." The Kingdom of Kamarupa was not a small one; in the reign of Brahmapal (circ 1000 A.D.) much wealth was said to be derived from the copper mines which Gait conjectures were possibly in Bhotan, a country that was then, it is supposed, subject to Kamarupa. It is at least worth conjecture that the copper mines already referred to in this chapter[4] may perhaps have been a source of supply. If we pass over Muhammad Bahhtiyai's invasion of Tibet in about 1198 A.D. frontier history remains silent till early in the 17th century when frontier guards were established to repress Dafla raids. It is recorded that in 1615 an Ahom expedition across the Dafla border was repulsed by the tribesmen. This experience was repeated in 1646 when an invading force penetrated the Dikrang gorge in the scarcely favourable month of June but, finding the bows and arrows of their enemies too much for them, they incontinently retired without fulfilling their orders. The Buhā Gohain and Barpatra Gohain who were in command were dismissed the service and made to appear in public in female attire. A more vigorous commander in January of the following year gave an example of the way in which hill operations should be conducted. He induced the combined Daflas and "Hill Miris" (i.e. Subansiri Daflas) to fight a pitched battle in which they were heavily defeated. The force then marched through the country, destroyed the villages and granaries (then full after harvest) and secured about a thousand head of cattle. This effectually subdued the whole country, at least for a time.

[1] Blochmann, J A.S.B., XLI, Part I, p. 76

[2] Gait, History of Assam, Calcutta, 1906.

[3] Beale, Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II, p. 195.

[4] See p. 8.

In 1650 a body of Dafla archers did good service on a punitive expedition against the Lakma Nagas when the force was surprised by an attack of spearmen. In 1662 it is noted by the author of the Fathiyah i-'Ibriyah, who accompanied Mir Jumlah throughout his expedition to Assam, that the hills were inhabited by Miris, Mishmis, Daflas and other tribes. They paid no tribute but most of them regarded the Ahom king with awe and generally submitted to his orders, except the Daflas who were inveterate raiders. Occasional small but successful expeditions against the Miris and Mishmis are to be found in the pages of Assamese 17th century history. The most striking feature in the whole history of Assam prior to the British occupation was the foreign policy of Rudra Sing (d. 1714). He is said to have received the submission of all the hill tribes and to have established an extensive trade with Tibet. Unbroken peace, save for one successful Dafla expedition, seems to have marked the reign of his son. A camp site made during the progress of one of these later expeditions was pointed out to me on Moi-a hill, on the road to Beni (which was then in existence and apparently the objective of that particular column). The Subansiri Daflas told me with great satisfaction that although many of their people died in the jungle on that occasion, their Ahom enemies never saw them. It is interesting to note that in 1758 the Daflas, as punishment for several raids, were blockaded, forts were erected and the tribesmen forbidden to enter the plains.

The years 1788-89 saw the first stages in the fall of the Ahom Kingdom and the beginnings of British ascendency. During these troublous times the Daflas appear to have taken sides and played quite a prominent part in the fighting that took place. Lieutenant Macgregor, the first European officer to come into contact with them, described the Daflas as "men of excellent understanding and pleasant manners"—characteristics that time seems sadly to have withered. It is here, at the very end of the 18th century, that the Abors make their first appearance in history. The Khamtis, who had established themselves in Sadiya when the Ahom control of its more distant frontiers had perceptibly weakened, kidnapped some Miris who appear to have been admittedly vassals of the Abors in the hills above. These Abors, it is surmised from what is known of the migrations of the clans, were very possibly Padam from Damroh or its colonies. In the hostilities that took place the hillmen succeeded in defeating the Khamtis. In 1798 the expedition sent by the Ahom government to re-establish their rule in the east beat the Singphos and succeeded, two years later, in inflicting a decisive defeat on the Khamtis. In this battle the Khamtis are said to have been assisted by the Abors. With this reverse Abor relations with the expiring Ahom Kingdom came to a close. It has been gathered that the term "Dafla," as recorded by Gait in the pages from which this historical résumé is an extract, is somewhat loosely applied and that the turbulent hillmen, whose raids make up the sum of early frontier history, may quite possibly have included the Abors. This conclusion is strengthened by one of the reports stating that the Daflas and neighbouring clans were the allies of the Ahom Government during the Naga expedition of 1650. The history of the relations of the British Government with the hill tribes may be found in Gait's History of Assam and in Mackenzie's North-East Frontier.

In spite of their reputation the Abors cannot be regarded as a warlike people, so such tales of ancient cities and fights fought long ago as the village elders can drag from the recesses of a rusty and reluctant memory, deal with the most desultory of skirmishes followed by the construction of formidable stone-shoots and the blocking of all the paths leading to the hostile village. The pomp and circumstance of war is upheld by the construction of almost medieval fortifications on that side of the village nearest the enemy. All this of course produces military and commercial stalemate, until one side or the other becomes tired of the "war", whereupon peace is declared with all due ceremony at a *mithan* feast. Of this type of warfare the fight between Kebang and Riga three generations ago and the recent hostilities between Pangkang and Karko are good instances.

It is not thought that any considerable movement of the population of the Abor hills in recent times can be attributed to invasion or the fear of hostilities, but it is believed that the bulk of the people we call the plains Miris were driven out of the upper Abor hills by the Abors of the Dihang valley some generations prior to the British occupation of Assam.[1] I have been informed by Captain Hore that two Miri villages still exist in the neighbourhood of the Siyom river, but that these last footholds of the previous occupants of the country are being merged with the Abors by the peaceful method of intermarriage. The people of Milang,[2] who speak a language entirely different to that of the clans that surround them, are quite possibly the sole survivors of a race that flourished, before the coming of the Abors, in the valley of the Dihang, and the tongue that they speak may be a faint far-off rumour of ancient wars.

Chapter II.—*The Country and its People.*

Topography.

The country is a labyrinth of mountains, generally precipitous and invariably covered with forest and bush jungle more or less thick. In the deep valleys, rivers and streams rush towards the main artery of what the Abors call the Si-ang and we know as the Dihang or, outside that far-reaching system, flow direct into the Brahmaputra. Agriculture is carried on by clearing the steep hillsides with infinite labour, for plateau-like spurs are rare, and rich alluvial flats are rarer still. The Minyong fields cannot, so far as has been gathered or observed, in any way compare with the Galong cultivation of the Sipu Valley that supports the prosperous Memong communities of which Kombong is the centre. Karko, however, has rich cultivation.

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[1] The Tangam clan furnish a good example of migration in the making. They originally inhabited the country on both banks of the Dihang from the gorge by which the river breaks through the main range as far down as the 29th parallel of latitude. The Membas crossed the passes a century ago and settled about Marpung in what is now the district of Pemakoichen and gradually dispossessed the Abors until the Tangam were entirely evicted from the best land in the country. In the steep districts below the gorge on both banks and in the tracts to the north of the Yangsang Chu on the left bank mixed Abor-Memba communities exist to this day, although the Tangam are gradually deserting their upper holdings and migrating to Kuging which remains exclusively Tangam. While the Memba pursued the method of peaceful penetration, Simong adopted more direct measures and the colonies of Ngamying and Jido were founded thirty years ago on the ashes of old Tangam villages

[2] Villages of Milang Dalbuing Modi, now absorbed by Simong and the Padam: Modi being isolated retains its language and customs almost unaltered by modern influences.

The valley of the Dihang presents three distinct topographical zones.[1] Away to the north the river foams through a succession of cañons cut in the crystalline rocks, with mountains towering high on either side, that gradually expand into a deep-cut valley. Below this the valley widens and the slopes down to the river become gentle. This is the heart of the Abor country, densely populated, with all the hillside systematically cleared for cultivation. Further down the river, the valley once more contracts and, with high partially-cleared spurs far above it, the Dihang finds its way through steep gorges into the plains. The purple shale existing in beds of considerable extent, the boulders brought down by the rivers from the metamorphic rocks further north and the weathering that creates throughout the country somewhat formidable obstacles to rapid progress are, to the unscientific observer, the main geological features of the lower zone. Of this weathering the hills from Tapi Nari up to Kunung, in the Galong country, that look like great ant-hills connected by razor-edged ridges, furnish a good example. But the most interesting feature that has come within my personal experience rises from the bed of the Siemen above Koiyu. This is the Dupe ridge. It runs for about nine miles hardly ever much more than three yards across, a serrated wall of clay. The ridge is bounded generally by precipices some hundreds of feet in the sheer, fortunately clothed, as a rule, with vegetation, and extends, waterless, at an elevation of over 5,000 feet, from the Siemen river to the gentle descent into the Sipu valley. The total waterless tract, including the ascent to and descent from the ridge, is fourteen miles. Another interesting physical feature was found up the Dudu, a tributary of the Siemen, below Kadu. For about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile this stream flows through a rock passage varying from about 4 to 20 feet across, with walls of rock rising to a height of 100 to 150 feet on either side; trees arch and interlace their boughs overhead. Iron was found here in considerable quantities.

Few sheets of standing water have been found, none of them large enough to rise to the dignity of a lake; one near Parong, in the depth of the jungle, is about 70 yards across in winter. The nature of the country does not, as a rule, lend itself to lakes of any size.

Fauna and Flora.

The most remarkable feature of the fauna of the Abor-Galong country is the total absence of the elephant, an animal that roams in large herds through the Dafla country and to the south of the Lohit. Elephant's teeth were found near Rotung which, from a geological point of view, were quite recent, but the animal has entirely deserted the hills that lie between the Subansiri and the Dibang. The reason for this is not apparent. The conditions are similar along the frontier and the Daflas are certainly not less persistent as hunters than the Galongs and Abors, who can hardly therefore be assumed to have exterminated them. Whilst elephants are plentiful in the Digaru-Mishmi country, the Northern Mishmi highlands are possibly too steep for them, amazingly capable though they are of surmounting almost precipitous ridges. I once saw two elephants

[1] These conditions obtain westwards to Akaland: to the north precipitous country on an immense scale guards the Tibetan passes; below this are a series of fertile straths and valleys shut off from Assam by the comparatively low, but difficult, foot-hills.

near Pasighat, and Mr. W. C. Morris, whose knowledge of elephants on this frontier is considerable, told me that a few elephants at Sibyamukh and a herd up the Sisseri are the only elephants he has found, or traces he has discovered, in the plains between the Subansiri and the Dibang.

The other notable feature is the interesting series of squirrels that are found in the country. As a report dealing with the ethnography and zoology of the Abor country has been written by an authority on these matters, it is enough, in this unscientific account of the fauna, to say that monkeys (including the langur), tiger, bear, leopard, sambhur and barking deer, pig, serow, otters, squirrels, rats and bats are to be found either in the foot-hills or further to the North; along the snowy range south of Tibet *takin* are to be met with at about 10,000 ft. in June.

The birds associated with the Eastern Himalayas are well represented, and of the larger birds, hawks, greater and lesser hornbills, jungle fowl, khalij pheasants and hill partridges are seen. Dr. Falkiner tells me that there is a similarity between the birds of the Abor country and the Malay Straits that has not been observed in India. Snakes and land crustacea are not at all uncommon; fish swarm in the rivers[1] and prawns in the streams. The coleoptera and lepidoptera that are to be found during the rains would well repay any entomologist spending a summer in the country. Leeches abound along the foot-hills and in some of the gorges and valleys "dam-dim" flies are painfully common. Ticks might also, with advantage to the traveller, be less strongly represented.

The great differences in altitudes and consequently in climatic conditions that exist through the hills create a wonderful variety in the flora. Generally speaking the vegetation south of the 29th parallel is evergreen sub-tropical forest.[2] But the types of vegetation range upwards from the dark luxuriant tree and bush jungle, choked with parasitic creepers and filled with cane brake, of the valleys along the southern slopes; through the more spacious forest where the undergrowth is lighter and the trees, simal, nahor and holok mingle with the oak and chestnut and where the screw pine becomes a prominent feature we reach the vegetation associated with the higher altitudes. Here the ordinary bamboo is replaced by a remarkably thin variety that grows in thick low clumps, dwarf rhododendrons cast anchor in the rifted rock, and

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[1] Mahseer were caught in June at the mouth of the Sipong, but in these higher reaches boka predominated.

[2] The vegetation on Dino (10,300 ft.) just south of 29°, in the Angong Abor country was found to range in the following zones. Up to 4000 feet the trees were choked by parasitic creepers and thick luxuriant undergrowth. Above this altitude the thick undergrowth was replaced by thin bamboos in clumps and low bushes of flowering shrubs. Above 6000 feet the stony crystalline outcrop was covered with ferns and the path ran thro' a belt of tall azaleas, into the rhododendron zone. The first cypresses were seen at 8400 feet. At 9000 feet a bush of holly was noticed. The summit was a narrow ridge of limestone covered with heath dotted here and there with dwarf azalea and rhododendron, with an occasional stunted cypress. The hill was visited at the end of May and snow still lay in the corries. There was no other water supply above 9000 feet and this would account for the absence of game large or small. The azaleas were magnificent—a wealth of fragrant white flowers six inches in diameter. The rhododendrons were also out, blossoming pink in the lower altitudes, and yellow, red and purple higher up the hill. A tree with leaves like those of the "Elephant Apple" tree was in flower at 8000 feet; it had blossoms like large white Canterbury bells. The heath on the summit had a small yellow flower. Visiting the Mishmi Hills at the end of March (1914) white tall azaleas and pink tall rhododendrons were found in full bloom between 6000 and 7000 feet, lat. 28°20′ long. 95°40′.

other and rare flowering shrubs mark the altered conditions. The tree fern has disappeared, and the orchids and the small ferns are no longer the species found nearer the plains.

Along the foot of the hills the dark intensity of shade born of a choking mass of tropical vegetation writhing and struggling for light must be seen to be realized.

In the intermediate zone wild fruit trees including the mango, lichee, various nuts, yellow and red raspberries and blackberries all grow.

A water creeper, known locally as *pani lot*, is commonly found along the frontier. This is a large creeper with a corrugated and cork-like bark. Water comes freely when it is cut in lengths. Another interesting plant is a creeper called *Gamini* by the Assamese and *Asi-koni* by the Abors (who must have borrowed the name from the Plains). It has a pinkish core and is said to cure snake-bite, the dry plant being effective for years afterwards. I found the plant in the jungle near Pasighat.

The Dihang carries down immense tree-trunks torn from the forests of Pemakoichen and Tibet. Of these trees incomparably the finest is the cypress. Mr. A. J. Harrison, C.I.E., of the Mekla Nadi Saw Mills, to whom I am indebted for this information, tells me that he has found a cypress trunk with a diameter of 7 feet. Other trees that float down the Dihang are the pitch, red, and white pines. The first has been known to measure four feet, and the others three feet in diameter.

Climate.

From about the middle of November till the end of January in normal years the climate in the hills is exceedingly pleasant by day, if somewhat cold at night; this clear and bracing weather is broken about the new year by a short spell of rain. During February and March rain may be expected. At the beginning of March the atmosphere loses its clearness and mists and clouds prevail. Rain sets in early in April with an occasional clear day during the month affording a fine view of the snows. By the beginning of May the steady rise of the main rivers and the filling up of the mountain streams becomes marked. But, whilst April is generally rainy, May is a fine month as a rule. By the middle of June rain has made the country difficult to traverse. The rivers begin to subside in October. Although snow may occasionally fall on the highest features near the plains, it is not believed that a regular fall is experienced much south of Simong, excepting, of course, the high peaks above Damroh. The hurricanes that blow down the gorges are a noticeable feature especially during the Spring.

Communications, Roads.

The Abor paths, which are none too good near the plains, improve noticeably a little further to the north, where the main highways connect the larger and more prosperous communities. In the Dobang country the steeper clay slopes were sometimes found to be stepped. In the Sipu valley transverse and longitudinal sleepers greatly improve the heavy clay roads, and the streams in that prosperous valley are spanned by excellent bridges. The paths high up the Dihang were also found to be improved by stepping. It has been noticed throughout these hills that the different villages are definitely responsible for the maintenance of the communications between them. In

the Subansiri high-lands bamboo ladders are constructed at more than usually difficult places.[1]

Rivers.

The swiftness of the larger rivers combined with the frequent runs of broken water, does not tend to produce ideal water-ways. Added to this the Abors, with the exception of the villagers about the mouth of the Yamne, do not swim or embark on the water at all, if they can avoid it. Consequently that excellent, if primitive, plains Miri craft the "dug-out" is unknown in the Abor country. Small bamboo or plantain-stalk rafts generally built to carry two or, at the outside, three persons are used for crossing unfordable rivers,[2] but cane tubular bridges are constructed wherever possible.

Bridges.

One of the finest known example of Abor bridging spanned[3] the Dihang near Komsing. The Abors state that it was constructed during the winter of 1908-9 by about 200 of the inhabitants of about twelve neighbouring villages on either bank. The immense amount of material required for its construction was first of all collected and stacked. Cane ropes of the required length were then pieced together on the bank, floated across and secured to trees on the far side. On this foundation the tubular bridge was constructed. The Abors, in using it, considered about forty yards' interval between passengers to be necessary.

Captain J. O'Neil, I.M.S., who carefully took the measurements of this bridge, and gave me the information recorded above, kindly supplied me with the following details :—

The length of bridge-work measured along the footway from entrance to entrance was 717 feet, and the approaches were about 34 feet in length giving a total of 786 feet. The supports (on either bank) were 8–10 logs about 21 foot long and from $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 9 in. in diameter, with 10 foot buttress posts. The bridge was anchored on either side by about 30 strands of split cane attached to growing trees, live bamboos and rocks. The open tube of cane-work of which the bridge was made consisted of a frame-work of 30 ropes of split canes varying from 20 feet to 50 feet in length, and from $\frac{3}{4}$ in. to 1 in. in diameter; and running longitudinally from $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 1 foot apart, the lengths of cane being tied together with what Mr. Kemp tells me is known as "an ordinary knot." Fifty-nine interlacing strands at varying intervals of from 3 to 23 ft. along the bridge made of 4 strands of whole cane twisted together formed the hoops of the cage. The suspension cables were made of 6 strands of split cane twisted together; these cables varied in height from 4 ft. 6 in. to 6 ft. 6 in., from that precarious structure the foot way; 10 struts of bamboo, at various intervals, were placed transversely to separate the suspension cables. The height of the bridge above winter river level was found to be 50 feet at the centre and 130 feet at the entrances. As might

[1] In other localities—i.e. on the Dihang side—galleries of tree-trunks and handropes of creepers make what would otherwise be impassable places barely negociable.

[2] The large rafts used by the Riga men carry 6 or 8 people.

[3] This was written in 1912, the bridge has since been destroyed; the longest bridge I have been on is at Kodak, length about 780 feet of foot-way from entrance to entrance.

be expected, the give of this kind of footway is appreciable (in places over a foot) and it is necessary to put a considerable amount of weight on the upper cables, that are grasped in either hand. Moreover the sway of these bridges is considerable at the centre ; in windy weather it is so great as to make crossing such a bridge impossible.

The three beautiful photographs taken by Mr. Kemp admirably illustrate this feat of Abor engineering, a feat that is repeated higher up the valley, where the river is not usually quite so wide. The Siring cane bridge, 180 ft. long, is the best made I have seen. It is quite taut and is provided with a woven cane foot-way; 30 ft. below the river foams in a series of cascades down to the Dihang which it joins, near the head of a fine rapid, at an excellent spot for boka and mahseer. The Galongs also build good tubular bridges and the Subansiri, so I am informed, is spanned by bridges of similar construction in its upper reaches. The hill-men also construct, where bamboos are plentiful, excellent single-span, or suspension, bridges with substantial roadways over small rivers and streams. But the usual bridge is a felled tree that stretches from bank to bank above the level of the highest spate. These are often chipped, with infinite labour, into half trunks ; for the trees are not split and saws are unknown to the hill tribes.

Heavy traffic soon destroys the cane roadway of a tubular bridge, a process that is made all the easier by the distance generally left between the main supporting hoops. Abors when crossing these bridges always keep in step, singing as they go. By breaking step a party avoids a considerable amount of swing, but it possibly puts an undesirable strain on the bridge. Although these tubular cane bridges are frequently thrown across the big tributaries of the Dihang they are not common over the main river. They are short-lived structures. At Koiyu, in the Dobang country, the tubular high level bridge is supplemented during the winter by a bamboo bridge just above the water.

The Tibetans use boats made of hides, according to both Kinthup[1] and the Kambas recently interrogated. Tugden stated that at Nyango-tru, one day below Tse-tang, there is an iron cable by which boats are pulled across the river. Kinthup mentions that about 15 miles below where he states the falls of the Tsanpo exist and still well within Tibetan territory (if this authority may be accepted), the Tsanpo is crossed between Khing-Khing and Phuparong by a rope stretched from one bank to the other, on which the traveller swings. This is said to be called a '' bring '' and is possibly similar to the Mishmi method of crossing rivers as described to me by Captain Bethell who saw this '' bridge '' up the Ichi valley. Three cane ropes are stretched across the gorge and provided with two cane loops, one to sit in, the other as a support for the neck. Having confided himself to this whilst on the platform thoughtfully provided for the purpose, the traveller after the preliminary run down the sagging portion of the rope laboriously works his passage over to the other side with his legs, which he throws over the cane ropes. Loads can be fastened below the loop. The only thing that can

[1] Explorations on the Tsang-po in 1880–84 by Explorer Kinthup, Survey of India, 1911.

be said in favour of this method of crossing is that the traveller cannot possibly look down. The Mishmis also build ordinary bamboo suspension bridges. The type of bridge found up the Subansiri across the smaller tributaries was a flimsy bamboo structure resting on a trestle support. I was told that away in the north the people used boats. The Daflas of course use rafts, and the statement undoubtedly referred to Tibet.

Linguistic Groups.

The clans between the Dibang and the Subansiri fall into two main linguistic groups,[1] the larger and more easterly being the Abor, the second comprising the Galong group. Galong is the name given by the Minyong Abors to all the tribes to the west of them. I have not been able to find this word in Lorraine who, however, gives Dompo-la for Daflas. The Galongs speak of the Minyongs as Ninyongs. In each group there are slight differences between the various dialects, Padam and Minyong for instance, but the members of the various clans understand each other quite well. As regards the second group, careful observation failed to discover (in the course of a short tour through the country) more than two words that are different in Dobang and Memong. Cooked rice is *apin* in Abor, *achin* in Dobang and *ame* in Memong. Fish is *engo* in Abor, *gnoi* in Dobang and *mene* in Memong.

Tribal Relations.

Memongs and Dobangs appear to intermarry with comparative freedom, but avoid marriage with the Minyongs; Pasis and Panggis and Minyongs appear to intermarry, and although Panggis and Minyongs (on the Riga side at all events) appear to occupy themselves in fitful hostilities, Rotung is half Panggi and half Minyong. All notes taken in the Dihang valley require, however, further corroboration before safe conclusions on manners and customs can be drawn. The Minyongs who have been carefully observed have been either for the last 15 to 20 years isolated at Mishing, or belong to the border colony of Ledum. Most of my other notes were collected on trek.

The Chulikata and Bebijia Mishmis[2] are hostile to the Padam Abors, who have driven the Mishmis from their more western settlements in order to plant their own colonies in the Sisseri valley. Abors and Galongs are not particularly friendly, nor are the Galongs on good terms with the Daflas, on the right bank of the Subansiri. A light is thrown on tribal conditions beyond the Subansiri by an invitation I was given by a Subansiri Dafla *Gam* to lead an invading force against a turbulent community of Daflas in the Ranga valley to the south-west, of which he wished to be rid. The Subansiri Daflas appeared to be on excellent terms with the Apatanang people, to the west of them.

Mr. Coggin Brown, who accompanied Mr. Bentinck, I.C.S., to the furthest point

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[1] The Abor clans are Tangam, Angong (or Bomo Janbo), Simong, Karko, Minyong, Panggi, Padam, Pasi. Occupying what may be regarded as an indefinite position between Abor and Galong are the Boris.

The Galong clans are Memong, Hangu-Bagra [?], Rolero, Karka, Dobang and Tadun. To these might be added the Gachi, who live between the Tadun people and the Subansiri and are generally termed Ghasi Miris. The unvisited Boka people might perhaps also be included in the Galong group.

[2] I am indebted to Captain G. A. Nevill, P.O. Western Section N.E.F., for the information that Bebejia and Chulikatta (both Assamese names for the hillmen) are incorrectly used to designate two separate clans: they are subdivisions of the Midu clan.

reached by the exploration party in 1912, has kindly supplied the following account of tribal conditions in the upper Dihang valley beyond the Minyong influence of Riga. Simong is the richest and most powerful community in this northern zone and is allied with the neighbouring Karko and Bomo Janbo clans. It dominates the smaller villages in its vicinity and is believed to guide the councils of its allies. It is strong enough to approach the Padam on equal terms and may be taken to be the strongest power existing in the valley.[1]

There is a slight but quite perceptible trade southwards in such articles as woollen coats and swords, through the Karka and Memong tribes, but trade does not run freely and no other trace of indirect Tibetan, or rather Bori, influence is to be found in the northern Dobang and Tadun villages. For instance, the white Tibetan studs that generally adorn the waist-cloth hoops of the Memongs, are only in the very rarest instances worn by the Dobangs and Taduns. The southern Galongs and the lower Minyong and Padam colonies naturally buy all they require from the shops along the Assamese frontier. The southern Memong communities obtain their salt and the bulk of the metal for their swords, arrow-heads and spear heads, through Koiyu, Kaking, Dosing, the recognized trade media, but they consider the long swords that they buy from the Boris to be superior to anything they can get from the plains. The Memong women get their cloth from Laimekuri (through Dobang intermediaries), whilst the men buy their coats from the Boris. These are expensive luxuries and the Memongs stated that every year they get more and more cloth from the south. The Minyongs do not encourage trade with the Memong country through the eastern Siyom valley or Yemsing and so connect up with the main Dihang-Balek-Sadiya trade artery. The Memongs, being able to draw freely from other sources, are not concerned by this commercial blockade in the adverse way that the Panggis are affected by the stifling of trade intercourse by their neighbours. The prejudicial effect upon the Panggi clan is very striking, and they compare in every way most unfavourably with their neighbours.

Appearance of the People.

The best possible description of the general appearance of the Abor people is afforded by photographs.[2] For the admirable series taken in the Dihang valley, that forms so valuable a portion of this Memoir, I am gratefully indebted to Mr. S. W. Kemp of the Indian Museum. Only a short description of the people is therefore necessary.

For the result of anthropometrical work in the Abor Hills, the reader is referred to the valuable contribution that the authors, Mr. Kemp and Mr. Coggin Brown, have most kindly incorporated in this Memoir.

Like most hillmen, the Abors and kindred tribes are not a hairy race; weak straggling moustaches and beards were occasionally noticed. Men and women turn grey in the course of age, but I saw no cases of baldness. The hair is straight and black. Amongst the Abors and to some extent amongst the Southern Galongs both sexes shave their heads to a height of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the ears, leaving a cap of hair on

[1] This was corroborated in 1913.

[2] See also the plates in Dalton's "Ethnology of Bengal."

the crown, the edges of which are carefully trimmed. The appearance of the dwellers in the Dihang valley, with their distinctly Mongoloid features, is not improved by this peculiarly ugly custom. The northern Galong clans dress their hair in a more attractive fashion. The men cut their hair, they do not shave it; and the women wear their hair long, parting it in the centre and tying it in a chignon at the back. The Memong women in particular were found to plait the tresses nearest the forehead drawing them back over their ears.[1] Many of these women presented an alternative type to that generally associated with the hill tribes, for they possessed regular oval features and, with slightly aquiline noses and an olive skin, were almost semitic in appearance. The roundfaced Mongoloid type was also noticed in the Memong villages and served to accentuate the real beauty of the other women. This clan gave one the impression of being clean and healthy and showed a better physique than any other clan in the country. The Dobangs and Taduns are not so fine a race as the Memongs, but they compare very favourably with the Minyongs. The Padam are of fine physique, which is more than can be said for their neighbours, the Panggis, who are most degenerate in appearance. The Minyongs are superior to the Panggis, but neither mentally nor physically can they compare with the Galongs. The Pasis of the Balek group compare favourably with their Minyong neighbours, but the communities settled on or near the plains bear those traces of civilization that are associated with rum and opium. Apart from these influences the people inhabiting the actual valley of the Dihang are noticeably inferior in physique to their Padam and Galong neighbours.

Speaking generally, Abors and Galongs have black eyes and are brown skinned, but the colour of the skin has been observed to range from almost black to the softest olive. The hillmen, taken as a whole, are short and sturdy, and some exceedingly well-made specimens of manhood have been seen among them. They are capable of a considerable amount of hard work; unloaded they move steadily and rapidly over long stretches of difficult country without feeling fatigue, and even heavily laden will cover a considerable distance in the day over an indifferent hill track. The Subansiri Dafla is not the finest type of hillman, but I met some of them beyond Moi-a hill carrying loads of at least 100 pounds over a long and difficult march. The men perform the heaviest labour, but the women, who work far more continuously, are strong, and are accustomed to heavy loads; they and their sturdy children form the majority of the coolies given to the traveller throughout these hills when a village is called upon to carry over the next stage. The hillmen are unused to running beyond the shortest of distances. When walking the body is kept upright, the legs are slightly bent at the knee and the arms swing freely, with the palms of the hands inwards.

Tattooing is not regarded by the hillmen as a religious rite. Certain designs that have been noticed, such as the arrow head and the dot within the circle, that are conventional Phallic signs elsewhere, do not appear to convey any such association, nor indeed has it been determined that any marks or designs have a definite meaning

[1] This is the Memba fashion.

ascribed to them. It is just possible that there may be some remote affinity between the Abor chevrons and the *ak* marks of the Nagas that proclaim the successful head-hunter.[1]

Tattooing.

The practice of tattooing is diminishing in the communities that are closely in touch with the plains; the men seem hardly ever to be tattooed and the women are gradually abandoning the practice. Further north the custom is still almost universal among Panggis, the Simong colonies and Karko. The Angong and Tangam Abors do not tattoo themselves. It is said that originally the different clans had their own designs, but these distinctions have now disappeared. Certain designs are, however, considered suitable for the different parts of the body that the hillmen generally tattoo, and men and women are ornamented with a different set of markings, those given to the women being the more elaborate. Examples of old and new designs are given on Plate O. As may be seen from these illustrations, the markings are not artistic. No designs have been evolved that give graceful conventional patterns, or represent human beings, animals or mythical creatures. The simplest combinations of lines are rigidly adhered to. In reviewing the designs most frequently met with it is interesting to note that one of them is the main component of the Tibetan trigram *hor-yig*,[2] and that the × is the emblem of the Kar-gyu-pa Lamaist order.[3] It would not, however, in dealing with so universal and elementary a symbol as the cross in its various forms, be safe to regard this coincidence as a proof of affinity between Tibetan and Abor. But it may be observed that the trend of migration,[4] the appearance of the people, the basis of religion and in a lesser degree the similarity of various words all tend, however slightly, in that direction. It is at least for consideration that these hill tribes came over the passes from the North and that the older inhabitants of these hills may be found in the Miri and Milang settlements that still survive. Research in the Milang country might yield valuable results. Father Krick in his account of his visit to Membu in 1853 attributes the cross and chevron-like tattoo marks to Christian origin[5] and developes his theory with great enthusiasm.

It has been gathered that the Minyongs tattoo their children when they are about ten years old and that the Pasi girls are not tattooed until they reach the age of puberty. All the designs are not executed at one sitting, nor indeed in a single year. A beginning is made with the designs on the calves of the legs, on the breast and round the mouth. These may take four or five days to execute. The embellishments resembling the hieroglyphic sign for the Nile are made in the following year, and in the third year the front of the upper portion of both legs are tattooed. The person tattooed is forbidden to eat any meat (other than that of birds) or drink *apong*

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[1] J.A.S.B., Vol. XLI, Part I, 1872. A visit to the Naga Hills by S. E. Peal.

[2] Shown on Pl. O. Waddell in his Buddhism of Tibet, p 394 (giving Dumouties, "Les Symboles, etc. Annamites" as his authority), states that this is a modification of Tho, the Chinese symbol for longevity, and has a similar meaning.

[3] Ib., p. 93, where it is stated that this sect was founded in the latter half of the 11th century A.D.

[4] P. 12 of Memoir.

[5] Waddell's Buddhism of Tibet, pp 420 422, with its footnotes referring to Huc and Marco Polo, throws light on an interesting theory of the influence of Roman Catholicism upon the Buddhist religion up to the 14th century.

whilst the tattooing is being done. Rice, fish, salt and a little relish is the proper diet, and water may be drunk sparingly. These precautions are taken to prevent fever.[1] The method of tattooing was described to me as follows:—A *bet* stalk is stripped of all its thorns save one and this is held to the skin and tapped with a piece of stick. Charcoal powder is worked into the holes thus made, forming the design in lightish blue lines. The blue colour of the tattoo marks appears to have given rise to the impression that indigo is used, but so far as it has been possible to ascertain only charcoal is employed by the tattooist. It is said to last a lifetime.

There is no special tattooist, but some one skilled in the art is generally to be found in every village. Men tattooists operate on the women, and for this reason the breast is tattooed by the Minyongs before the girls are developed. Payment is made in rice, the equivalent to a 4 annas being given for each sitting. All girls who have been tattooed give a day's labour in the fields to the tattooist.[2]

Other personal Adornment.

The ears are pierced[3] when children are several years old. Formerly this was done, in the case of both sexes, five or six days after birth. Men as well as women wear ear ornaments of cane or metal.

Cicatrisation is unknown, and circumcision is not practised.[4]

The Abors do not paint their bodies, but the girls have been seen with their cheeks smeared with lime. The reason almost invariably given for this practice is that the lime (acting as a counter irritant) is a cure for a boil or a sore in the mouth. That this cure is actually used is highly probable, but on the other hand the practice has been observed only on high days or when a dance is being held, and the lime is always symmetrically daubed on both cheeks. Moreover it has only been noticed on growing girls. It has been stated by one Abor that the white streaks of lime are to proclaim the fact that the girl is of marriageable age.

Although not involving an operation, the Galong habit of encircling the legs of their women with tight anklets must be an irksome and in some cases a painful custom for the wearer. The anklets, which are generally of brass, are none too loose for the children when first they put them on. They are not afterwards removed except as a sign of disgrace, so the discomfort they cause is willingly borne, but the legs of many of the Tadun and Dobang women are hideously misshapen in consequence. This practice is not however universally observed amongst these two clans. The Minyong women wear woven anklets of black cane, which are about four inches long shaped to the leg and, being comparatively loose, do not interfere with the natural curves of their lower limbs.

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[1] These observations, together with details regarding the payment of the tattoer which I have embodied, were recorded in some notes shown to me by Mr. Furze, A.P.O., Pasighat; they appeared to be in the handwriting of the late Mr. Noel Williamson, A.P O., Sadiya. Mr. Williamson stated that it takes three years to complete the designs.

[2] From a note by the late Mr. Noel Williamson.

[3] Pasi evidence.

[4] Karko Abors have a custom of fastening up the penis to the waistband with a strand of fibrous grass tied round the prepuce. This practice is followed by certain of the Panggi villages.

Dress.

The tribes inhabiting the highlands north of the Brahmaputra, unlike certain of the Naga clans, do not habitually go naked. Boys up to the age of nine or ten are of course frequently seen in a state of nature, but the nearest approach to entire nakedness seen amongst adults was the rough leaf skirt worn by a Dafla woman from a village beyond the zone influenced by civilization; with this may be considered the custom of Abor men to discard coats and loin-cloths and wear only a fibrous sporran during the rains. As regards the Daflas, especially those of the Subansiri highlands where the art of weaving appears to be non-existent, the women supplement their skirts of imported cloth with a large number of cane rings joined together. This makes a crinoline over-skirt and, together with the wide cane-work bands across their breasts and the brass-studded belts that they wear, probably comprised their entire costume before the fabrics of a higher civilization were obtainable. In hot weather, when working in the fields or in the house, the hill women go about stripped to the waist, wearing only the one cloth wound tightly round their bodies and covering them from the waist to the knee. It has been gathered that the Dafla women revert to their more primitive but undoubtedly cooler garb of cane when working in the fields.

The dress of the two sexes is dissimilar and, especially as regards the men, costume differs considerably in the various communities. Clothes amongst the Galongs and Abors may be divided into two categories, those that are made locally by the women to supply the wants of the household and those that are imported either from the North (i.e. Tibet through the Boris), from the East (Tibet from the upper Dibang) or from the plains of Assam. While the art of weaving appears to be unknown to the hill tribes between the Subansiri and the Aka country, the Galongs and Abors have borrowed from the plains not only the loom and spinner but the cotton teaser that enables the more Southern clans at all events to produce lengths of cotton fabric and rough cotton rugs. The cloth is either coloured and worked into patterns of bands and lines, or is plain white. The coloured cloths are woven in many different designs, none of which are distinctive of any particular community. Consequently detailed measurements of the various patterns are valueless for purposes of comparison. The Minyong and Southern Galong cloths are usually red with blue lines running through the material. Amongst the Pasials yellow and black, white and red or red and green are not infrequent combinations of colour. But in modern local products of the Balek Pasi-Minyong group, as in their agriculture, customs, and religion, it is unsafe to consider any variation from the usages of other localities as indigenous and true Abor, since the influence of the plains is very marked and is growing stronger. The coloured cottons used in weaving by these Southern communities are frequently bought from Marwari traders. These coloured cotton cloths are woven in narrow strips about a foot wide. Two pieces of similar design are sewn together so as to bring the pattern into horizontal lines when worn as a skirt, or upper garment. The usual length for a skirt of two of these pieces is about 3′ 6″ by 2′. The cloths are further ornamented by a band of needle-work, sewn across the cloths and at right angles to the woven pattern. In a rather striking

yellow and black cloth seen in Balek the band of needle-work was an inch broad in a diamond design of red, black and white, making a good imitation of the markings on a snake's skin, although of course differing entirely in colour from any known reptile, save possibly a chameleon on a tartan rug.

The plain white cloths are still made of local cotton even in Balek. They are ornamented with a band of really artistic needle-work in various colours, generally red and blue, along the short edges. These cloths are used as shawls, or for carrying children, or sometimes grain, but the ordinary upper garment is a second coloured cloth wound round the body so as to cover the breasts. Loin-cloths for the men are made either of material similar to the plain white cloth, or of vegetable fibre.

The cotton rugs are an inferior but by no means worthless imitation of the plains Miri *puri*, and consist of two strips sewn together. They are used by the men as blankets, or else they are cut into coats made on the model of those imported from Tibet.

In the northern portions of the Dihang valley the women wear white or black cloths of local manufacture. These are made of cotton.[1]

It may be of interest to describe here by way of comparison the clothes worn by the Chulikata and Bebijia Mishmis. The men of these septs in addition to Tibetan woollen coats wear what can best be described as tabard-like garments of *takin* skin. These are noteworthy as they seem to be the only garments that have been seen with any semblance of shape. They are put together in accordance with the lie of the *takin* hair and are shaped with some idea of cut. The Mishmi women weave loin cloths for the men and skirts for themselves; the cloth is generally dark blue with a red or yellow line running through it.[2]

Amongst Abors and Galongs the headdress is only worn by the men, since the women go bare-headed. It takes the form of a cane helmet which, primarily an important feature of the warrior's equipment, is in common every-day use. Hats made of *mithan* hide have been seen in the Galong country, but are not generally worn. The helmet varies slightly in shape and considerably in ornamentation but has the same general appearance, when divested of its trappings, throughout the Abor and Galong hills. It can best be described as an almost brimless and distinctly oval "bowler." Made of successive rings of thin cane it is built up and bound together with strips of fine cane woven vertically and so closely as to entirely cover the ring foundation. The basketry is so fine that some of the helmets will hold water, and they are all so strongly made as to be sword-proof. The brim is invariably encircled with a ring of stout cane and, in some clans, the upper part of the helmet is further strengthened with broad rings and slips of the same material. In the bravery of his headdress the Abor breaks away to some extent from the uniformity that characterizes most of his clothing, equipment and personal possessions. Tufts

[1] The cotton plant is found right up the Dihang valley.

[2] Captain Bethell, to whom I am indebted for the description of the Mishmi cloth, tells me that it is similar to the Tibetan military pattern.

of dyed hair, boars' tusks, the beaks and feathers of the horn bill, and serow horns are all used to adorn his helmet. In decking his war helmet with tufts and long tresses of hair dyed black and red that fall over his face, the Padam Abor is quite in accord with Celestial ideas of the moral effect that a terrible appearance may be expected to produce in an enemy's ranks. (Plate XXII.)

Men who can afford to buy them wear short woollen coats that come down either straight from Tibet or through the Dibang valley. These coats are generally about 2′ 6″ in length, are open down the front and have short sleeves. Different communities seem to affect distinctive patterns. The Southern Minyongs and Pasis wear bluish coats marked with rather interesting designs in white, blue and red.[1] Another pattern noticed in other Minyong communities was reddish brown in colour ornamented with inconspicuous bands of yellow.[2] Some of the Southern Galongs wear rather longer coats made of whitish wool with red tabs on the collar. Among the Northern Galongs white woollen coats are bought from the Boris. The Bomo Janbo wear short dark blue coats of serge-like stuff not seen elsewhere. A loin cloth with the few cane rings that help to support it completes the costume of the men, unless the black or red cane rings worn on wrists and legs are included.

Their ornaments consist of the blue or green porcelain beads that come from the North, and strings of beads from Marwari shop-keepers are common near the plains. These beads, if they are old, are regarded as heirlooms of considerable value. Brass bracelets of local manufacture are universally worn.[3] The Padam clan wear heavy metal earrings, but a cylinder of cane serves, as a rule, the needs of the Galongs and Abors amongst whom ear ornaments are not so greatly in favour. When starting off on a raid, or when going on a long journey, the hillmen carry ruksacks with a watertight covering of sago-palm fibre dyed black. This covering is apparently in imitation of bear skin which, though exceedingly rare, is sometimes found on the ruksacks. This receptacle takes their food and such gear as they require. Pipe, tobacco, quartz[4] and steel, *pan* (amongst the Southern hillmen) and lime are carried in a satchel of deer or lizard skin. A *dao* and the little crooked knife in its basket work sheath that hangs as a rule round the neck, are so necessary to the hillmen's existence that they cannot be looked upon as weapons. (Plate XVIII.)

The women's costume consists in all of three pieces. These are the *beyop*, the skirt and the breast cloth. As soon as they can walk the girls wear a disc or two about the loins, or perhaps some metal charm, or a few shells. This, in a few years, expands into the *beyop*, the girdle worn by every maid and woman from the Dibang to the Subansiri until the birth of her first child. The *beyop* consists of locally-made discs[5] fastened on to a band of cane, screw pine or a strip of hide. These discs vary in size. The larger, averaging about $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, are worn in the centre of the girdle and the remainder graduated in diminishing size towards the hips.

[1] Plates XVI and XX. [2] This is a typically Mishmi pattern.
[3] The Karko people wear necklaces of hollow brass cylinders, like bits of pipe stem.
[4] Captain Porter (17th Rajputs) found large garnet crystals in use in one Bori village.
[5] See Plates V and XIX.

Although as a general rule skirts are worn from early childhood, girls of about 14 may occasionally be seen with no other covering save the *beyop* and a cloth about the shoulders (generally supporting a younger brother or sister), but the number of discs on the Minyong girdle give it enough weight to fall in a graceful curve that entirely fulfils its purpose. The number of discs varies in the different tribes Minyong Abors wear 7, 8, or even 9 discs on the girdle, and Galong girls 3 or 4. To the North the Janbos are satisfied, it is believed, with two discs, and the still less chary maids of the Boris are said to be content with one.[1] The *beyop* discs are not worn during the period of menstruation. The mythical origin of the *beyop* is that a spirit Gingor-Shingor fell in love with a woman, and whenever he had intercourse with her he gave her a *beyop* disc. When a child was born she took off the girdle of discs; and that is how they first were worn, and why they are discarded on the birth of a woman's first born.

Both skirt and breast cloth are wound tightly round the body, the skirt being held in its place by cane rings.[2] The wearing of the breast cloth is not habitual, for a hill woman does not consider the exposure of the upper part of her person to be immodest.

Married women, whether Dafla, Galong or Abor, frequently wear waist bands studded with metal bosses. These are very much smaller than the average *beyop* discs and are generally made of brass. Girls and women wear rings of cane round their waists whether they wear metal-studded bands or not; and they weave for themselves very fine belts of cane in white, relieved by patterns of black interwoven through the material. The women wear, sometimes in great profusion, necklaces similar to those worn by the men. Their brass bracelets are of a lighter stamp than those of the men.

The following short description of the costume of the Daflas will give some idea of such differences that exist on either bank of the Subansiri river. In headgear the Abors and Galongs offer a marked contrast to their neighbours. The less imposing Dafla headdress is a skull cap with a projection about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long at the back that gives it the appearance of a quaich with one handle. The cane work is infinitely finer and is still more closely woven in this hat than in the Abor and Galong helmet. The front of the Dafla hat is frequently ornamented with a serow horn, and a bunch of very thin stalks of cane bound together is thrust through a hole at the top of the crown. This additional ornament hangs over the back of the cap. A loop of string attached to the front of the hat, together with a skewer of brass or bamboo, holds the tuft of bearskin, or black feathers that form a peak to the headdress. This is a distinctive Dafla fashion. The Subansiri hillmen do not bunch their hair above their foreheads according to the fashion of the more Western Daflas; the women follow the usual Dafla custom which is a similar coiffure to that of the Memongs to

[1] The Angong girls wear, as a rule, 3 discs.

[2] In the Karko country especially, where "dam-dims" are particularly bad during the rains, the women have an ingenious way of protecting themselves from the poisonous bites of these pests. A small basket filled with smouldering *dhan* husk is suspended from the waist under the skirt.

the east. Neither men nor women shave their heads like the Minyongs; indeed they take what steps they can to adorn their hair, for the men bind it with a fillet made of long strips of cane or hide studded with small white metal bosses. This fillet has not been found outside the Dafla Hills The wealthier men wear earrings that look like aluminium egg-cups. The Western Daflas wear yellow or white "hill amber"[1] necklaces, but the Subansiri clans wear strings of large round blue porcelain beads that are highly prized and are handed down as heirlooms. They differ in shape but not in substance from the best Abor and Galong beads. They carry *daos*, and hang a long metal skewer round their necks. Smoking materials are carried in a snakeskin or sambhur skin satchel.

Their costume accords with the briefest and simplest description, for it consists, South of the Kamla at least, of a small loin cloth, a few cane rings round the waist, and a blanket, which very occasionally was found to be of wool and imported from Tibet. The ordinary flattish hill basket is in general use, and in wet weather the black fibrous (or, sometimes, bear skin) ruksack is carried. The dress of the women has already been described.

Musical Instruments.

Only two musical instruments are made in the country, the gourd pipe and what can best be described as the Abor harp. (Plate XIX.) The cymbals, drums and gongs occasionally found throughout the hills are all imported. The commoner of the locally-made instruments consists of a gourd with a hollow stem 9 to 10 inches long. Through the bulb of the gourd are thrust four reeds, three of the pipes being in a line, the other being inserted nearer the stem of the instrument. The solitary reed has one notch on one side of it and two on the other; the other three reeds have four and one, five, and seven respectively. There is, of course, a clear passage from the whistle-pipe mouths of the reeds to the end projecting through the bulb of the gourd. The sounds produced are like the notes of a chanter.

The Abor harp is made of a splinter of bamboo, the centre of which is cut into a tongue, and two pieces of string. Strains of music are produced by twisting one string round the first joint of the forefinger of the left hand until the bamboo slip almost touches the finger. Then place the convex side of the "harp" against the teeth and pull the second string with the right hand. This must be done in short jerks and in exact prolongation of the bamboo slip, a procedure differing from the way in which the Jews' harp is played. The vibration of the bamboo tongue produces the music.

The Founding of a Colony.

The following account of the migration from Kebang to Mishing, given by one of the first colonists, shows how new settlements are founded when the over-population of the village makes migration necessary. Ten men, the inmates of five houses, left Kebang with their women-folk after the harvest was cut to prospect, but without removing their *mithan*, goods or chattels from Kebang. This most probably took place early in December, when springs are at their lowest and the question of water on the prospective site could best be settled.

[1] Frequently known as serpentine.

Having decided upon the site, they erected a long hut in which they all lived, until the work of clearing the spur and building the houses was completed. Into these the colonists moved, bringing their *lares et penates* down from Kebang. As reports were favourable ten more houses sprang up the following year. And so the village grew.

Villages and Houses.

One of the first proceedings of a young Abor or Galong colony is to plant jack trees in and around the village. These are generally protected by fencing from the ravages of cattle. Hill villages are almost invariably on the healthy sites offered by high spurs. Bamboo pipes bring the water into the villages if there is no spring or stream quite close to the houses, and considerable skill is shown in the alignment of the aqueducts, some of which are of great length. Two pipes were noticed, one Minyong, the other Memong, that were over 350 yards long.[1] The Subansiri Daflas bury their dead within the precincts of the village, the Abors and Galongs just outside it. Graves, as a rule, are below the group of houses, but at Ledum it was noticed that they were quite close to the water supply and just above the village. The Mishmis bury dead freemen just outside their villages, but sometimes the bodies are said to be burnt. None of the Abor villages that I have visited had all-round defensive perimeters, but many of them had short bamboo palisades furnished with *chevaux-de-frise* guarding the approaches, or strong log and stone stockades; and the village site, as a rule, had been selected with an eye to good natural defences, such as inaccessible cliffs on two or three sides of it. The granaries[2] are built outside the group of dwelling houses. Near the plains the villages are small, numbering from 20 to 50 houses. The largest community, the Balek group, is made up of six villages aggregating 160 houses. Many single villages further north are as large, or larger, than this.

There is a great similarity in the appearance of all the hillmen's houses along the frontier, whether Dafla, Galong, Abor or Mishmi. Galong houses however are raised considerably higher off the ground than any others that have been visited. The number of people accustomed to live together under the same roof in the various tribes causes the Mishmi and Dafla houses in particular to be very much longer than those of the Abors, amongst whom one family to a house is the rule. In consequence of this Abor and Galong villages appear to be far larger than those of their more gregarious neighbours. Two able-bodied men to a house would seem to be a fair estimate for Galong and Abor villages, amongst the western Daflas from 4 to 20, whilst amongst the Subansiri Daflas and the Mishmis 20 might, in the chief's houses, prove far too low an estimate. Slaves live in the house with the family, and are therefore included in this total. Chulikata and Bebijia houses are sometimes over 300 feet long. Amongst the Minyongs up the Dihang valley each son or near relative when he marries builds his house end on and almost touching the parental gable, or prolongs the row of family houses that has already been formed, presenting the appearance of one long continuous building. The Galongs do not follow this custom. Abor houses are raised, as a rule, from

[1] On a visit to Meybo (Membu) in 1914 I found two aquaducts each over 1000 yards long.

[2] See Peal's remarks, J.A.S.B., Vol. LXV, Part III, No. 1, 1896, p. 12, with reference to granaries in general.

4 to 6 feet off the ground, on logs. The thatch comes low down to protect the rather flimsy walls from the wind and rain. Cane leaves are very commonly used, but thatching material varies, of course, according to the locality : it generally lasts about three years. The pitch of the roof is exceedingly steep. An open platform projects from the front verandah that leads into the house. There are two entrances, one at the front and one at the back, that are reached by the notched logs that do duty for ladders. The living room is generally about 30 ft. by 24. In all hill-houses trophies of the chase adorn the walls. The master of the house sleeps near the door and the remainder of the family on the further side of the fire-place. Such household duties as cleaning grain are carried on near the back door. Shelves are hung from the roof to hold the family belongings. The room is exceedingly dark as light can only enter through the low doorways. The flooring is of split bamboos; the fire-place is of earth and stones. Entering by the front door there is a long passage running down the right side of the house; this leads to the latrines, which are over the pigsties, and provides a peculiar but most effective form of sanitation.

Galong houses are raised high off the ground sometimes to a height of 12 feet, bamboo being the usual struts. Memong houses are built in orderly rows, a practice followed largely by the Abors, but other Galong villages that have been visited presented a less regular appearance. The Galongs divide off the living room, and make special accommodation for the women, thus following in a modified form the Mishmi custom of providing cubicles behind the common room of the house for the different families that live under the same roof. The Daflas (like the Mishmis) live several families together, under one roof, but provide only one big living room.

A typical Subansiri house would be about 80 feet long and about 20 feet broad. The Subansiri houses are substantially built of planks and firmly supported on struts, like Abor and Galong houses. The western Dafla houses are smaller and flimsily built, generally of bamboo; whilst instead of providing strong well-thatched pens raised off the ground for their live stock, like their neighbours the eastern Daflas, they almost invariably herd them together under their houses. Fire-places are made at intervals down the centre of the room. The usual shelves hanging from the roof are provided. At the end of the living room the grain is cleaned, and here the women give birth to their children. This portion of the room is partially screened off. As in Abor houses the head of the Dafla establishment has his place nearest the door, and the principal members of the household sit round the first fire-place, generally on short bits of log, smoking incessantly and passing round the ever-flowing gourd. Along the left side of the house runs a narrow passage, in which the beer is brewed, and on the right side is a long open verandah in which fowls are kept. At the far end of the living room in the Subansiri houses a door opens on to a narrow verandah leading down to the pigsties. All hill granaries are raised off the ground on piles and an attempt is made to keep out the rats by providing the struts with broad wooden discs.

Besides the ordinary dwelling houses and granaries Abor villages invariably contain a barrack for the young men called the *moshaḃ* and often, but by no means invariably,

a dormitory for the unmarried girls called the *rasheng*, in which they always sleep, but do not cook. The *moshap*, which is a noticeably long building, is provided with numerous exits, and is, as a rule, in a central position; here guests are entertained and councils are held. Women are forbidden to enter the *moshap*, but a corresponding self-denying ordinance does not exist as regards the *rasheng*. At Kombong, the chief Memong village, a fine guest house was noticed some little way outside the village and considerably below it. The Galongs also have a bachelors' barrack, which they call the *deri*. Although the Galong girls sleep in their parents' houses there is a custom of segregating the women during menstruation in a separate house. This house, it is said, is specially built by the slaves of the village. The Abors do not observe this custom of segregation, which may be compared with ancient Levitical regulations. During periods of menstruation, according to the Minyongs, the women are not segregated in other houses but sleep on the far side of the hearth. The Mishmis and Daflas have neither *moshap* nor *rasheng*.

Currency.

The household possessions of the Abors and kindred tribes can be divided into two groups. The first, purely domestic gear; the second, those articles that pass as currency throughout the country. The first group include the modern brassware obtained from the Plains, looms and spinning gear, bamboo chungas, mats (generally of screw pine) and more or less elaborate cane basket work of various descriptions. The second category includes *dankis*, gongs, bells, and necklaces of old porcelain beads, besides *merangs* and other interesting bits of metal work. *Mithan* and slaves are of high commercial value. Values and prices are extremely difficult to convert into ordinary currency. The worth of any particular thing depends upon size and workmanship; cattle naturally vary greatly in price, and the common phrase "so many *mithan*" is consequently misleading.[1] Slaves are valued according to their working capacity and sex. Moreover the same article varies very appreciably in value in different localities.

Bowls.

Dankis are made in Tibet. It is possible that some are brought down the Dihang and Siyom valleys; but as those recently obtained in Riga were all said to come from the Padam, it is most probable that these interesting bowls are imported from Eastern Tibet through the upper Dibang valley and so into the Abor hills. Even the bowls that are obvious copies of finer work are far superior to anything that the Abors and allied tribes are known to manufacture. Abor art does not appear to rise above the simplest conventional designs to the representation of animal life which, in a people with whom hunting fills so prominent a place, is practically the negation of art. The *dankis*[2] are ornamented with conventional Buddhist symbols that are meaningless to the tribes south of Tibet. These *dankis* are commonly found, and used as money, in the villages right down to the plains of Assam. The bowls are obviously cast, and, as the typical dimensions may

[1] The average being from 45 to 75 rupees, but they have been known to fetch 120 rupees. Rupees of course are valueless to the Abors, Galongs and Daflas living in villages out of touch with Assam. Even the foot-hill villagers have to be educated up to a belief in the value of the smaller silver pieces.

[2] See Plate XXIII.

be taken to be 17½ inches diameter at the mouth of the bowl, where it is widest, by 8½ inches in depth, the difficulties of manufacturing them must be considerable. Two types of *danki* have been found. The more common variety is made of a brittle grey alloy, in which there is a considerable proportion of antimony. Round the inside of the bowl are, as a rule, eight symbols (sometimes there are only seven), or occasionally four. The eight usual symbols are: (1) The Wheel of Life (in its simplest form). (2) The White Umbrella. (3) The Fish. (4) The Pot of Treasure. (5) The Lotus. (6) The Conch Shell. (7) The so-called Noose of Love. (8) The Armorial Flag of Victory. Judging from the numerous *dankis* of this type that have been examined, the form of the Lotus, the Fish and Wheel of Life may be elaborated or simplified, whilst the other symbols adhere to the same conventional design in each case. Below these symbols the bowl narrows to a diameter of about 15 inches. The bottom of the bowl is almost flat. Outside the bowl, and coinciding with the symbols inside, are four large and four small metal cleets, the latter being placed in the centre of a conventional leaf design. These large and small cleets are alternate. They are either used for carrying the *dankis* about or for suspending them cauldronwise over a fire on the exceedingly rare occasions that they are used for cooking. Below the cleets a band in key pattern runs round the bowl. Three raised ribbands of metal run down outside from the rim and meet in the centre of the bottom of the bowl, dividing it into three equal parts. The bowls are regarded as money throughout the hills; the rare occasions on which they are used as cooking utensils appear chiefly to present themselves when treaties are being ratified.

I am indebted to Mr. Kemp for the opportunity he most kindly gave me of examining the one example known of the second type of *danki*. This bowl is of the same size as the others, but is made of a different metal, and is in every respect most markedly superior to the other bowls that have been examined. The bowl is unfortunately broken, and one of the four symbols with which it was ornamented is now missing. These symbols are: (1) Closed Lotus, (2) The Om, (3) Lotus, (4) missing, but the fragment remaining is certainly the portion of a symbol in character, possibly the Om repeated. It is not impossible that this second type of bowl is the relic of some earlier civilization that at least spread its influence many centuries ago, through the hills south of the Main Range of the Himalayas. Such of these bowls that still exist may or may not have been buried, to be found as stated by the present-day Abor when working in his fields. They may, it is conjectured, be the bowls on which have been modelled the rough *dankis* commonly met with through the hills and are articles of export from Bhotan to the Lohit.

In the Upper Dihang valley the proximity of Tibet is proclaimed by a marked increase in the metal work, obviously obtained from that country, that is to be seen.

The only indigenous attempt at making the likeness of anything living upon the earth has been found at Kebang in the form of a copper armadillo of crude but amazing workmanship.[1] It is manifestly of considerable age. On one side (for it is

[1] See Plate XVIII, fig. 12. The only other known specimen is in the possession of Mr. Furze, A.P.O., Pasighat.

flat) the appearance is that of a *Merang* of an unusual type, with a granulated surface. When turned over, the head, legs, feet and other portions of the creature's anatomy, faithfully reproduced by the ancient artificer, are disclosed to view. It is about 3 inches long and stands firmly on its feet, the flat disc-like body being raised about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch off the ground. One piece of metal-work, seen at Balek, can hardly be considered, for it is quite new and represents an indifferent attempt to reproduce the figure of a man in a newspaper advertisement. It is not indeed a question of espying his beard under his muffler for the line of large buttons down what looks like an over-coat clearly bewrays the European tailor.

Gongs.

Another form of money met with in most villages is the gong. These are of various sizes (the standard of measurement being the depth of metal at right angles to the face), to each of which in accordance with its age is assigned as definite a value as is possible amongst a people whose standard of currency is ceaselessly changing with their requirements. These gongs are round and perfectly plain, with a central boss. They are made of bell-metal.

Bells.

Bells of various sizes, and more or less elaborately chased, are found throughout the hills. The smallest of all are worn, amongst the Padam, Panggis and Minyongs as ornaments of ritual by the *miriis*. These bells,[1] some of which appear to be of considerable age and are apparently made of the same metal as the finer type of *danki*, are rather like sleigh-bells in appearance and are worn in bunches. The larger bells are used as currency. They are almost invariably tongueless and frequently broken, and quite possibly are the worn-out property of the monasteries that, it is gathered from our various Kamba witnesses, is foisted upon the Lo traders at the marts along the frontier. The largest and most valuable bells are generally kept buried in the jungle, a precaution frequently taken by the owners of the gongs. In a Dafla village in the Kamla valley a beautiful bell and some copper bracelets were literally unearthed for exhibition.

Charms.

Another possession of the Abors of peculiar interest is the copper disc called the *merang*.[2] These vary in size and the curious handle-like piece of metal projecting from the disc gives them the appearance of the specula of Greek and Roman civilization.[3] A specimen obtained from the Yamne valley was 5 inches in diameter with a projection $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches long. The *merang* is invariably provided with two small holes on the circumference furthest from the projection, but it is denied by the Abors that it is worn as a talisman round the neck. The Abors say they are of great age and were brought over the hills by their remote ancestors when first they came into the country they now occupy. Two other solutions of their origin have been offered by the hill-men, the one worthy of consideration being that the *merangs* are made of metal dug up from the fields; the other explanation is that they fell from the sky and were dug up by industrious cultivators

[1] See Plate XIX, figures 6, 7, 11. [2] See Plate XVIII, 11, 12, 13.

[3] It was gathered in the Memba country that *milang* is Tibetan for a mirror.

when clearing the hill side. It is of course within the bounds of possibility that these discs of metal were made by some long-forgotten dwellers in these hills. But I am not prepared to hazard an opinion either as to their origin or what purpose they served.

Besides his *merangs* the well-to-do hill-man may possess one other heirloom of unknown age and origin. This is the copper scarab-like ornament called the *dine*! This, unlike the *merang*, is used as an amulet.

Another interesting form of metal work is the disc, or rough Maltese Cross with one, or sometimes two, cones projecting from it. These vary considerably in workmanship, but are generally made of the *danki* metal. One that has been measured was $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, with the projecting cone 1 inch in length. The point of the projection is frequently a cylinder that, if it were found in Tibetan hands, would certainly contain a charm or prayer ; these, however, appear to be empty and some at least from their rough workmanship seem to be copies of metal work imported from Tibet. These pieces of metal work are provided with a loop under the disc to enable them to be worn as charms. They are said to have a medicinal value. As there is a second type in which the apex of the cone is surmounted by a miniature *beyop* doubled over almost into the form of a cylinder, the charms appear to be both male and female. It is conjectured that they are aphrodisiacs. Small rough cymbals, which these charms sometimes rather distantly resemble, are also found in the possession of the hill-men.

In connexion with the statement that has appeared that the Maltese Cross design is the last surviving trace of missionary work that was undertaken in the Abor hills about 50 years ago, it may be observed that some of the plaques appear to be very much older, and that a very similar design appears on some of the cloth that is yearly imported through the upper Dibang valley from Tibet. The cross in its simplest form, surrounded by a circle, or ornamenting some circular object, is exceedingly common ; it appears on the blue imitation turquoise beads that come from Tibet and is the design with which the *beyops* are ornamented. It is identical with the Wheel of Life symbol on the *dankis*.

Ornaments of neighbouring tribes.

The most interesting personal property belonging to the Daflas of the lower Kamla valley (apart from the metal-work already referred to) consists of the strings of immense blue porcelain beads of Tibetan origin, some of which are of considerable age, and the chowris of serow hair dyed red set in worked metal holders (sometimes these are of silver) that the women hang round their necks. They also wear the metal charms and bells worn by the Daflas to the west of them and by their eastern neighbours.

The Chulikata and Bebijia Mishmis are very poor in metal ornaments. The headmen, however, sometimes own Tibetan drums, and brass cymbals which are used when the village has a dance. The Digaru and Meju women of the Lohit valley, on the contrary, are loaded with silver ornaments, beautiful examples of Tibetan charm boxes, and plain neck-rings of solid silver that they make, in their own country, from rupees, for silver money comes into the Lohit valley from both China and India.

The Village Community.

The village community in the Abor and Galong country, where society is in a slightly more advanced state than amongst the Daflas and Mishmis of both Dibang and Lohit valleys consists of the headmen of the village, the medicine-man, the craftsmen, the groups of families, the young men and the slaves.

Headmen.

The headman (*Gam*) is chosen by the voice of the community. In this election experience to guide such affairs as policy and the selection and division of fresh sites for "jhums," and wealth to entertain strangers when necessary in the name of the village, all weigh. Age is also a factor, for the *Gam* is the village Nestor. An unusually young *Gam* connotes exceptional force of character. But the most important plank in the candidate's platform is the measure in which his orders and ideas convey the "sense" of the village, for he as *Gam* must represent the *sanior pars* of the Councils periodically held in the *moshap*. If he does not the opinion of another man is listened to, and here the road to suspersession begins. It is personality, and a persuasive tongue, that rule. The several *Gams* to be found in almost every village may thus be accounted for. It has been observed that only the word of the leading *Gam* carries real weight in the community. No form of voting appears to exist. The moot-like method of shouting down any dissentient and so obtaining unanimity in the Council is, presumably, adopted. Doubtful matters are, however, settled by the casting of lots. When the common interests of a group of villages are likely to be affected, the *Gams* of the communities concerned meet and hold a council together. But the village is the true unit, not the sept, nor the clan, still less the entire tribe although, of course, blood relationship creates a certain amount of sympathy. A community has been known, as a matter of policy, to elect a *Gam* from another village; an instance of this is to be found in the election during 1911 of a leading Komsing man as *Gam* of Kebang, after the deposition of Takot.

Dutem *Gam* of Ledum, who is the strongest personality amongst the villages of the Abor foot hills, gave me an interesting account of the procedure that is adopted by an Abor who is anxious to get a voice in the affairs of the village. The ambitious Abor, who must be rich enough to defray his considerable election expenses, gives a feast, called *ebor*, to the village, at which a large amount of *apong* (wine) is provided, and *mithan* (tame *Bos frontalis*) are killed. The word *ebor* is not to be found in Lorraine[1] but *etor* is given as "name of an Abor feast." I asked one of my interpreters, a Miri of Oiyang village, what the word meant and he said it is a feast, given by one man or more, at which much *apong* and a cow, or *mithan*, is provided. This feast brings the donor's wealth and generosity into due prominence. In about a year's time he gives another feast, and on this occasion some villager is put up to make a laudatory speech. The enthusiasm born of *apong* is calculated to assure the election of the would-be *Gam*. If he can afford it the new *Gam*, after election, gives a third feast. Dutem described this as a well-known custom but one that, apparently, met with singularly little

[1] Dictionary of the Abor-Miri Language, Lorraine. E. B. Assam, Secretariat Printing Office, 1910.

encouragement in his own village. It is quite certain that the headship of the village is not hereditary, nor is there any trace whatsoever of the interesting custom of automatic colonization by the elder sons of the chief and the assumption of authority by the youngest that exists amongst Nagas and Lushais.

Women.

The position and influence of women throughout the hills is remarkable, in spite of the fact that wives are, to all intents and purposes, bought and sold, and that they are debarred from inheriting property. Besides the considerable influence exerted by the women over village opinion, priestesses are quite common amongst the Abors. Amongst the Subansiri Daflas women are at times actually deputed to take the *posa* annually distributed by Government; and I was told by the Daflas that in one village on the Kamla a woman was the leading personality, settled disputes, and would be of the greatest assistance in procuring coolies for me.

Priests.

The *Mirüs* (priests) are invariably men amongst the Galongs and Mishmis; amongst the Abors priestesses are frequently met with. The office is not looked upon as hereditary, but the way in which the mantle falls upon the new prophet will be explained when the religion of the people is discussed.

Smiths.

There are smithies in almost every village; the craft is not hereditary, but entirely dependent on the skill of the individual.

Agriculture.

Agriculture plays the most important part in the life of the people; flocks and herds are largely owned, but the Abors and kindred tribes are in no sense a pastoral people like the Poba nomads over the main range to the north. The poorer clans, such as the Midu Mishmis, rely to a greater degree on hunting, but although hunting is regularly and systematically pursued, agriculture is the main support of the tribes along the frontier. The crops vary in quality in different localities from the great agricultural prosperity of the Memongs of Kombong to the miserable stunted Mishmi fields up the Khun river, but, excepting the foot-hill colonists, who have to some extent adopted plains' methods, the hill tribes sow their crops broadcast on stretches of cleared forest land, moving, as the surface soil becomes exhausted, to a fresh area. The utter lack of clan organization may, it is considered, be partly due to the extravagant system of agriculture followed by the hillmen, who live in communities separated from each other by the extensive tracts that are required for their rotation of "jhums." This isolation may possibly have done much to foster the prevailing spirit of self-interest and independence that hardly ever sees as far as the next village.

Time is reckoned by the number of years since a tract was cleared for cultivation or, for longer periods, by the number of times any particular piece of land has been cultivated. In villages established within the memory of the older inhabitants everything is dated from the founding of the village: "In the Gamship of So and So" is another classical method of recording local events.

The *Gam* of the village decides on the tract to be cleared; the men of the village all turn out, cut down, collect and burn the undergrowth and fell the trees. This

method of clearing is called "jhum-ing" and the fields are known as "jhums," in Assam. The Abor word for a "jhum" is *a-rik*. The charred logs are used to fence off the family holdings, which are all apportioned by the *Gam*. These tree-trunks are often the recognized and usual foot-paths through the fields. If a family is unable to work its own land, an arrangement is made with some other household, who work the plot instead, giving as rent a proportion of the crop, or labourers may be hired for a food wage. The number of years that a "jhum" is worked varies from 1 to 5 years, 3 being the usual period. Some of the fields in the Sipu valley, where substantial wooden cattle-fences over 5 foot high are commonly used, and the alluvial flats of the Persen valley in the Dafla country (devoted largely to tobacco) appeared to be under even longer periods of cultivation. The period during which the "jhums" lie fallow, and revert into bush and light tree jungle easily distinguishable from virgin forest, depends to a great extent upon the population that the area has to support. Within the radius of a group of large villages the land may be taken up after four or five years, but old "jhums," within the vicinity of small communities, have been noticed that must have been over 20 years old. "Jhuming" does not appear to be carried on beyond a height of 5,500 feet. Some of the fields, especially in the Galong and Mishmi country, are on incredibly steep hill-sides. Terracing and the irrigation of the fields are both unknown. All rice cultivation is dry, but in the Balek fields it was noticed that rice was growing by itself in clumps that had been dibbled in by hand, an improvement upon the usual indiscriminate sowing of all the crops together. It has been observed that "jhum" cultivation is not nearly so clean in its second year, and the grasses in the third year frequently almost choke the crops. Peal,[1] in his account of various hill customs, notices this form of agriculture and points out that after the site is abandoned creepers and young trees kill the grasses, which cannot grow in shade, and so, by re-afforestation, the tract becomes once more ready for "jhuming."

The ground, when cleared, is prepared for sowing in the roughest manner by scratching the surface to the depth of a few inches with a *dao* or a pointed stick. There are two sowings, the first "ai-uk" rice, in January and February, the second the *Miri* (white) rice in about April and May. The two harvests are in May and September—October; but the time of harvest of course varies considerably. When the crops are about 2 ft. high the fields are weeded and cleaned. Millet and job's-tears are sown broadcast with the rice; they ripen more slowly and the millet sown for the second crop is not ready till December. I was told by the Subansiri Daflas that they put in about five times as much millet (from which they brew their beer) as they do rice. Black dal and pepper are also grown. Chillies, cucumbers and pumpkins are grown in quantities. Separate fields of maize were seen in the Dobang country. Round, and in the middle of, many of the hill villages little enclosures are made where maize, sugar-cane or opium are grown. Cotton is sown in April and gathered in October. Wax for the smith's moulds is collected in May and June. This calendar applies to the southern districts in normal years. The villagers are busy trapping during the off season. In

[1] J.A.S.B., Vol. LXIII, Part III, No. 1, 1894, p. 12.

the villages jack-trees (Mishmi country excepted, so I am informed by Captain Bethell), oranges, lemons and guavas are grown; and some care is taken of the clumps of bamboo flourishing, as a rule, in the vicinity. Neither oranges or lemons appear to be grown in or near the villages east of the Yamne. Those communities that cultivate opium pick it in October. To scare birds away from the fields bamboo poles are set up, to these are attached lines on which leaves are tied that swing freely in the wind. Another way in which the crops are protected is by putting a line of fresh plantain leaves round the edge of the fields to frighten the jungle-fowl. The Mishmis use bird scares on lines not unlike the tin protectors put on telegraph wires across grouse moors at home.

Small houses are built in the "jhums" and in these the owners of the fields are accustomed to spend the night during harvest, if the cultivation is far from the village. Lines of women go across the fields, in harvest, and strip off the grain into conical creels slung on the right thigh. The straw is afterwards cut and burnt. The grain is collected in the "jhum" houses before it is taken into the granaries. The hill-men are as a rule very improvident, and the 20 maunds of rice that each household (on an average) has collected in its granary by the middle of December has almost disappeared two months before the next harvest. Grain is pounded in cradles made from the trunk of a tree; fans of basket work are used for winnowing. Rice is the staple Abor and Galong cereal, and millet and Indian corn that of the Mishmis.[1]

A considerable amount of tobacco is grown; the leaves are picked, cut up and dried in the fields. The country about Yemsing is believed to be a great tobacco-growing district; and the alluvial flats along the Persen valley in the Dafla country are largely under tobacco. Opium is occasionally grown, but is not known in the districts to the north. Tobacco either smoked in a silver or bamboo 'cob' pipe or chewed, smoothes the rugged path of life for man, woman and child alike throughout the hills.

The wine of the country is known as *apong* and is brewed from millet seed. A funnel is made with a bamboo frame and plantain leaf lining; this is filled with millet seed and hot water is poured on to the grain which is then fermented. The liquid is "cleared" with rice charcoal by the Abors which destroys the rather attractive light yellow colour of the liquor as made by the Daflas. The Mishmi wine is coffee coloured and is made similarly to that of the Daflas. The millet is boiled, fermented and soaked in warm water and the first brew (followed by several others) drained through a sieve. The first brew is the best and strongest. Amongst the Mishmis and Daflas it is generally drunk warm. All the hill tribes drink quantities of *apong* from babyhood on every possible occasion. It varies most noticeably in quality, and when

[1] Angong Abor cultivation is far more primitive than that of the Minyong and Karko people. Consequently rice cannot be called their staple food. They subsist for half the year on anything they can get. The red pith of a palm locally known as *tasat* is pounded up and strained a number of times in water. It forms a meal called *tabe* that is made up into bread. They eke this out with such products of the jungle as fern leaves, edible roots and the cultivated jackfruit. These Abors come well into the picture drawn by the Elizabethan balladist Sapardon of the "iiij score and ten in Kynges Benche."

"Som gnaw broun crustes of bred som burnish bouns like doggs.
'Som wysh to fyll thyr gutts with catts ratts myse or froggs.''

well-made is a good and refreshing drink; although not nearly so intoxicating as the Naga rice beer, it is potent enough to "corn" the noble savage within a reasonable time.

Livestock.

All the tribes possess herds of *mithan* and numbers of pigs and fowls. *Mithan* are owned by individuals and are not, as was stated in an account that appeared in the public press, common property. In addition to herds of *mithan* the Galongs, more especially the Memong clan, own herds of red cattle of a very good stamp: these are similar to Assamese cattle. Daflas and Galongs have numbers of goats. But goats are only seen in the Abor country very occasionally. The hill-tribes do not milk their cattle[1]; they use them as money and as sacrifices to be eaten at ceremonial feasts. The Galongs, unlike the Abors, eat dogs, and indeed any and every animal save the tiger.[2] Rats are looked upon as a great delicacy. Wild birds, beasts and fish are trapped or shot with arrows, domestic animals are strangled, *mithan* by being hanged, pigs by strangulation between two sticks thrust into the ground and pressed inwards. *Mithan* have a rope tied round their necks; they are then driven up to an inclined stage on which the Abors haul until the beast is strangled. This method of hanging is an interesting parallel to the Tibetan sacrifices at Lhasa where the animal with a noose round its neck is driven over the edge of a precipice. Another method is to half strangle the animal and then throw the rope over the branch of a tree and pull on the rope until the unfortunate beast is dead.

Preparation of Food.

Birds, goats and pigs are burnt whole and unskinned in the fire before being eaten, they can hardly be said to be cooked. When travelling in the Subansiri valley I saw quantities of dried buffalo meat being brought up from the plains to supplement the local supplies of *mithan*, pig and goat. This dried meat the Daflas seem to prefer imperfectly cured. Rice, with some relish, and dried fish or meat is the staple Abor-Galong food. They also make a kind of bread of rice or maize. Rice is prepared in bamboo *chungas*, into which water is poured, the rice being enclosed in leaf envelopes. The *chungas* are leant against a horizontal stick fastened over the fire and frequently turned. When the *chungas* are charred all round the rice is found to be well cooked. Eggs are roasted. Prawns and various insects, especially cinnamon beetles[3] and locusts, are eaten, and the hill people collect fungi, some of which are actually poisonous, and eat them after boiling them several times in water. Blackberries and raspberries and other wild berries, plantains, wild mangoes and potatoes and other roots are collected and used for food. The hill-men eat two meals a day and refresh the inner man between the morning and evening repast by frequent drinks of *apong*.

Manufactures.

Every community does not necessarily possess a smith, nor do all the tribes weave cotton fabrics on the loom to make wearing apparel; but all the hill-tribes show great skill in making basket work

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[1] The Memba people of course milk their cattle.

[2] See Dalton's Ethnology of Bengal, p. 33, for an exception to this rule of the hill tribes.

[3] The head of this insect is poisonous and is rejected by the hill-men.

to meet many of their requirements from the cane that grows in the jungle. In the making of cloth and in metal work the Abors and Galongs show their superiority over the Daflas. Near the plains the Abor women weave the coloured cloths and rug-like cotton fabrics that have already been described. Further up the valley white cloth is made, and amongst the most northern people who have been visited black cloth is woven. Cotton is ginned in a machine by the Abors and Galongs, but not by the Daflas or Mishmis and *gadus* (to be used either as blankets or made into coats) are woven in a loom very similar to those used in Assam. The cane work of the helmets, whether the fine Dafla pattern or the coarser Galong and Abor work is singularly good. A helmet will hold water and is strong enough to ward off a sword cut. The light basket work is also good ; and serviceable mats are made of dry screw pine leaves.

Kaking in the Galong country and Komsing and Riu in the Abor country are centres of a brisk pottery trade. The Kaking pottery is made of grey, and the Abor of red, clay. The pots are kneaded and beaten out with a stone and a stick.

The blacksmith's shop, called *Yog yup ekum* in Abor and *Rongmaw ko deri* in Galong, turns out the small knives worn suspended from the neck, *daos*, swords, spear and arrow heads, pipes, charms, brass bracelets, girdle discs and *beyop* plates. These last are made very largely in Komsing. Only a few skilled craftsmen can turn out the higher class of work. The best sword and bracelet work is done in the Memong villages on the Siyom, and along the middle reaches of the Dihang river. The best examples of bracelet work are very deeply and clearly cut : the design distantly resembles arabesque, but is far more like some of the geometric patterns of Aurignacian age found in the Hautes-Pyrenees. Raw metal is not worked, but in making castings with wax and clay moulds and in working up iron rods, obtained from Assam, into weapons, the local smiths show some skill. The bellows are made of cylinders of large bamboos. The value of a sword depends on the number of welding lines on the blade. A hill-man who wants some *beyop* discs made takes his own metal and possibly his own wax to the smith and has the discs cast and ornamented according to his own wishes. The ordinary design appears to be a copy of the Wheel of Life symbol commonly found on the *dankis*. The *beyop* discs are made in graduated sizes : the largest, which are generally about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, are worn in front. Broken bits of *danki* metal are generally kept for the manufacture of *beyops*, but brass is also used. A Riu man told me that Karko is noted for its manufacture of *beyop* discs, and that they are manufactured by melting the metal and making it into a long string, or wire, which is coiled round into a flat disc. Melted metal is then poured over it and the surface planed off neatly. Komsing is also noted for the manufacture of these discs. The girdle discs frequently worn by married women throughout the hills are, as a rule, of brass. Some of the Dafla designs are elaborate and these are of course of Tibetan manufacture.

As regards the word "*beyop*" commonly used to denote the disc, or girdle of discs worn by the women, it may be noted that Lorraine gives *beyop* as "a girdle of metal discs worn by Abor girls and by women before bearing children." A man of Riu told me that *banyap* was the name of one plate and *nopium* the whole girdle. As

he correctly named the ordinary waist belt (*uk*) asked as a test question the above may be correct.

Hunting and Fishing.

Each community has its own hunting area, as it has its agricultural area, clearly defined by natural features. With the exceptions of tigers that are trapped and birds that are snared, all animals are not only trapped but are hunted by large parties armed with bows and arrows, and the quarry is systematically driven. The arrow ordinarily used for hunting is a slip of bamboo ; barbed arrows worth on an average the equivalent to 4 annas apiece) are too scarce to be generally expended in hunting. Dogs are regularly used in hunting, and are highly valued in consequence. The Daflas more especially take the greatest care of their dogs. One *Gam* up the Kamla told me that after three years' training they are considered "as intelligent as men." The Abor breed of dog is black and white, the Dafla red and white. Tigers alone of all the denizens of the jungle are not eaten. All game, when the day's sport is over, is layed out on short stakes run into the ground close together for the purpose. Here the game is distributed before being taken into the village and used as food. When an animal is killed with poisoned arrows only the flesh round the wound is cut out. The rest of the animal may be safely eaten. Birds are taken in a noose bow-trap ; those that I have come across ready set in the jungle were baited with bunches of ripe corn; berries are also used: animals, especially wild pig, are taken in pits four to six feet deep with sharp stakes at the bottom, on which the beasts are impaled. The mouth of the trap is covered with branches and leaves. Another form is the spear trap, which is let off by a pull on the cane rope set across the game track. This type of trap is more common amongst the Daflas, but is most ordinarily used by the Nagas, who find it a very effective weapon in inter-village warfare. One that I saw in the Dafla hills was fitted with a wooden haft about 3 ft. 6 ins. long, to which was attached a broad head of poisonous bamboo well hardened and sharpened in the fire. Another trap, used especially for rats, consists of a flat stone supported on sticks over a bait ; the stone falls and crushes the animal.

The Abor colonists in the Plains and the Pasials at the gorge of the Dihang make and use casting nets, but the ordinary methods of fishing, as pursued up the Siemen valley and at the mouths of the smaller tributaries of the Dihang and other rivers in the Dafla, Galong, Abor and Mishmi hills, consist of dams either of plantain stems or of well-made hurdle-work built across the stream ; conical baskets from 2 ft. 6 ins. to 4 ft. across at the mouth are fixed into these dams, mouths upstream.[1] The fish are driven into the baskets by the rush of water. The "beats" belonging to the different villages in the Siemen valley were found to be marked off by piles of stones. Huts for the use of fishing parties are quite common on the banks of the rivers.

I was shown a most entertaining way in which the Minyong Abors catch prawns. The bait consists of the fat white larvae to be found in fallen plantain stems; search is then made for a plant whose fibrous leaf is called by the Abors *ko-i*. Not only does

[1] The baskets, higher up the valleys, are used without the dams. They are hung out in the water on cane lines at the end of big bamboos.

this most useful plant supply the prawn-fisherman's rod, line, cast and hook, together with his landing net and creel, but is also used by the Abors for wrapping up the rations of rice (or dry millet seed for *apong*) that he carries in his ruksack. The stalk and central fibre of a *ko-i* leaf acts as rod, line and cast, or rather casts, for the sport is not altogether innocent of poaching methods and three or four baits are used. To each cast a larva is tied with a slip knot. The baited line is sunk into a likely pool and presently the prawns are tempted out of their lairs to feed upon the fat white larvae. The idea is to land them into a *ko-i* leaf held, as net and basket combined, in the left hand. The prawns become rather shy when they find themselves lifted from the bottom of the pool to the surface and into the air. Eye and hand (more especially letting one's left hand know what the right hand doeth) must work together to make a good basket and create, for after days, memories of an Abor hill-stream that may vie (very nearly) with remembrances of a boat—or, as it certainly seemed then, a trireme—and a lightly-hooked loch trout.

Before a party goes out lots are cast with stones to see whether the expedition is likely to be successful. If the omens are clearly unfavourable the trip is postponed. Thirty-six small stones are shaken in the hand and breathed upon, during which the nature of the omen is kept clearly in mind. The handful of stones is then run out into three heaps A, B, C, and from these heaps, which should be more or less equal in size, pairs of stones are taken until 1, 2 or 3 stones remain in each heap. The "rubbish heap" is then picked up and another line of three heaps D, E, F, made under the first. These are reduced to 1, 2 and 3 stones as before. One or two, but not three, stones may be left at A, C or F. Sometimes three rows are made, sometimes only two, the procedure varies in different villages. A represents the object heap, and this is governed favourably or unfavourably by combinations of the other heaps, generally in pairs BE, CF. For a favourable hunting omen one stone at A, which represents the quarry, appears to be essential for success ; the appearance of two stones at A and three at D is the most unfavourable omen, so unfavourable that when it appeared I was told it would be far better to stay at home. Groups of similar numbers of stones at BE, CF give favourable omens.

When the hill-men go away from home, especially upon a foray or hunting expedition, it is believed that ill-fortune will come if *apong* is brewed, or game (Lorraine mentions fish) is cooked by the women of the household during the absence of the party. This is an interesting parallel to the tabooed acts given by Frazer,[1] prohibiting the wife from eating flesh during the absence of her husband. Ill luck is warded off, that is to say the spirit of evil fortune is driven away, just as the spirit of ill health is sometimes exorcised, by waving about branches of a tree. This, I have been told, need not necessarily be performed by a *mirü*.

Warfare.

It is the defences, or the lack of them, set up by the Frontier tribes, whether it be the *sangars* and walled strongholds of the Pathan or the stockades of the Nagas, that proclaim the warlike or

[1] Golden Bough, Part II, 1911 Edition, Ch. IV, Section 6.

peaceful nature of the race. The tribes between the Borheli and the Lohit, all that has been said to the contrary notwithstanding, are not amongst those that delight in war. Being a primitive hunting race all the male element of the population goes about armed with bow, arrows, spear and perhaps a long sword, in addition to the short knife and ordinary *dao*, which is an absolute necessity of life to the dweller in the jungle; and all boys from an early age are taught to shoot, as were boys of an earlier and certainly not less virile England. But the bow of the tribesman on this frontier is used chiefly in hunting, and hardly ever against a neighbouring village or tribe. There is small fear of a raid or foray, consequently the villages are in many cases not fortified at all, or at the most are protected by bamboo stockades (generally of no great length) and *panjis* in the direction from which members of some other clan may be expected to approach. As a rule, however, villages are built on sites that are naturally strong in themselves and require but slight artificial improvement. No village that has been visited was found to possess an all-round defensive perimeter. The most strongly fortified villages that have been visited are Simong in the Abor country and the Mishmi villages on the Sisseri that face the Padam border.[1] These villages are defended by extensive bamboo stockades, *chevaux de frise* and long *panjis*, and are provided with footified gateways and portcullis.

Weapons.

The chief weapon of the tribesman is the bamboo long-bow shod with iron, with a cane "string" and supplied with bamboo shafted arrows. This weapon is effective up to about 180 yards, but has been known to carry about 70 yards further. Cross bows have not been seen. The arrows are of two kinds. The arrow in common use is a slip of bamboo (sometimes a poisonous variety of bamboo is employed), the point of which is hardened in the fire. Cane leaf is invariably used to fletch the arrow. Arrows are not feathered spirally, nor are the heads twisted to give spin. The better type of arrow is tipped almost always with an iron head, although beautifully-made bone heads have been found, chiefly in the Dafla hills. I have seen no stone arrow-heads, nor have jade or jasper heads, for spears, axes or arrows been discovered, either in use or as the relics of an earlier race. Flints are not found in the country. The iron-headed arrows are fastened to the shaft with fine cane splicing, and the shaft is deeply notched near the head so that the arrow may break off short in the wound. In the body of one of Mr. Williamson's coolies found in the Dihang river after the massacre at Komsing in 1911, I noticed the cane fastening of an arrow head, the shaft of which the cooly had broken off in his attempts to pull out the arrow. These arrows are poisoned.[2] The most common poison in the southern Dafla and Galong hills is *Croton tiglium*. *Aconitum ferox* is not nearly so common as it has to be imported from the north, or from the Mishmis to the east. I have some corroboration for the statement that the Abors (who get the bulk of their croton poison

[1] Karko was found to have three lines of wall and ditch defences on the south side.

[2] The Balek Abors called the croton berries *moru* and the aconite *ammo*. The toxic properties of croton are said to disappear rapidly when used by itself: it must be fresh, hence presumably the mixture.

from the Galongs) prefer to use aconite in hunting and a mixture of aconite and croton in war; for they appear to believe that the latter is certain, whereas aconite is useless if the arrow is extracted at once and the wound washed. The Daflas declare that they obtain their aconite from a high mountain away to the north infested with black and yellow snakes; the Simong Abors stated that they get their aconite from the snowy range to the north of them and propitiate the spirits of the place by sacrificial rites. The Aka poison is aconite. The poison, which to become rapidly absorbed must be fresh, is powdered upon a stone and made up into a paste with the juices of a creeper and a wild potato [1] and laid thickly on to the head of the arrow just behind the point. It is said, but I have no proof to support it, that arrows are also poisoned by thrusting them into decomposing carcasses. The main risk run from a wound inflicted by an arrow poisoned with aconite is from blood poisoning, provided the arrow is quickly extracted, for the aconite (although a comparatively rapid poison) is probably dry and takes some time to enter the system. The Abors affirm that croton is almost instantaneous in its effect.[2] The hill antidote for a poisoned arrow is to wash the wound and apply a mixture of fowl's dung and opium, if obtainable.

Arrows are carried in a bamboo case, provided with a lid and fitted with an outside cane pocket for spare "strings" and the bracer guard of cane. These arrow cases are sometimes rather nicely finished with bands of plaited cane work, and the sling of cane or strip of hide by which it is carried is often adorned with bunches of squirrel tails.

The second weapon, in order of importance, is the sword. Swords are made in three recognized lengths; the longest are Tibetan obtained from the Boris, or made in the Memong country. The blades are straight single edged, and have no point, for the hill-men cut with great dexterity and strength, but do not thrust. The average length of blade is 2 ft. 3 ins.; the handle is wood, generally ornamented with cane work, but brass work has been seen on some swords obtained from the north. Komkar and Pangkang are renowned for their sword-makers.[3] When I visited the latter the *Gam* emerged, black as Vulcan, from his furnaces. The scabbards are either of split bamboo (Abor, Memong and Dafla usual custom), or of wood (Mishmi, Dobang, Tadun). The sword is carried over the shoulder on a sling of hide, either of *mithan* bear, or deer skin.

The utter lack of an artistic sense in the tribes on this frontier is very clearly illustrated by the entire absence of ornamentation on the quivers and scabbards, in striking contrast to ancient hunters generally and to primitive hunting peoples of the present day, such as the Eskimo, and the Australian aborigines, who delight in ornamenting their weapons with artistic designs. Spears are frequently

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[1] The creeper and the root (that I took for wild potato) are both cultivated. They call the former *talo* and the latter *mane*. The Daflas are said to use pig's blood to bind the powdered poison.

[2] There appears to be strong diversity of opinion amongst medical men and analysts regarding these poisons. The notes I have taken were obtained from the most trustworthy Abors in the Balek villages. I have no corroboration or evidence, from other communities, and give these details for what they are worth.

[3] See pp. 71 and 44 of Memoir.

seen ; they are primarily used as Alpine stocks in the more hilly country, and unlike the shorter Naga spears are never thrown. The spear head is remarkably small and is ornamented with a tuft of hair, dyed red. The spear shaft is usually 7 or 8 feet long. A *dao* (generally discarded when the longer weapon is carried) and the short knife complete the armament, unless a bundle of *panjis*, sometimes carried to obstruct the path in front of a pursuing enemy, is included. Guns are so scarce that they cannot be considered as a portion of the armament. Such guns that are to be found in the more southern communities are obsolete British muskets, those belonging to the more northern peoples are prong guns of Tibetan manufacture.

Equipment.

The sword-cut-proof cane helmet is frequently covered with tufts of hair, dyed red, or black. In Riga it is the fashion amongst the young bloods to adorn their helmets with one and sometimes two, hornbill beaks embellishing them further with the feathers of jungle fowl or pheasant, a grotesque effect remarkably like the crests of medieval chivalry on the Continent of Europe. Sometimes the tufts of hair, as amongst the Panggis, are so long as to fall to the shoulders ; deer skin coats, armlets of hide (especially amongst the northern Daflas), large rectangular shields, generally of cane, sometimes of hide, together with large ruksacks, (occasionally) covered with bearskin in the north and black dyed fibre further south, complete the hill-man's equipment. In these ruksacks are carried rations made up in packages of one day's rice. The *meyari*, the disc with the *beyop* top of cymbal-like design, is worn on the back of the neck as a protection against sword-cuts.

Tactics.

The tribesmen do not mass after the manner of the *jirgahs* in the north-west. The cohesion given by a militant religion, and the *ghazi* fanaticism kindled by the *mullahs*, finds no counterpart here. No one tribe can be expected to rise *en masse* ; still less probable is the bursting of the frontier into that blaze of war not unknown beyond the Indus. To meet a common foe a certain number of villages may combine, but even then the defence of some carefully prepared position by the young men of the communities involved never quickens into co-ordinated attack. In other words, the hill-men will stand until the assault is pressed home (or their rations are exhausted if no serious operations are in progress), behind elaborate stockades built with immense labour, but may be relied on when encountering a civilized enemy to confine their counter-attacks to very occasional and disconnected rushes by swordsmen through his columns or to half-hearted sniping with arrows. The selection of defensive positions and the siting of the works with which they are crowned shows admirable judgment ; whilst the construction of long lines of rock shoots and the immense stockades and palisades for which the Abors in particular are famous is worthy of far more determined defenders. *Panjis* (short sharp bamboo stakes) and traps similar to the pits and bow-traps used for big game may be employed to strengthen the defences. A shell-proof stockade wall over 2,000 yards long and ten feet high constructed of stout timber and stones, with a *panji*-sown ditch in front of it and belts of *panjis* as an additional obstacle could only be taken after almost prohibitive loss, were the position unturnable and the enemy a determined foe.

Fortunately for the British Empire and the corporals guards that as a rule are called upon to ward or enlarge its boundaries, the warlike nature of a race decreases in direct proportion to the difficult nature of the country it inhabits.

Fights between two villages, or even more extensive operations, occasionally take the form of an engagement hardly distinguishable from a brawl, in which swords are used, followed by a village raid in which prisoners may possibly be taken for slaves; hostilities then become desultory. A little raiding may be done by bands of young men from the villages concerned, but the main operations of the war consist in blocking the roads with immensely thick barriers of felled trees and thickly-packed brushwood, and in defending the approaches to the villages with stone-shoots and short stockades. Stone-shoots are platforms made of bamboo piled up with stones. These are built out over cliffs hanging above the path to be defended and held up by a cane rope which is cut to let down the avalanche of stones on to the enemy below. Shoots are generally built in lines and the jungle is cleared to give the stones a free run; but notwithstanding this they are not easily discovered from below. This form of defence is a favourite one amongst the Abors and Mishmis.

The tribesmen are of course expert woodsmen and their system of scouting is excellent. Clearings are made along the path that is being watched and scouts on the opposite hillside are able to observe anything that moves along it. These sentries relieve each other at intervals. When watching an enemy the hill-men almost invariably have their dogs with them; these range ahead as scouts and frequently proclaim to their opponents the proximity of an otherwise entirely unobtrusive foe.

Obstinate vendetta resembling the blood feud of the Pathan are believed to be common amongst the Mishmis. The Chulikata and Bebijia Mishmis are wilder and more primitive than the tribes to the west of them with whom we have come in contact, and amongst whom the wild justice of revenge does not seem to be a prominent feature.

Treaties.

Regarding the methods of making peace Ruksang of Mishing told me that when Riga and Kebang, in Minmaw and Takom's time, were tired of fighting peace was established as follows: a tree was planted in the ground, about midway between the two villages, and the men of Riga and Kebang sat down on either side of it; each party brought *mithan* and *dankis*; the *mithan* were exchanged and eaten, using the *dankis* the other village had brought to cook them in: and peace has reigned between them ever since.

Signs and Messages.

It has already been observed that no records are made, either in stone, wood, or metal. The tongue of the Daflas, Galongs, Abors and Mishmis is a spoken language entirely; nor do the hill tribes, by painting or carving, supply the deficiency. In spite of this they are remarkably quick in recognizing their friends, or their own features, in photographs. They are, moreover, very clear and surprisingly accurate in the rough maps they make on the ground with a sharp stick. The Abors indicate the gradients of a road by taking a stick and breaking it into an irregular saw-like outline. The "sections" thus made are quite excellent. The Daflas cut bits out of a leaf, the jagged edge representing the gradients of the path.

None of the tribes whose customs are dealt with in this Memoir are acquainted with the art of writing, and the Revd. L. W. Jackman of Sadiya tells me that a most curious legend accounting for this is current amongst the Padam. Long ago, the story runs, the Supreme Being gave his precepts to man. To the dwellers in the plain he gave tables of stone, to the people of the hills he gave a sheet of parchment. But, with characteristic improvidence, the hill-man to whom the precious skin was entrusted, being sorely pressed by hunger, ate it. And the possibly not unmixed evil of illiteracy has been theirs ever since.

To supply the lack of writing, messages of great importance between villages (they appear to be confined to protestations of friendship or cartels of defiance) are sent in the form of stones, rice, chillies and charcoal tied up in small baskets. This is the equivalent to the message sticks of the Australian aborigines and have been handed down for generations. The origin of these signs is lost. Broken weapons, a bent spear head, or a sword turned as nearly as possible into a sickle, are also used to proclaim peaceful intentions. I was told in Rotung that a bent sword blade originally meant war, but has now reversed its meaning. The signs may either be sent or tied to a stick run into the ground in the middle of the path, where they will be seen by those for whom they are intended. The following ' basket messages ' with their meanings were gathered amongst the Minyongs of the Dihang valley. One or two of the messages have received corroboration from the Panggi side of the river. A stone by itself is a good sign (my heart is like this stone). The strongest message of friendship appears to be a stone with rice, or salt. (Rice denotes " a clear and innocent mind "). Chillies and charcoal, or a stone and chillies, or a stone, chillies and charcoal mean absolute defiance ("my mind has been burnt like charcoal, my thoughts are like these chillies"). The late Captain A. M. Hutchins gave me a most interesting and graphic account of the embassy sent by a hill community to proclaim its peaceful proclivities. The spokesman produced a bag and drew from it a sword-blade bent double. " This," he said, " is the sentiment of the *Gam* towards Government, and this (producing a spear-head with a broken point) is the sentiment of his kinsman and co-*Gam*." " This (producing a round pebble in a cane-work basket) is the heart of these two, which they send clean of reproach." " This (producing an old metal charm) being made from an element of the earth bears witness to the straightness and truth of the mind and words of the *Gam*, and " this (producing another slightly different) will do the same for his kinsman."

As a warning to cattle thieves " signboards " are erected on the path from the offender's village. These signs consist of cane and bamboo ; a stick represents the thief, who is exhibited in a miniature stock, such as are used for cattle rievers when they are caught. The signboard is studded with a number of slips of bamboo representing arrows ; all of which indicates the feelings and intentions of the aggrieved owner of the stolen animal. This symbol has been observed in both Abor and Galong country. Sign language not at all unlike the Romany signs in intention, though of course differing in form, is freely used ; the symbols are made of leaves and slips of bamboo. Distances are measured either as "a day's journey" or by pointing to the

position the sun will be in when the march is over. Two ways of measuring distance mentioned by Lorraine are the number of torches to be used, or the number of quids that could be chewed before arriving at the destination.

Notation.

The system of notation is very simple. The numerals run up to 10 *e-ing*, and then through 10 and 1, 10 and 2, up to "two tens" and so on, up to 100, for which there is a recognized derivation of "ten tens"—*ling*. Very few hill-men have an appreciation of the higher numbers, and although Lorraine gives *li-yinko* for 1,000 it really denotes any of the higher numbers. This method, which may for convenience be called the decimal system, is the natural notation of the hill-man, and is employed when bundles of short sticks are used to simplify intricate calculations regarding coolies, or payment for services rendered, matters that (from the tribesman's point of view) involve large figures. At the same time there has been borrowed from the Plains the "groups-of-four" system for small amounts. The method used is to hold up the hand and with the thumb count the four joints of each finger, starting with the little finger, up to 32 if necessary. The number 20 is indicated by spreading out the hands palms downwards and lowering them slightly towards the feet.

There is one point of interest regarding numeral adjectives that, it is believed, is common to Burmese. This is a change in the numeral adjective when used with different objects. In the Abor language the actual number is preceded by the numerical particle indicating the noun. For instance, *ko*[*ng*] is used with houses, *so*[*ng*] with such objects as boats, posts, and bamboos conveying the idea of length, *bor* with flat objects such as leaves, and *pui* with round objects such as eggs. For instance, four [*eggs*] would be *pui-pi*, one house would be *e'kum kong ka*. These numeral particles are never used with 7, 8 and 9. For a full explanation of this rule of grammar the reader is referred to Needham's Miri grammar.

Ideas of the Universe.

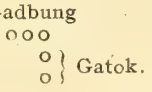
The hill legends regarding the Creation[1] and the Flood[2] are alluded to elsewhere. In the minds of the hill-men the earth is a disc, under which the sun dips, to rise again over the Mishmi hills, while round the earth flows a mighty stream, the main current of the Brahmaputra, that encircles the world. For Si-ang we have but to read "Oceanus," for the fabulous tribes of Basin and Mimat living away to the north we have only to transpose the giant Hyperboreans and the ghoulish Anthropophagi to find once more the legends of the Greeks.

Apart from the myths that tell of how the moon and the stars came into being, the more intelligent Abors have definite ideas of Astronomy. The extreme difficulty of combining a clear night in this country with the presence of a man who knows, makes this portion of the subject regrettably incomplete at the time of writing. It is only possible to offer the following brief notes. The Abors recognize certain of the stars and constellations, and have names for them.[3] The Minyongs call a comet *karshor*,

[1] See p. 13. [2] See p. 63.

[3] The names given in Balek to certain Stars are as follows, Evening Star *Yume Pume*, Morning Star *Rue Pume*, Pleiades *Karseng laiyeng*, Orion's Belt *Gadbung Gatok*, Cassiopoea *Muingye tigong*.

For this note and for the spelling adopted for certain words, I am indebted to Captain Lane, 4th Gurkha Rifles.

the name given by Lorraine for a shooting star or meteor. The Evening Star is called *Karte Pumu*, the Morning Star *Takar Tigbo*. The Pleiades are called *Karsheng lieng* by the Minyongs and *Tatum lieng* by the Padam. Orion is called *Takar Engo*, and is held to be the Archer, who made war with the fish. The Milky Way is called *Digin diu richu*, which means literally the meeting of the Rains and the cold weather. The Milky Way is straight overhead in the Abor country in September. One constellation called *Gadbung Gatok* 

applies to Orion's Belt (Abor Archer's Quiver).

There seems to be no name for the Great Bear, but it is sometimes referred to as the "Seven Stars." The names seem general, as I have heard similar statements from Madu of Riu, and men of Rotung and Rengging.

Diseases and Cures.

The chief diseases of the hill-tribes are the epidemics of small-pox and dysentery that periodically ravage the country, goitre, tubercular disease and the most hideous itch which the filthy habits of the Minyongs and Panggis in particular do much to encourage. Dr. Falkiner informed me that enlarged spleens amongst the children, tuberculous disease in all its forms, and a chronic form of conjunctivitis were common in Ledum. The Memongs are far cleaner than the Pasis, Minyongs or Panggis and itch and tubercular glands are not nearly so common. The Panggis were found to be even dirtier, sicklier, and more degenerate than the Minyongs. The hill people are prolific and amongst the Memongs in particular the remarkable number of exceedingly old people testified to the good duration of life. The recent ravages of small-pox and dysentery amongst the Dobangs and Minyongs more especially have reduced the population to an appreciable extent. This latter disease has lately been ravaging the Dihang valley with extreme severity. A small wild orange is believed to cure dysentery; it is exceedingly astringent. Venereal disease does not apparently exist amongst the Galongs; it is said to be local (in its rare occurrence) amongst the Abors and has been introduced from the plains. Lorraine gives *yet-po-pe-mo* as the name of a plant the leaves of which are warmed and the juice expressed on syphilitic sores and the leaves applied. The cure is stated to be extremely rapid. Villages that are attacked by small-pox or dysentery are systematically segregated, and the inhabitants are not allowed to go beyond their own cultivation and hunting grounds. The villages nearest the sick community establish quarantine by erecting barricades of bamboo and chevaux de frise with minatory arrows pointing in the direction of the danger. The measures taken to restore health that are religious in their character are to be found on p. 70 and the following pages.

Apart from propitiatory sacrifices the main treatment for illness that has been noticed is a blind faith in the efficacy of *apong*; this sovereign remedy is applied equally to children. If a woman falls ill one method of cure is to fasten a *dine* round her neck to act as a charm against the malevolence of Nipong. The water in which a *dine* has been soaked is regarded as a cure for fever and may be administered to either sex.

Necklaces of what is probably cinnamon wood [1] are hung round the necks of persons, especially children, suffering from fever. Acquaintance with the rather more extensive pharmacopia of the West has rapidly spread the superior properties of quinine. If an epidemic becomes exceedingly severe rubber trees may be cut down to drive away the angry spirit; if that fails the village is moved to another site. In spite of the blame that, as a matter of course, is cast upon the unseen world, I have heard an epidemic on more than one occasion attributed to the badness of the water in the vicinity. In the Kamla valley I received personal experience of the method used to remove a headache. The mother of the leading *Gam* in the valley assured me, with perfect truth, that she could take away very severe pains in the head by massage with the tips of the fingers. This up-to-date treatment proved as successful as it was unexpected.

Totemism and Taboo.

Careful enquiry was made with the object of discovering any trace of totemism, past and present, amongst the clans, either in their origin, through their names, or in their manners and customs. Clan names and names of individuals gave no results. The origin of the name Pasi, which is traced in the discussion of migrations, is not helpful. The Loma-mani-trun shar otherwise known as Mimats, whose former name Captain Hore informed me, means neckless savage, and the eponymic Rolero and Memong, Kuri and Kumuing, called after the founders of the stock, who were brothers, are the only names that appear to have a deliberate meaning.[2] This, so far as it goes, is interesting negative evidence, for Tylor[3] notes that the Mongoloid tribes north of the Himalayas in their native low-cultured state, such as the Yakuts, are divided into inter-marrying totem clans such as Swan, Raven and the like. Inter-marriage in the same group is forbidden amongst Abors and Galongs. Before the girls are married off sexual intercourse with the young men of the village is however permitted; the appearance of any children is, at the same time, strongly deprecated. Nor do the names of individuals give any better result. Children are named by their fathers or mothers and the names, almost invariably, are meaningless. It cannot possibly be cited as determining an invariable practice, but in two pedigrees that were examined, one of three generations and one of six, father to son, the first syllable of the name remained constant, Dutem of Ledum being descended from Dudi through Duyur, Dusi, Dugan, Dugong.

Taboo clearly exists, although I am not prepared to venture an opinion as to whether this is a last surviving trace of the totemic religion possibly believed by the race when a purely hunting people. The buffalo meat brought up from the plain is taboo to women, certain things are taboo during pregnancy, and when the *Mirü* has cured a case of serious illness the patient is forbidden to eat the flesh of any wild animal killed in hunting or the flesh of the creature sacrificed to cure him, plantains or wild potatoes for one year. He may however eat fish. For this custom no satisfactory reason has been given, as it by no means follows that Nipong of the Abors,

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1 Called *sili* by the Minyong Abors.

2 One or two sept names happen to coincide with nouns, but Captain Lane, who has made independent enquiry, concurs in the conclusion that this is fortuitous, giving as examples "ruksack" and "otter."

3 Primitive Culture, Vol. II, p. 236.

who is associated with hunting, plantains and the produce of the jungle generally, is held responsible for the illness in question. The Galongs impose similar taboo on recovery from illness. The present religious belief of Abors and Galongs is distinctly non-totemistic; and even such light as is thrown on their origin by the fragments of mythology that have been collected does not disclose a totemic past as defined by Lang in Social Origins.

Marriage Consanguinity.

The Galongs, Abors and Mishmis are exogamous but this custom does not now appear to be governed by taboo of totem kin. Nor does the observation of the primal law of the family preclude the free co-habitation of the unmarried girls and youths of the community, a laxity that may be compared with the customs of certain of the Chin tribes.[1] I was told by the Dobangs that they are prohibited from marrying blood connexions on the male side, which means women of their own group. They marry from amongst their mother's people, who are as a rule of the same clan. A man may not of course marry his sister (being of the same group) nor his mother. If his mother has a married brother he may marry a daughter of the marriage. Polyandry is unknown. Polygamy is customary, slaves and poor people have only one wife, but two wives are very commonly met with. Three—on account presumably of expense—are extremely rare. This custom can perhaps be most clearly illustrated[2] by the fact that the Abor calls his first wife *e-pong* and the second *e-me*, but there appears to be no word for a third wife. The general term for wife is *mi-ang*. If he wished to do so, there is nothing to prevent a man marrying two sisters simultaneously. Instances of Dobangs marrying Memongs have been noticed and intermarriage between Pánggis and Minyongs, and Minyongs and Pasis is also known to occur. I gathered from various shreds of evidence that the more northern Memong communities living along the Siyom valley may perhaps intermarry with the Boris or Abors, a custom that is not recognized further south; and Captain Hore told me, that the surviving Miri communities in the Abor hills are being merged, by intermarriage, with the Abors. Abors do not marry Mishmis.[3] The Dafla clans are clearly subdivided, and it is regretted that the marriage customs of the various Dafla groups were not investigated when the Poma valley and Kamla valley communities were visited.

Courtship.

Amongst the Abors wives, so I was told at Mishing, are obtained in the following way: a man takes a fancy to a girl and of course visits her; she may, however, remain a member of her parents' household for several years, sometimes, I have been told, for as long as five years. This intercourse is the Abor form of engagement, and appears to bind the girl to receiving visits only from her would-be husband; it is on an entirely different footing to the promiscuous intercourse allowed, before ideas of marriage are entertained, in their own group, amongst the young men and women of any Abor or Galong village. A broken bead, the boy and girl each keeping half, is sometimes regarded as an engage-

[1] Census of India, 1911, Vol. IX, Burma, p. 148.

[2] Lorraine's Abor Miri Dictionary, Needham's Grammar, Shaiyang-Miri Language, Assam Secretariat Press, 1886

[3] Similar laws of affinity exist among the Mishmis.

ment token. In those Minyong villages where there are no *rashengs* the young people "keep company" in the house of the girl's parents. The presence of the remainder of the family, although not apparently causing embarrassment, gives rise to the observance of some etiquette. If the damsel feels kindly disposed she simply remains quiet when her visitor enters; if, on the other hand, the swain is unwelcome she makes up the smouldering embers on the hearth into a blaze; gives him a drink of *apong* and sends him away. When a girl has agreed to consort with a man, with a view to marriage, the parents' consent is obtained to the union through the nearest relations of the suitor, who act as intermediaries; and after this, although either party may break the engagement, the girl does so at the risk of being sold into slavery by an irascible father. When the contract is made the suitor gives some squirrel skins and some *apong*, or millet seed ready to be made into *apong*, to the girl's parents. This first gift or (according to Lorraine) feast is called *reying* by that authority. The "engagement" token amongst the Minyongs is a long loop of cane which the women wear suspended from their necks. As regards keeping company, and its crystallization into marriage, I was told in Rotung that the custom is for the man to marry the first girl who has a child by him He is under no obligation, or contract, as regards any other girls with whom he may have consorted, but the birth of a child to any of these is not considered a disgrace nor does it hinder their subsequent marriage. During the engagement the swain not only presents from time to time gifts of wild boar, deer and fish to the girl's parents, but he collects what his future father-in-law determines to be a suitable number of squirrel skins in part payment for his daughter before she leaves his household. The Mishmis, who are polygamous, also buy their wives, paying, I am told by Captain Bethell with reference to the Chulikatas, from 1 to 5 *mithan*[1] for them. The price paid to the parents presumably varies, as amongst other hill-tribes, in accordance with the wealth of the suitor, and the form of payment is almost certain to assume the shape of *dankis*, swords, and other animals besides *mithan*.

When the Abor has paid up his last instalment he is at liberty to set up a house of his own and, whilst up to this time he and his wife have worked upon the fields of their respective parents, to whose households they have entirely belonged in spite of the fact that children may have been born of the union, the engaged couple now start their family life together, in a house built for them by the remainder of the village and find themselves with their own fields and such other rights of citizenship that a primitive community can boast. It is, however, customary before a married couple set up house for themselves for the bridegroom to work for one season on his father-in-law's fields. If the bridegroom can afford it, he gives a marriage, or house-warming, feast. Infant marriage does not exist in the hills; some remarks made by a Dafla *Gam* on the subject of early marriage seem to indicate that intercourse between the sexes begins at the earliest possible age. When he marries, an Abor incurs the obligation to provide, from among his immediate relations, a wife for some member of his bride's family. This arrangement is due to the

[1] Mr. O'Callaghan, A.P.O. for the Lohit, informs me that a Mishmi *Gam* will give up to 10 *mithan* for a wife.

comparative scarcity of women and is rigidly enforced by communities in which men are in a marked majority. By exchanging brides and so adjusting the proportion of the two sexes, polyandry, which is common amongst certain hill peoples, appears to have been avoided. It has not, as yet, been ascertained whether this custom of exchange is followed by the more northern tribes of the Dihang valley.

Taboo in pregnancy.

I have not been able to discover any definite religious rites connected with either marriage or birth amongst the Abors and Galongs, but as these notes do not pretend to be in any way exhaustive, it does not follow that such ceremonies do not exist. The Subansiri Daflas put up long chain-like charms over the house in which a newly-married couple are living to keep away malevolent spirits. The house warming appears to be celebrated with more than usually heavy drinking. When a woman is pregnant she must not drink water from the leaves of the wild potato, otherwise the child will be born with defective eyesight. For this, the Abors hold, there is no antidote. The Doric pheasant is taboo, for it is believed that the flesh of the bird produces spots and markings on the body of the infant; if, however, a Doric is sacrificed the unfortunate effects of the injudicious repast are said to be avoided. Nor may a pregnant woman kill either snakes or frogs lest the child be born with a darting, snake-like tongue, or crooked limbs.[1] In corroborating *taboos* during pregnancy the Rotung Abors added doves, jungle fowl and *Pitta nepalensis*. Women may *never* eat the head of any creature. Infanticide is unknown.

Birth Customs and Naming.

Twins are very rare and are, for superstitious reasons, unwelcome; double plantains and other fruits are supposed to produce them. So, until the approach of old age makes the precaution unnecessary, double fruit is shunned by both sexes. If a woman, when pregnant, dreams that she is given two knives it is held to be a sign that she is about to give birth to twins. When in labour Abor women cling to a horizontal bar and are delivered in a more or less kneeling position. If there is any difficulty in parturition the woman stands up, and she is then assisted by any women who are supposed to be at all skilful; it has not been discovered that there are any professional midwives. If the labour is difficult pigs, fowls and sometimes *mithan* are sacrified to Nipong. The mortality of women in child-birth is heavy. It has been learnt from Minyong sources that string is tied round the umbilical cord in two places and that a bamboo is always used to cut the cord. The placenta and umbilical cord are not, according to evidence gathered at Rotung, actually buried in the jungle: they are thrown into the forest for, so I was informed, there is a Minyong superstition that the child would die, and be buried too. This, the Pasis affirm, is a Miri superstition and that they themselves bury the placenta and cord under the house. But since I was told, the year before, in Balek that they were buried in the jungle some uncertainty arises. At the same time the two different customs

[1] These details were given me in Balek by an exceptionally reliable witness. In the course of his evidence he volunteered statements about Galong and other communities that I knew by observation to be correct: this evidence may therefore be regarded as satisfactory.

agree with the varying practices of neighbouring clans in the Naga Hills. The time during which the mother has to perform purification ceremonies appears to vary from 5 to 6 days amongst the Abors; the Mishmi period is ten days. On its termination the woman may make an offering of a fowl. On the day the child is born a feast is given to the children of the village if the parents can afford it. The mother may not touch the fire-place, or cook, for three days after the birth of her child. The father names the children as a rule, but it is permissible for the mother to do so. The name is called when the umbilical cord is cut. I have seen no dwarfs, giants or deformities in the country, other than two well-developed women dwarfs at Meybo.

Children.

The Karka tribe habitually sell their children as slaves, but amongst the more easterly Galongs and amongst the Abors, family affection is very strong. The father, whether out on the hill or within the precints of the village, takes his turn at minding the baby, a duty he performs with remarkable tenderness and care. As in other parts of the world very small girls look after and carry about still more diminutive brothers and sisters, occasionally straddling them on the hip but usually carrying them pickaback, in the cloth they wind round the upper part of their bodies. Boys are not specially given any religious teaching; amongst the foot-hill Minyongs at all events, they pick up as much as it is necessary for them to know from watching the various ceremonies. When a boy is about 9 or 10 years old his father tells him about the past history of his people, teaching him a little at a time and not telling him more until the previous lesson is word perfect. In this way a knowledge of their ancestry that would otherwise be lost is kept alive in the tribes. It is regretted that cat's cradle, familiar to the Balek Abors as *alak budi*, was not tried amongst the more remote villages. Knot tricks are known and the children play knuckle bones with pebbles. In addition to bamboo spears and swords and toy bows and arrows the children make pop-guns with a pithed stick as the tube and half a berry as the pellet. In times of sickness they make little bamboo *merangs* and idols in imitation of those made by their parents, but, apart from these, no toys have been noticed. The children play at soldiers, not at all after the "Red Indian" tactics that one would expect, but in the swashbuckling manner of the mummer cast for the part of St. George of Merrie England.

Morality and Tribal Law.

Although morality, according to European standards, is distinctly easy, and becomes startlingly lax towards the north, married people, especially so far as the wives are concerned, remain very faithful to each other. Adultery is rare, though not, of course, unknown. Both amongst the Galongs and the Abors discrimination is shewn in awarding punishment for this offence. If the man who is guilty pestered and tempted the woman he is held to blame and is heavily fined in live stock and *dankis* or perhaps other valuables, the injured husband receiving the "damages." If the offender is too poor to pay a suitable fine he is sold into slavery. If, on the other hand, the weight of guilt lies on the woman she is barbarously punished in a quite unmentionable manner in front of the whole village or, as I was informed by a Galong informant, severely beaten and placed in a position of permanent servitude. In cases of habitual adultery the guilty party,

whether Abor or Galong, is sold into slavery. Mishmi customs appear to be rather similar. Adultery amongst the Abors and Galongs is not apparently punishable with death, but I have been told that the Subansiri Daflas, on discovering a case of illicit intercourse between a slave and free girl, have been known to drive a stake through his body and throw him into the river. This statement has received no support and cannot be relied upon. Divorce, save in the case given above where the wife is sold as a slave, is apparently unknown : for if a woman is going to be barren the fact will be ascertained during the lengthy engagement, which the suitor can break off. The eldest son inherits two-thirds of the property, and the youngest son one-third ; the other sons are left nothing, and may have to depend for their livelihood on the heirs, who are considered under an obligation to allot them a portion of the fields, etc. Personal property is not, however, given away in this manner. Daughters inherit nothing. If there are no sons the nearest male relative is considered to be the heir. He, consequently, performs the funeral ceremony. It has been gathered that the widow is taken over by the heir together with the property inherited ; widows, therefore, become as a rule drudges in their husband's family.

Affirmation is made by pointing to the sky and stamping on the ground, thus calling both elements to witness. To eat earth and point to the sun, and declare that "the earth may swallow me and the sun may burn me if I lie" is a customary form of oath. Solemn oath is taken by swearing by the sun and the earth, whilst holding the horn of a *mithan*, adding "May this animal's horn pierce me if I am false."

Ordeals are not uncommon amongst the Abors. They are held between accuser and accused and not necessarily in the face of the whole congregation. The test is to get an egg out of a "chunga" of water boiling on the fire. A screen may be used to guard the face. If the accused is guilty his hand is scalded, if innocent his hand is uninjured. There are recognized places where ordeals are held outside the villages, generally on the top of a spur.

In the Abor and Galong country if a man commits murder the tribal law apparently imposes a heavy fine which is made over to the relations of the murdered man as compensation. If he is too poor to pay the fine he is sold into slavery. Amongst the Mishmis, certainly among the more primitive Bebijia and Chulikata (whose personal property is generally of the slightest) the "life for a life" idea of justice, with its consequent Pathan-like blood-feuds, is dominant. I have gathered in the course of enquiry that the Abor is less inclined to adopt this form of justice ; one, possibly, of the village feuds that have come to light, might be attributed to the community as a whole taking up the cause of one murdered man.

If a man is caught cattle-lifting he is fined in *mithan*, proportionately to the number he stole, or attempted to steal. If he is unable to pay up this at once he is, according to Galong custom, kept a prisoner until the fine is paid or, if it is not paid, for about 10 years. An Along man who was a prisoner in Kombong for cattle stealing had his foot thrust into a moveable stock ; the short log (which looked like a *dhan* pounder with a hole through it) was fastened to the prisoner's wrist by a rope. The hill tribes all seem to keep their prisoners in a similar way. If the thief is not caught

red-handed the aggrieved owner goes over to the offender's village and, seizing a favourable opportunity, satisfies the local idea of justice by securing either an inmate of his house or such personal property of any value as he can secure. If, as in practice generally happens, the aggrieved person seizes some animal belonging to an entirely innocent individual, it rests with the latter to adjust the balance by securing an animal belonging to the original offender.

Slavery.

The sources from which slaves are drawn by the Galongs and Abors have already been alluded to, but briefly recapitulated they are as follows: slaves are very occasionally obtained by successful raiding parties (when children alone are a welcome capture; sometimes in course of law and justice as the punishment of crime, through inability to pay an imposed fine; or the refusal of some girl to obey her parents' wishes regarding her marriage; more often by the birth of children to slaves and, most frequently, by the recognized slave trade in children of the Karka clan who regularly sell their children into slavery. This slave trade supplies the Memong, Dobang, Tadun, Minyong and Pasi villages. Occasionally the people to the north bring captives taken in war into the zone of southern Galongs and Minyongs and sell them as slaves; and sometimes a tea-garden coolie is foolish enough, on his or her first arrival in Assam and before the advantageous circumstances of life on a garden are properly realized, to bolt to the hills and certain slavery. The Padam draw a certain number of slaves from the Mishmis.

Price.

Local conditions and the value of *mithan* and property generally are so variable that it is exceedingly difficult to convey a correct idea of the value of slaves. But I gathered from the Abors of Ledum and Galongs of Kaking that slaves cost up to 160 rupees or rather its equivalent in *mithan*, *dankis*, *moni* and other property. The price of a hard-working woman is higher than that of a good man. All Abors and Galongs who can afford it keep one or more slaves in their households.

Treatment and Marriage.

Slaves are well looked after; they live in the house and feed with the family from whom they are sometimes indistinguishable. For it does not at all follow that a man wearing bracelets is a free man and a man without them is a slave; a capable and energetic slave has an assured position, he is listened to and his advice may readily be followed. A male slave has the right to a wife and his owner, if there is no suitable slave girl in his household, is bound to buy one for him. The children of a slave marriage are slaves, and the property of their master. The rule once a slave always a slave appears, from the evidence collected, to have very few exceptions amongst Galongs and Abors. A man, who has been sent into slavery for inability to pay a fine inflicted for some offence, can be freed by the subsequent payment of the fine by his family; this seems to be the only usual form of emancipation.

The inter-marriage of free people and slaves is not customary. If, as it has been stated, the practice is permitted it is exceptional, and is confined to the poorest elements of the community. I am not at all satisfied with the evidence I have heard on this point. If the practice exists the act of marriage might be presumed to free

the slave. Moreover the marriage present given by custom to the bride's father is on a sliding scale and can be so small, in addition to the fact that the payment is made in instalments, that it is hardly conceivable that a man too poor to get a free girl for himself could compensate the owner of the slave girl he wanted to marry. Nor would a father, with a marriageable daughter, be at all likely to give her to a slave husband. But it is possible that the man who woos *in forma pauperis* stays free himself and becomes as it were supernumerary to the establishment in which his wife still remains a slave.

Punishment.

The master of the house has the power of life and death over his slaves. But only in the rarest instances have cases been known in which slaves have been killed by their owners. The killing of a slave in sudden anger, although of course not a punishable offence according to Abor ideas, is strongly disapproved by the community as a whole. The Galong method of inflicting capital punishment upon a hopelessly refractory slave is to hang him. This punishment is so rare that it cannot be called a custom or practice. If a slave cannot be made to work, or continually runs away, and beating him and putting him in the stock has no effect, the custom is to sell him to some distant village. The most careful enquiry has failed to elicit any evidence of the sacrifice of slaves to the war god or any other spirit.

Character.

The habits of Abor and Galong that have been noted in these pages make, it is feared, a record "dry as the remainder biscuit after a voyage." The bones of fact do not stir into life and show us the hill-man standing out, a living creature from these pages. They cannot present him as he is, a strange mixture of good and evil, a child of nature if ever there was one.

The more debased amongst the hillmen would, it is admitted, justify Portia's judgment on her German suitor, but the better type of Abor and Galong, and he is by no means uncommon outside the Minyong and Panggi clans, does not fall so low. He certainly does his share of the work by clearing the "jhums", helping at harvest and building the houses and bridges. If he is full of curiosity and avariciously inclined to set an inordinate value on his services to strangers visiting his country, he possesses a certain dignity, is hospitable, cheery and honest, and may be relied upon to carry a load to the place he says he will take it. This I have found by experience he will do without supervision. He is not, according to his own standard, treacherous, for unlike the Mishmi he will not deliberately invite any one into his village and then murder him. But in his character cunning takes the place of bravery, and he does not, most emphatically, court war like a mistress.

The distance at which, until recently, he succeeded in keeping his neighbours of Assam lent but little enchantment to the view that early writers took of the hill tribesman. One Mohomed Cazim unkindly remarks: "This evil-disposed race of mountaineers are many degrees removed from the line of humanity and are destitute of the characteristic properties of a man." Beyond so uncompromising a description no character sketch of the hill tribes could possibly venture.

Chapter III.—*Mythology and Religious Beliefs.*

General Observations.

Abor mythology represents the gods, in the dawn of the world when they lived among men, as kindly and beneficent. But even in those golden days a Chthonia of the hills had to be offered in sacrifice before the reluctant sun would wing its way over a darkness-smitten earth. Later the world became the prey of demons openly malevolent and unchecked by the high gods, and the present religious attitude of the hill-man is that of Browning's Caliban, tempered by a belief in the powers of the *miriï* to mollify the evil spirits and avert their anger. His untutored mind sees a demon everywhere, in the sun and the thunder, the earth and the water. It is a spirit of evil that takes life from all things that have breath, that smites with sickness, that, in the questionable shape of a kinsman from some distant village, lures the unfortunate to his doom in the dark recesses of the forest. And the beginning and end of his religion, in sickness and in health, in seed time and in war, in the agonies of death and in the burial rites that follow, is to appease the malevolent spirits of an unseen world. Mythic legends are not told so habitually as to be generally known, for mythology is caviare to the general. Apart from the *miriï*, religion only affects the hill-man at all closely when he is sick, then the interest vibrates through the circle of his relatives and friends; even so it is only directed towards the spirit to whose malevolence the calamity is imputed. Still, there exists a vague idea that above the spirits with whom they have to do, there may be an All-great who is All-loving too. This sense of an omnipotent being is fostered and enlarged by intercourse with the Plains.

The following fragments of tribal mythology are of Dobang origin except when otherwise stated:—

Mythology, The Coming of Man.

At the beginning of time, the gods for seven generations dwelt alone on the earth, to which they came in the following order, father to son, as they are named by the *miriï* in his incantations. Jimi,[1] Michek, Shegrum, Rombuk, Buksin, Sintu, Turi and, in the eighth generation, Riki and Rini. Riki, as was the custom of the gods, ate flesh raw, but Rini cooked it. Riki was renamed Taki and Rini, who burnt the flesh before he ate it, was called Tani.[2]

Lilith and Eve.

Now the time came when Tani wanted a wife and he searched through all the world, but could find no woman with whom to mate. So he made a likeness of one, of leaves on a bamboo frame just as the images of the gods are made to this day. From this image was born the leech that gained its vitality only when the instinct came to it to suck the blood of the man; but still Tani had no wife. In his despair he tried to find a mate amongst the creatures of the forest. But he could find no companion there and none bore him any children. Amongst other creatures Tani mated with the Pajak. But one day

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1 Lorraine gives Jemi-Jimiang as "God the all-loving" (Minyong-Padam dialect) with a dual personality, male and female.

2 This is the general Abor word for man, meaning a human being, and is their equivalent for "Adam." It is interesting to note that a man is *ami*.

while they were preparing their food the bird fouled it. Tani got very angry and the bird flew away and he never saw her again. Then the search for a wife went on until at last Tani went to the sun, who gave him a woman, Mumsi, to be his wife.[1] The Abor legend of the creation has already been given.[2] I was told by the Pasis that the *killing le tung* stone of creation is hollowed like a cave. On this stone the foot-prints of men and all creation are to be seen, and about the rock are pebbles that the children bit and played with, and because the flinty rock was soft in those early days, you can see the marks of their teeth and the prints of their tiny fingers. The stone of creation is near the source of the Sisap, the river just beyond Koku (marked Karko on the map).

After the creation, Nibu the father of all flesh and Robo the father of all spirits one day set their traps in the river. Robo set his up-stream, and Nibu down the current. After a little Nibu came back and saw that while his traps were (not unnaturally) quite empty, Robo's were already full of fish. So Nibu lifted Robo's traps and emptied them into his own, and went away. Next day when the two hunters came out to look at their traps Robo was very much surprised to find that his own were empty and Nibu's were full of fish. However, he said nothing. Then they went on and set their "egom" trap.[3] Robo set his on the ground, Nibu on the branch of a tree. During the night Nibu went round the traps to see what luck had befallen them. And he found that Robo had caught a barking deer, but in his trap there was only a hornbill. So he changed the contents of the two traps. Next day, when Robo saw what was in his trap he exclaimed, "How can a hornbill be caught in a trap on the ground." And Nibu said, "Quite easily, if he goes there to look for food." Then Robo said angrily, "Any way a deer cannot be caught up in a tree," to which Nibu replied, "Oh yes, he can if he is looking for fruit.' At that Robo got very angry indeed and went away furious. And from that day to this the spirits of Robo have haunted the children of Nibu.

The following story is perhaps a memory of Fr. Krick's teaching fifty years ago, unless it be an echo of the days when the missionaries of the Church of Rome were a power through Central Asia. In the beginning a man and a woman lived alone on the earth. And a snake came and tempted the woman with a brew of *apong* that he had made. She drank it and, under the influence of the wine, consented to have intercourse with him. Afterwards she gave birth to an immense number of little snakes that all slipped away among the trees. Then the man hunted out the snake and killed it. And the snake since then has been a deadly enemy of mankind.

Once upon a time there was a great flood in the Siang river (Dihang), that covered all the earth. And when it subsided, all the fish were found stranded on the ground. So Shile Shido (Shedi Melo, the omnipotent spirit) took the hills and piled

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[1] An almost similar legend is told by the Subansiri Daflas. [2] Page 13.

[3] An *egom* is a trap set in an animal's run, with a suspended stone which falls when the game comes against a cane wire." The story of Robo and Nibu is Minyong.

them up on either side of the river, to shut it in for all time, and the fish fell back into the water and regained life.[1]

There were two stars Dupuir and Dudengu, brother and sister, who married and had a son Puirshem. He died and fell from the sky—a shooting star—into the water and was carried down with the stream. Now Tapu Talar, one of the water spirits, had set a trap for fish and in it the star was caught. And Tapu Talar took it out and ate it. Then the bat, who seems to have been the tale-bearer, both in Minyong and Galong stories, told the stars what had befallen Puirshem. So there was war between the stars and the dwellers in the water. And the fishes and the frogs came out of the water and began to climb up the rocks towards the stars, very slowly for they kept sliding and falling back into the water. Presently the stars began to shoot their arrows at them, and the frogs and fishes tried to shelter behind the rocks and stones as the arrows went by. But they could not cover themselves altogether, and the arrows speeding past them gashed and grazed them on either side, and gave to the fish the gills they have to this day.[2]

Long ago men and monkeys were almost alike, neither wore clothes and both had bows and arrows. At first they lived peaceably together, but afterwards they fought. One day, when the monkeys were catching fish by throwing stones and chestnuts at them from the branches above a pool, the men came up unnoticed. First they took the monkeys' bows and knotted and tied the strings, so that they were useless ; then they took the fish the monkeys had already caught and put them in their satchels. After that, they rushed at the monkeys with their daos. The startled monkeys ran to their weapons but found that they were useless, for the strings were too short for the bows. Many of them were killed and the rest fled away. But the men followed them, and called out after them saying that they wanted to make peace. And at last the monkeys were reassured and came back again. The terms of peace were that the monkeys should no longer live in houses, as they had before, but in trees ; and the men burnt all their houses. After this they all gathered together for a feast, the men and the monkeys that had not been killed. The feast was held in the trunk of a huge decayed hollow tree, for the entrance of which the men had made a big door of leaves and branches. First of all they started singing, and while this was going on the men excused themselves for a little, while they went off to get their food. But when all the men were outside they shut the door and set fire to the tree. And the monkeys, unable to get out, were burnt to death. All except one, that escaped half burnt, with its face all black and charred. That is why monkeys nowadays have no weapons, nor any houses, and why their faces are black.[3]

In these days there is only a plant called *kojam koja*, but once it was the name of a flourishing village. In Kojam Koja there lived a *Gam*, Kosam Luntong, and one day he proposed that the village should hold a festival to the spirits. So the people of the village went out, and turned a stream to get the fish in it. Now Nipong's son was in this stream and he, like everything else that the people of Kojam Koja found, was

[1] Minyong legend. [2] Minyong. [3] Minyong.

taken back to the village and eaten at the feast. A bat carried the news of this to Nipong, who called on all the powers of water to rise and destroy Kojam Koja. He also sent two huge snakes to undermine a cliff under which the village was built. So Kojam Koja was blotted out, and all the people that were in it were buried in its ruins. But the heads of the people have sprung up as the chestnut tree (*Tanu*) and their other members have sprung up as the different kinds of bamboo, and the plant known as *kojam koja*. The hearts of the people sprang up again as ginger and onion roots.[1]

Drought and the Water Spirit.

Now whilst gods and men were living together on the earth, there was much distress because there was no water, and gods and men alike were lean and thin. But it was noticed with a good deal of wonder that the rat was always fat and sleek. So one day a man followed the rat and tracked it to a big stone in which it found water to drink. Then the man came back and told what he had seen. But when the men came to break the stone and get the water out for themselves they found that the stone was very hard, so hard that it broke the tools they brought with them. So the god Debo-Kombu took his bow and shot at the stone with an arrow and a trickle of water—the stream of the arrow—came welling out of the rock. And so Debo-Kombu is worshipped with his bow and his arrow to this day. But only a tiny flow of water ran out of the stone. Then the god Nurupur took an axe, and broke the stone and the water gushed out freely over the thirsty earth. And he too is worshipped for ever in the water he gave to gods and men.

Fire and Flint.

No story of the origin of fire has been met with in the Abor hills and only a vague legend of a time when the water rose and covered the land till only the tops of the highest hills could be seen. But the Subansiri Daflas tell the following story of the quarrel between fire and water and how fire came to man.

Once upon a time fire fought water. And all things growing in the jungle, green things to whom water was life, helped water. So water rose steadily out of its bed in the valley below and followed fire up and up the mountain side. And fire fled up to the top of the mountain and flickered there for he could go no further. And water rose and rose and covered all the low hills and filled all the valleys and at last was lapping the topmost peak on which fire had taken refuge. Then, just as water began to break over the very top of the mountain, fire darted as a last refuge into a stone and has remained there ever since to be the servant of man. And then water sank and sank down into its bed once more.

The Heat of the Sun.

Now, according to the Dobang legend, in those early days the sun was much bigger and far hotter than he is now. So hot was he that he burnt up everything, trees and harvest alike, and the people in their distress cried out for someone to lessen the fiery heat. So a god Tamo ate up a portion of the sun, and Debo-Kombu took his bow and shot an arrow into

[1] Minyong.

the eye of the sun and put it out. And the sun became very angry and went and hid himself under the earth. The version given in Rotung was that once upon a time there were two suns, brothers, each taking it in turn to shine for twelve hours. So it was day all the time. But a frog shot one of the suns with an arrow and killed the fire that was in it, so now it has no warmth, but as the moon it shines at night. And the splinters made by the arrow became stars. And now in revenge the two suns shoot their arrows down upon the earth and bring death to the children of men [sun stroke and moon stroke]. But the frog, to escape from the wrath of the sun hides in the water.

How the Moon became cold.

The Pasi legend appears to be that there were two suns, and a god, to lessen the scorching heat, took his bow and shot an arrow at one of them, and killed it. And so its blazing light turned into the pale fire of the moon.

How Death came.

When the sun went and hid under the earth the land was plunged into darkness and a great fear fell upon all and men went to ask the sun to appear again. But the sun was angry and hid below the earth. Now there was a bird with a long tail perching on the sun as he lay sulking just below the horizon, and the bird talked to the men. When the sun heard the talking he called out, "Who do I hear talking?" and, out of curiosity, rose to look. And he saw the men who had come to petition him sitting on the ground, and they implored him to return and shed his light over the world. After a little while the sun spoke and said, "If you will give me a daughter of the gods to eat, then I will return and lighten the earth." The men agreed and went back to their homes, but the bat followed them and said, "It is a daughter of men that the sun wants, not a daughter of the gods." So the men took one of their daughters and brought her to the sun as a sacrifice; and he devoured her and arose in his strength to give light and warmth to the world. But from that day death has come into the world to destroy the children of men; for before that they, like the gods, were immortal.

The Division of Earth amongst gods and men.

Now in those days, when gods and men lived together, a quarrel arose for the possession of the rich plain country. The gods said it belonged to them, but this the men disputed. At last it was agreed that the decision should rest on the proof of a sign; the rich country should belong to whoever could cook a stone. So mortals and immortals took stones and earth in their hands. First of all the gods tried to cook the stones, but fierce though they made the fire the stones remained stones still. But the men cheated the gods and obtained the sign by a trick, for they hid an egg amidst the earth and stones; and this they roasted and showed to the gods. So the gods went away from the pleasant smiling lands of the plains to dwell for ever in the high hills and deep forests of the uplands.

The Origin of Sacrifice.

It is told that when gods and men lived no longer together, but dwelt the immortals on the high hills and men in the plain below, that a mortal was seized by the gods and held by them a pris-

oner. To buy back his liberty the men offered the gods fowls and pigs and *mithan* taking their offerings to the mountains, the dwelling-places of the gods. These offering the gods said they would accept for the man and the people returned to their homes. But in the evening, instead of the man who had been a prisoner, the fowls and pigs and *mithan* came wandering back to the homesteads. Again the offerings were taken up to the gods and again their gifts returned to them; and the gods remained angry and held the man a prisoner. So the men went up a third time and said to the gods, "We have given you, twice, those things that you asked, but each "time you have driven them back to us, and still you will not release our brother." And the gods said, "How can we give you back your brother, your offerings do not "come to us—they go straight back to you. So we cannot set our prisoner free." Then the men said to the gods, "If what we give to you we give with life, then of a "truth it returns to us, so we will kill the offerings that the spirit may go to you and "return to us no more." So the first sacrifices were made, and the captive was restored. And from that day the spirit of the creature sacrificed has, in death, gone out to the gods.

Nature of present-day religion.

The present-day religion of the hill-tribes is polydemonism. The different peoples propitiate the malevolent spirits that deal sickness and death by dissimilar rites, and call the spirits of air, earth and water by various names. But the underlying fear is the same and bears a striking resemblance to the old belief that still exists under the veneer of Buddhism in Tibet.[1] Propitiation, to avert the anger of some demon, is the keynote of their religion and these propitiatory rites accordingly play a prominent part in their lives. There is, however, an undoubted belief in a great and benevolent spirit who is all powerful. A most interesting feature of the hill man's faith is his comprehensive belief in a future state. The religion and customs of the Akas are not unlike those of their eastern neighbours, but the influence of Tibet is, naturally, more apparent. Owing to the widespread publicity obtained during 1911 in the public press for a series of accounts relating to the manners and customs of the Abors, it is thought necessary to refer here to the specific statement that "totemism and fetish have their counterpart in the Abor hills." A careful investigation of the subject shows the possibility that certain acts of taboo may be the surviving traces of totemism that once existed, and that the exogamy that is still observed may originally have been due to a similar cause. Moreover Tani's matrimonial experiences amongst the lower orders of creation might be held to give the faintest possible encouragement to the theory of earlier totemic belief. But no further conclusion seems warranted. Fetishism does not possess even this slender basis of fact. Beyond a quite ordinary use of charms and one curious and little-known rite that appears to be peculiar to the Mishmis,[2] nothing that bears even a superficial resemblance to fetishism has

[1] See Waddell, Buddhism of Tibet, ch. xviii.

[2] The extraction of the devil of adultery in the form of a tiny bird from the arm-pit of a woman accused of this offence.

been noticed. The special spirits to whom, according to the Galongs, only the souls of the *mirüs* go after death cannot be regarded as fetish, they are worshipped in open village ritual. Altars are common, idols are set up, but concrete objects of fetishism are entirely unknown, and are quite contrary to the religious beliefs of the people. It is greatly to be regretted that so wide a dissemination of misleading statements concerning a practically unknown people should have been possible.

The Medicineman.

The *mirü* plays so prominent a part in the religion of the hill-tribes that it is impossible to discuss or examine the belief of the people without first of all describing this very influential person. He keeps the mythical legends alive in the community, conducts the rites of sacrifice, takes the more important omens (those found in an egg, or the entrails of a fowl), visits the sick and conducts the various rites and semi-religious dances that take place on these and other occasions. *Mirüs* are found throughout the hills and consequently the name and even the sex varies. The Galong *mirü* (and the Chulikata-Bebijia *igu*) is a man whilst the Abor *mirü* may be a woman. Almost every community has its own priest, or pythoness, and some of the Minyong and Panggi villages are known to possess more than one. Villages that have no *mirüs* of their own borrow from their neighbours when they require ghostly comfort and support.

It would appear not only from what was learnt locally, but from remarks made by Minyong Abors that the Galong *mirüs* are credited with exceptional powers. It is believed that they can cause the death of an enemy by the persistent pronouncement from a raised platform of a peculiarly effective curse. When I expressed a doubt as to the efficacy of this method, the case of the (late) kayah of Dijmur was cited as an un-answerable example of the power of a modern Ernulphus who might, the thought was unavoidable, be far more usefully employed than in wasting his fulminations on the air of the Galong border.

The priestly office is not hereditary amongst the Galongs, but as it only descends to one who is well versed in the ritual of religion and who knows the legends of the tribe, the mantle of the prophet falls, as a rule, on some near relative, for there is a considerable amount of prestige and influence, even if there is surprisingly little material gain, attached to the office of *mirü*.

The Galong *mirüs* are not distinguishable amongst their tribe from men of ordinary clay. They wear no distinctive ornaments, a custom that they leave to their eastern neighbours. But since it is customary for grateful patients to present necklaces to the *mirüs* on recovery from severe illness, the Galong medicine-men may sometimes be recognized by a noticeable number of these thank-offerings.

I gathered from Dutem, *Gam* of Ledum, a reliable witness, but whose statement on this point I have had no opportunity of verifying from other trustworthy Minyong sources, that among the Minyongs the office of *mirü* is hereditary, for the nearest male relative of the late *mirü* who is found to possess the divine afflatus, is held to succeed him. The dead *mirü's* own son is of course looked upon as the nearest heir in the hierarchy; the second heir, somewhat curiously, could be his sister's son. The souls of the dead *mirüs* go to Boki and Bogo, two spirits of the sun superior to Epom and

Nipong and, apparently, less malevolently inclined towards man than those demons, to whom the souls of all lay persons go in death.

Priestesses are quite common amongst the Minyongs and Panggis. I happened to be at Rotang when a Panggi priestess passed through on her way from Jaru to pay a professional visit to the Rotang community, then suffering from an acute epidemic of dysentery. Her portrait, taken by Mr. Kemp, is given on Plate V and clearly shows the bells and ornaments that proclaim her calling. She had only been a *mirü* for about a couple of months, having been proclaimed one of themselves by the local priests after what must have been an epileptic fit, but was considered by the hill people to be a holy trance and the customary manifestation of possession by the spirits. The Panggis who were with her stated that her peculiar round brown eyes, "deer's eyes" as they called them, are looked upon as a mark of communion with the spirits, both in men and women. I afterwards obtained satisfactory corroboration of this belief. She was quite ready to answer questions, but a hill child of twelve, who had only been initiated two months previously, could not make a good witness, and her ignorance of the folklore and legends of her people was deplorable. Under these circumstances, her considerable ideas of her own importance were hardly justified. However (for a consideration) she kindly consented to dance. She stated that she only worshipped the spirits when she felt herself to be under their influence.

The hill-tribes have a persistent if vague belief in more or less beneficent deities definitely concerned in the affairs of men. These gods are called by varying names. Inferior to these are the spirits of evil, who are intimately associated with the every-day lives of the people and whom it is the business of the *mirü* to propitiate. It would serve no useful purpose to give a list of names[1] by which the spirits of good and evil are known in different localities, but the powers and worship of the more important spirits are described in the following pages.

Taboo on Intercourse.

Signs and altars made of cane and other vegetation readily found in the jungle play a prominent part in the religion and, what is practically the same thing, the superstitions of the people. Strangers, that is to say from our experience white men, on entering an Abor or Galong village are made to go under one or more archways made of green branches, or cane and bamboo decorated with fresh green leaves. On this arch a dead pig or a fowl may be displayed as a sacrifice, the blood being smeared over the archway.[2] This is to prevent the spirits of ill-luck and ill-health from getting into the village at the heels of the visitors. I have also observed imitation arrows stuck into the cane and bamboo arches, but I am uncertain whether these were intended to strengthen the spell, or were a portion of some previous warning to a truculent neighbour or a ban to the spirit of infectious disease rife in a near village. The parting guests must be prepared to be sped on their way with plantain stalks thrown after them by the villagers to ensure the expulsion of any evil spirits that may have crept in with them. It is

[1] For the Abor deities, given as an example, see foot-note to pp. 62 and 71.

[2] The Padam clan sacrifice dogs..

gathered that the arches are generally held to be an effective bar to the invasion of the evil spirits, for they are ordinarily erected and the plantain-throwing custom is only occasionally experienced. These customs are not unlike the taboos on intercourse with strangers given by Frazer in The Golden Bough.[1]

Although it does not come under the head of taboo on intercourse, one rather interesting custom may be noted here. A party, when setting out on a raid (or even, possibly, a hunting expedition) discharge arrows at a special tree near the village. This custom is not unlike a practice noticed by Frazer.[2]

Causes of Ill health.

Sickness is attributed to the demons of disease, who are exorcised in mild cases by the waving of boughs or are, in serious cases, offered sacrifices. For the illness and death of human beings and animals is directly attributed to the action of a spirit. The gods, demons, or spirits, call them what you will, live everywhere, in the forest, in certain trees, holok, rubber and plantain, and in earth, sky and water. If, when the jungle is being cleared for cultivation, any one falls sick, it is attributed to the anger of the spirit at the destruction of his home and propitiation is necessary. The rooted belief met with in Caithness that the cattle in the district would die if the mound covering a Pictish house were opened is an example of an almost similar western superstition. Tylor[3] gives a most interesting parallel in Cato's instructions to the woodmen for thinning a holy grove. The woodman must offer a hog in sacrifice with this prayer—"Be thou god or goddess to whom this grove is sacred, permit me by the expiation of this pig. . ." The pig also happens to be the animal specially dedicated by the Abors to Nipong the spirit of the forest. Women will not take plantains from deserted fields nor gather the nettles that grow there for food because Nipong (who is associated with women and with hunters, as well as with the forest) lives in the plantain trees and feeds on the big stinging nettles[4] that grow up in old "jhums." Bowel and stomach troubles and all diseases of women are attributed by the Abors to Nipong, whilst the illness and death of men are due to the malevolence of Epom. When people are ill they are said to be caught by a spirit. The crab spirit is placated to avoid bowel troubles. The frog spirit is worshipped to keep off madness. The arrows of Debo Kombu are supposed to cause dropsy.

The Galongs believe that the powerful spirit Yule generally causes death. When attacked by him the body becomes very warm, so Yule may be taken to be the god of fever. I was told that Taki Tali is the spirit of small-pox. The Galongs also believe that Pira, Yoga, Yechu and others, spirits of the homestead, get angry if fowls, pig or *mithan* to whom they were attached are killed by human beings and that they manifest their displeasure by laying the ill-starred owner low with sickness. Another spirit whose malign influence brings sickness is the Galong equivalent to Epong. This is Bute the spirit of the forest. If when the jungle is being cleared for cultivation any one falls sick, his illness is held to be a manifestation of Bute's

[1] Vol. II, pp. 108 et seq.

[2] Golden Bough, Magic Art, Vol. II, p. 11.

[3] Primitive Culture, 1903 Edition, Vol. II, p. 227.

[4] Lorraine gives *pe-ji* for stinging nettles; the Minyong Abors whom I have asked called them *mar-ich*.

anger at the destruction of his home. The perturbed spirit has to be pacified in the usual manner.[1]

Cure of Sickness.

Partly from the association of the deities in pairs and partly from the attributes they are believed to possess, it is gathered that the supreme spirits and the most important demons are regarded as male and female[2] and for this reason are interested in the affairs of mortals of their own sex. In the Abor country, when a man falls ill, the two or three days' taboo[3] usual in such cases are held by the household; an altar is erected and a sacrifice is made near it. The altar consists of four long sticks wrapped round with leaves and planted so as to form a square. Near this the *mithan* is strangled or some other sacrifice made. If fowls are offered to Epom they are not eaten, but any other creature sacrificed is eaten. A similar ceremony takes place if a woman is ill, when the correct sacrifice (to Nipong) is a big pig. This is the first portion of the rite. The second act takes place in the jungle, where an altar consisting of two upright poles connected by horizontal bars, is erected. It was learnt from one source that a basket containing leaves of plantain and bamboo together with nuts is fastened to the altar. A black hen is brought out into the jungle and to one of its legs are tied threads of different colours and to its other leg are fastened strips of *ko-i* leaf. The hen, with these emblems attached to it, is then thrust through the bars of the altar and allowed to escape into the jungle.[4] As it is let free, the following words are pronounced:—"O Nipong, I have marked and dedicated this hen for you. Take it and cure the sick one." If the hen comes back to the village, the omens are unfavourable to recovery.[5] If the fowl does not reappear, the augury is considered hopeful, for Nipong is held to have accepted the sacrifice. After releasing the hen a dog (or bitch) is killed and the carcass suspended from the top bar of the altar. The spirit of this animal is formally handed over to Nipong and, having placed a shield of leaves on a bamboo frame over the sacrifice, the party returns home to await the omen of the fowl. It would not appear to be essential that these rites should be performed by a *mirü*, but it is considered more efficacious and *mirüs* may be invited by a priestless village to come a considerable way to perform these offices.

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[1] Frazer, Golden Bough, Vol. II, pp. 7—45.

[2] (*a*) Doing Anggong the Father Sky and Kine Dene the Mother Earth of the Minyongs. Doing Anggong sounds suspiciously like *donyi anggo* which means "the west" according to Lorraine. But that authority gives Doying Aro for the Creator and Shutkin-Kede for "God below." Moreover the sources of evidence that gave me Doing Anggong, together with the corroboration I was able to obtain, were quite satisfactory.

(*b*) Epom and Nipong.

(*c*) Shedi-Melo the creator and, according to Lorraine a dual personality, Shedi being female and Melo male.

(*d*) Boki and Bogo included as they are associated together, but regarding whom I have no proof whatsoever.

[3] Frazer, Golden Bough, Part II, p. 11, footnote 2. The word genna is freely used by the Assamese I have not been able to trace its origin. It does not appear to be a word of any well-known dialect. Dalton however in his Ethnology of Bengal uses the expression "a condition of *tabu* called Genna." See p. 43 of the Ethnology Taboo is called *nyo* in Abor when applied to a religious holiday; taboo for sickness is *gam* (Lorraine) and *Yodnam* in Shai-yang Miri and Abor (Needham's Outline Grammar). *Gam* is the word I have heard used.

[4] Leviticus xiv. 7 and 52.

[5] See description of the first sacrifice on p. 66.

In cases of sickness, Boki and Bogo, who seem to be beneficent deities inclined to counteract the malevolences of Epom and Nipong, are also propitiated. A shrine is made of sacred bamboo[1] (*tabo*) and sticks of cane (*tagur*) as shewn in the figure on page 73.

A white cock is killed and suspended between the two *tabo* sticks, its head to the sky, and one egg in a small basket is placed on each stick. This rite is in honour of both Boki and Bogo and is carried out when appeal is being specially made to these spirits. After the ceremony is over the *mirü* receives his fees in *moni*, which the unmarried girls of the village throw over his head. The *mirü* then chants the names of the spirits in invocation, and the girls and small boys take up the chorus and dance. This dancing continues for three days at the place where the rites were performed. No musical instruments are used. After these three days the *mirü* and his attendant chorus visit those houses in the village whose young girls have given the strings of *moni*, and sing and dance for two more days. I gathered that this rite is only performed when the *mirü* lives in the same village as the sick man. If the sick man lives in another village sacrifice is made as already described to Epom and Nipong at the sick man's home, where the *mirü* goes with his train. When the sacrifice is made the *mirü* gives his share of flesh and *apong* to the girls who gave him the strings of *moni* and accompanied him from his village.

Altho' no spirit is supposed to live in the *merang*, this metal ornament is held, in some way, to influence bowel troubles; and such illness is believed to be cured by making an imitation bamboo *merang*, on which a sacrifice, in the shape of a fowl, is placed and the entire offering covered with earth.

The most powerful Galong deity is Yule who is believed to cause illness and take away life. So when any one, man, woman or child, falls sick this spirit is propitiated. There does not appear to be amongst the Galong clans the definite setting apart of certain animals, and even fowls of different colours, as the proper sacrifice to the various spirits, that has been observed amongst the Abors. Consequently the taking of omens to determine the nature of the offering that will be acceptable plays a prominent part in the Galong ceremonial. The *mirü* fimbriates one end of a length of bamboo and fastens to it the feather of a fowl or the fur of a sacrificial animal. Holding the wand in his hand he asks Yule if this is the form of sacrifice that will find favour with him, and if he will in return for the offering cure him that is sick. The *mirü* then announces that the offering is, or is not, pleasing to the spirit. It may be observed that the theory of sacrifice prevalent throughout the hills does not appear to be the desire of the spirits for the blood or the flesh of bulls and of goats, but the belief that the soul of every animal sent down the silent pathway to the unseen world of spirits, joins the ghostly flocks and herds of the deity to whom it is dedicated. This strong belief in the future life of animals is a very remarkable feature of their religion.

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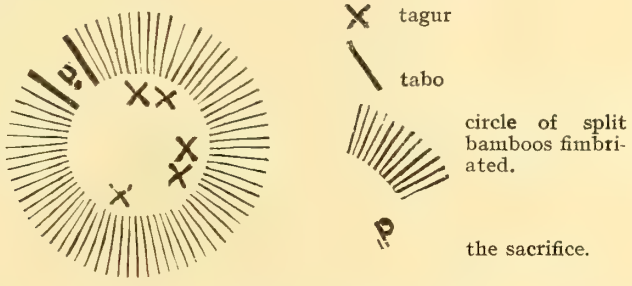
[1] *Tabo* is said to mean "sacred bamboo." It is suggested that it might perhaps be the same word as *tai-o* cane. *Tagur* is very possibly the same as *tagir* which Lorraine defines as "the thing with which one divines."

When attempting to discover the wishes of the spirits responsible for the illness it seems that a kind of religious auction takes place. The first oblation may in all probability be a fowl and, if this has no effect, the more expensive goat, pig and, in the case of a wealthy invalid, a *mithan* would be successively sacrificed to the rapacious and unrelenting spirit. Before the sacrifice is actually made, the *mirü* sets up an image in the supposed likeness of Yule. This image is about 3 feet 9 inches in height and is made of leaves on a bamboo framework; it is given a cane helmet and leaves are arranged on the idol to represent clothing. The sacrifice is afterwards eaten by the *mirü* and all concerned in the ceremony.

Divination.

The two prominent features of the ritual associated with sickness are the taking of omens and the various semi-religious dances that are performed. These can be more conveniently examined before the death ceremonies and customs are described.

The simplest form of divination,[1] by the 36 stones, is known and practised by almost everyone. It is appealed to before hunting expeditions and also in cases of



slight sickness, without, however, being looked upon as infallible. This, and the thought-reading method followed by the Galong *mirü* in cases of sickness, have already been described.

Another form of divination resorted to by the Galongs is as follows: the *mirü* takes an egg in his hand and says to the spirit, "If you desire a pig in sacrifice" (or a fowl or *mithan* as the case may be) "let there be a sign in the egg." The credulity of a primitive race seeks after a sign that the *mirü* professes to discover in the yoke; or the *mirü* may put a boiled egg into his mouth, chew it up and swallow it, the omen being found in the odd or even number of small fragments of egg left in his mouth. A third augury is taken by killing a fowl and drawing deductions from the white or red colour of its liver. This is known to be a method of war-divination amongst the Daflas.

Dancing.

As invocation was made to the spirits whilst the different hill dances that have been observed were in progress (being indeed conducted by the *mirüs* themselves), all the dances may be considered to be religious or semi-religious in character.

[1] p. 46.

The dance that seemed to be most purely religious in character as being, so it was gathered, an example of the corybantic exorcism used in the visitation of the sick,[1] was the dance given by the Panggi *mirü* girl[2] at Rotung. She had three companions with her who acted as chorus. In dancing she kept her knees and feet together and waved her hands, but not violently. The dance took place between the verses of an invocation to "Roi-kang and Kamin spirits of the Delu[3] river." The refrain, taken up by the chorus, also invoked these spirits, and was distinctly musical, parts being taken by the singers.

A second dance was witnessed in a Pasi Minyong village. I was unable to find out the ceremony with which it is generally associated, for it was being performed on this occasion in the hopes of averting the whip of calamity that an uneasy conscience had reason to apprehend. The dance took place at night, in the fitful light of torches and a bon-fire. A *mirü* jingling bells and holding a sword postured in the centre. Round the *mirü* in a circle danced the chorus of about forty girls. Each girl held her arms stretched out straight from the shoulder, gripping her right-hand neighbour's left arm. The circle moved round from left to right. The way in which rythm and time were kept was most effective and the step used by the entire chorus was not unlike one of the steps of a reel. The *mirü* chanted four invocations, the recitative and the chorus in each case being different. When one of the chorus tired she fell back into the crowd, and another girl stepped at once into her place.

Captain Bethell has kindly furnished me with the following account of a Chulikata Mishmi dance. This dance was, so he tells me, conducted by the *Gam* and not by the *igu*, but as the same rythm was heard in quite another part of the country in the observance of funeral rites, this dance may certainly be regarded as semi-religious in character. The headman of the village wore a tiara of shells, about four inches broad, the shells being sewn on in vertical lines; he also wore a magnificent cross-belt of boar's tushes, all picked specimens, sewn on very close together. At his buttocks he wore a Tibetan drum about 8 inches long on which were fastened tiny rattles and small brass plates. He carried another drum in his left hand and a short length of bamboo in his right hand. Two men danced with him, one carried a "tom-tom" and the other a Tibetan drum. The dance took place by a bon-fire round which the rest of the village formed a wide circle. The performance began by the *Gam* singing two verses of a song, the chorus repeating the last two lines. Unlike the ringing and rather plaintive air sung by the Abors at Balek, the Mishmi song seems to have been harsh and unmelodious, but full of rythm. This went on for about a quarter of an hour, then, without any preconcerted signal, the three performers broke into a dance that went on incessantly for about an hour and a half. First, all three in line, dancing and backwards and forwards and then in procession in front of the fire. A slight change of rythm was noticed during the progress of the dance which was throughout conducted with a bent knee, the performers prancing and springing in time to the music; the feet were not kept together. It would accordingly appear that

[1] See page 71. [2] See page 68. [3] Brahmaputra.

this particular dance is performed for amusement as well as in carrying out religious exercises.

Death Ceremonies and Burial.

When a death occurs the nearest relative (and heir), according to the Minyong custom, gives a feast to those who help to dig the grave and attend the funeral. A maximum of three days elapses between death and burial. Persons dying of an infectious disease are buried at once and without ceremony or funeral rites. A ten days' "genna" is observed by the household, during which shikar-meat, wild potatoes and pumpkins are taboo. Whoever actually carries the corpse to the grave does not enter the house for 6 or 7 days after the funeral, according to Pasi custom. Inside the grave, which is lined with leaves and branches, there is placed a platform and on this the body is laid the general custom being a lying position, knees to chin, with the hands under the head. The body is buried lying on its right side, the head towards the west. Above the body is a pent roof of planks over which the earth is thrown. The body is provided with a grave cloth, and it is given a porcelain bead necklace and a brass plate or pot. A little hut is built over the grave; *apong* and rice in small chungas are provided fresh daily for five or six days, but rice is left at the grave for a whole year. A fire is lit that is kept burning for a time varying from one year and twenty days down to three months. One year and twenty days is believed to be the correct time for people of importance, a year for an ordinary man or a woman, and three months for a child, but the period does not seem to be rigidly governed by rule. As long as the fire is burning the hut is kept in repair. A man's helmet, weapons, and perhaps some trophies of the chase, are hung by the grave and left there till they rot.[1] On the death of a parent the heir takes a *merang* out from the family collection hidden in the ground and makes imitation ones of bamboo to represent those left in the jungle. After exhibition the *merang* is again buried. The obsequies are performed by the heir; they simply consist in a feast to the mourners, at which a *mithan* is killed in honour of an old or prominent man, or under ordinary circumstances a full-grown pig is given. The *mithan* is hanged on a tree close to the grave; the pig is killed at home. Very poor people sacrifice fowls. At the sacrifice the spirit of the victim is told to go with the dead man. The reason for the sacrifice, as it was explained to me, is that if some animal belonging to the deceased is not sacrificed, his spirit will become displeased, for it requires the spirit of some stock that belonged to it in life to accompany it. The soul of the dead cannot eat the actual flesh; but if the life of an animal is taken, the spirit of the beast together with the portion of meat definitely set apart for him, satisfy his requirements. I have not had corroboration, but the Pasi custom appears to be to sacrifice a pig near

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1 On the magnificent memorial close to the grave-hut of a dead Janbo *Gam*, where a screen 8 foot high and 18 foot long displayed the skulls of wild boar and monkeys, the heads of *mithan* and *takin* and a large armoury of weapons and battle harness, two trophies of exceptional interest were seen. These were two gourds with three holes cut in them so as to represent quite unmistakably two heads. Enquiry elicited the information that they represented two men of Simong killed by the dead chief. This is the nearest approach to head-hunting that has been found in these hills. I am told that the Padam have a similar custom.

the grave and a fowl at home. The pig's liver is burnt and four pieces of flesh are put on sticks near the grave. The fowl is hung on a stick near the grave. For a year some one goes daily and tends the fire and gives the dead a portion of food.

When building a log bridge over a stream near Riga in 1913 a man broke his leg and died from the shock. That night all Riga turned out and, scattering over the spur on which this big village is built, with waving torches and shouts and the beating of sticks, drove away the evil spirits, *Uyus*, responsible for the death of their fellow-villager. The twinkling lights clustering and separating on the black hill side made a most effective scene from our camp across the narrow valley. Every household not only drove away the demons with sticks and shouts and the waving of torches, but threw ashes and dust into the air to protect themselves from the further malevolence of the spirits they were attempting to disperse: and then the dead man, and such of his possessions as he may want on his long last journey, were carried down to the burial ground by the water. It is, I am told, the custom of the Abors to take the dead down hill, to bury them. The word *Uyu* always seems to me remarkably descriptive of a spirit they believe to be not unlike a bat; one can almost hear the beating of his wings. I was told in Rotung that, where a man is buried, a wild boar comes out of the ground, and the scourge of dysentery falls on anyone who eats the flesh of this animal, an act they would regard as cannibalism.

In order that the corpse will undubitably be buried in the usual posture that obtains (so I have found) as far west as the Subansiri Daflas, it appears customary among some communities (such as Komsing) to force the knees of the dying up to their chins for fear lest rigor should set in and harden the body directly life is extinct. The dead are always buried, so far as I have been able to gather, with their faces towards the south and their heads towards the west.

The custom of making offerings to the dead is of exceptional interest. It is older even than the early graves of Egyptian civilization, for it is as old as the hopes and fears of man. The sacrifice of some animal, so that its spirit may accompany the soul of its owner into the unknown, has its counterpart in the hetacombs of slaves that heralded the passing of an ancient king and in the *sati* of India, and is echoed in the presence of the soldier's charger in the military funerals of the West. The setting aside of a definite portion of the funeral banquet for the soul of the departed is to be expected from a people who firmly believe in the after-life of both men and animals. But the main interest is found in the idea underlying the gifts of inanimate objects, rice and *apong*, cooking utensils and *moni*, his bow and arrows, and his *dao*. They are not placed there to enrich a tomb, as, in the days of mediæval chivalry, the harness and weapons of the Black Prince were thus displayed These necessities of life are for the use of the dead man beyond the grave and, possibly without in the least realizing that he does so, the hill man attributes spirits to these inanimate objects, that pass through the gate of death with the soul of that which had life. Tylor [1] quotes from

[1] "Primitive Culture," Vol. I, 479-483; see also the pages that follow for a discussion of what may be the actual Abor view (a view of course that is common to his neighbours).

Schoolcraft an exceedingly interesting example of this doctrine as it is definitely believed by the Ojibwa Indians and follows it up by citing a Border parallel in the grim Lyke Wake Dirge.

The Galong and Dafla rites and beliefs are practically similar to those of the Abors. On a man's death, so I was informed in the Galong country, a *mithan* is strangled and the soul of the dead man adjured; "We have given you an animal, so trouble us no more." For the dead man might be angry if he had none of his cattle with him. It is held that he would, unless pacified by this offering, return to his own house in company with the spirit who took his life, and slay the remainder of the household. The animal sacrificed is eaten by the mourners who formed the funeral procession, and the dead man's share is laid aside for him and he is told that it is his.[1] In the case of a poor man, or a slave, a fowl is killed and thrown away, without being eaten (according to the Abor practice). Apparently it has to be thrown from the left hand. The well-to-do have metal utensils, rice, *apong* and a fire kept on their graves for five days. The Daflas of the Subansiri Valley have the strongest possible horror of being buried away from their homes. This is also noted by Dalton. I have found no such prejudice amongst the Abors. Mishmi burial rites are not unlike the Galong and Abor ceremonies described above, but it must be remembered that they burn the bodies of people of importance and are said to throw dead slaves into the river. These remarks apply especially to the Digaru and Meju tribes. A Chulikata grave seen on the pathway and near a village in the Mishmi country was described to me as a mound surrounded by a bamboo palisade about 6 foot high. Hanging from this fence were two old bird-skins and a plantain leaf bag, which was not investigated, but most probably contained grain for making wine.

Future State.

There is a general belief in the existence of an unseen world inhabited not only by the almost uniformly malevolent spirits of Nature, the demons whom the tribesmen worship, but by the souls of human beings and of animals, all of whom go to dwell with the spirits who deprived them of life. The souls of the Abor *mirüs* go to Boki and Bogo, of men to Epom, of women and hunters to Nipong, who are considered responsible for their deaths. When animals are sacrificed their spirits go to the deities to whom they are devoted. *Mithan* killed during funeral ceremonies go, it is believed, to the soul of the dead owner, who lives with the spirit who took his life. All the spirits of animals eaten as food during life accompany the dead person's spirit at death. Animals found dead in the jungle, so I was told by the Minyongs, must have been deprived of life by some spirit and to that deity the spirit of the animal goes at death. The Galongs told me that if any one who is dead is seen in a dream, it is believed that the soul has died,[2] that is to say, it has left the companionship of the spirit that took the life of its earthly body. It is held that the soul may be born again into the company of some other spirit. Whether this mutation can be repeated, or whether this regeneration brings the soul

[1] See Buddhism of Tibet, Waddell, p. 491; Tylor, Primitive Culture, Vol. II, pp. 30, 31.

[2] See Tylor, Primitive Culture, Vol II, p. 23.

into the presence of the beneficent and omnipotent deity who rules over all the demons of Nature could not be gathered. It is quite evident, however, that the doctrine of re-incarnation is unknown.

Harvest Rites.

Rukang *Gam* of Mishing gave me the following interesting account of the rites that are observed by the Minyongs when the fields are sown. An animal, if possible a *mithan*, which is provided by the joint subscription of the community, is sacrificed and eaten. The blood after being mixed with powdered rice and baked, is poured into a small hole dug in the fields, as a sacrifice to earth, the mother. A fowl and an egg are also offered. The fowl is eaten, but the skin is put on a pole head upwards and the egg is placed in a basket underneath it. Another Abor custom at seed time that I learnt from an equally reliable source, is as follows:—A small circle of bamboos about a foot high is erected in the village. At one place a wicket-gate is made ; the posts on either side are about 2 foot 6 inches in height and on each of these two leaves[1] are fixed. A pig is strangled, roasted and eaten, whilst some of the blood is sprinkled about the altar. There is also a custom amongst the Abors for the village to worship the spirits of earth and sky when all the sowing is finished. The ceremony takes place somewhere between the fields and the village. A *mithan*, a white fowl and three eggs are offered in sacrifice; the *mithan* and the fowl are killed and the blood sprinkled on the earth. A long bamboo is set up and the heads of the *mithan* and the fowl are fastened on sticks and bound close together to the long pole, whilst the eggs are fastened underneath in a basket. The carcasses, at the close of the ceremony, are taken home and eaten.

These rites illustrate what Clodd has described as "a vital connexion between "man and earth the mother. Hunger as the primal imperative need brought his wits "into play ; and hence a body of magical rites as one among other devices to "obtain the meat which perisheth, rites which lie at the core of barbaric and pagan "religions."[2]

The Minyongs of the Dihang valley say that when the rice crop is about a foot high, that is to say some little time before harvest, it is a custom (not by any means invariably observed) to perform harvest rites to *Ali Ango U-yu*.[3] Six wands in two rows of three are put up. The wands are peeled (see figure A) and over this powdered rice is scattered. A red cock is killed and the blood is sprinkled over the powder and wands. The body of the cock together with raw ginger (*kekir*) is offered in sacrifice.

If the weather is so bad as to threaten the crops, the Galongs believe that the adverse climatic conditions may be due to the evil influences or conduct of some member of another community. Accordingly, so I was told, a platform is erected on four big bamboos. On this the *mirii* sits for five or six days making incantation to improve the weather or, when these conditions are attributed to malign human influence, calling the name of the evilly-disposed person and invoking the spirits, "So and so is pointed

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1 The Abor name for this is *tan* and the Galong *ainchi*. Lorraine defines *tang* as "the name of a tree."

2 Quarterly Review, No. 428, July 1911, Art 5, Primitive man on his own origin.

3 Lorraine gives *ali a-ngo* as an alternative to *apin* (or *ap im*) *am* for "crops." *Ali* means rice grain.

out to you ; do what you will with him.'' This magic is believed to be potent and effective enough to cause in extreme cases the death of the person against whom the enchantment is directed.

The rainfall in the hills is remarkably heavy and consequently the magical control of rain is exerted towards preventing it and not to encourage heavier or more continuous showers than naturally occur. The Daflas on the Kamla river who prophesied the wrath of the god when I indulged in revolver practice almost within the precincts of a village, may have been influenced by the forebodings of an uneasy conscience, (although they had encouraged my shooting at a distance from the houses, the conditions in each case being of course perfectly and obviously safe), but the fact seems interesting enough to record, with the observation that the rain god lived up to his reputation. No ceremonies similar to those described by Frazer[1] for preventing rain have been noticed.

After harvest the Abors sprinkle *apong* and powdered rice on the earth round the groups of granaries, but I have not seen this done. This rite, it was explained,

Figure A.

is a form of tribute to Doing Anggong the spirit of the sky, the husband, and Kinedene the spirit of the earth the mother, an idea that parallels Ovid's description of the marriage of earth and sky. The pig that is killed at this festival is eaten without ceremony or any dedication ; it is not regarded as an act of worship.

The emblem erected when breaking out fresh ''jhums'' bears a distinct resemblance to the emblems used by the Tibetans to scare away demons.[2]

Amongst the Galongs the harvest rites are prompted by similar ideas. Long fence-like altars are erected in the cultivation (where the ritual is performed) in honour of the spirits of the fields such as Pirku Pirte Ali and Yapom. The sun-god is also a god of agriculture and is worshipped in the same way ; all that is grown is in his power and he is regarded as the most powerful of all the spirits of the field. Plate XII shows a Galong harvest altar.

The War God.

The Minyong rites accorded to the spirits of battle appear to be far more in the nature of auguries to see if they are favourably inclined than propitiatory sacrifices. It is quite possible that at

[1] Frazer, The Golden Bough, Ed 1911, Vol. I, p 270 *et seq.*

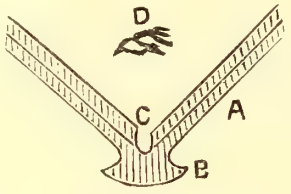
[2] Waddell, Buddhism of Tibet, p. 485. The Angong Abors have been distinctly influenced in their religion by their Memba neighbours.

one time human sacrifices were made to Piang and his fellow war gods Pekang and Yebo, as stated in the not altogether fortunate account of the people that has appeared in the public press. But careful investigation has failed to discover that human sacrifice is still practised. Only slaves or captives taken in war could be offered, and why, as the materialistic Abor and Galong of to-day has remarked to me on more than one occasion, waste anything so valuable over the ceremony. That it was not any reluctance to admit to killing human beings is fairly established by the fact that the recognized power of the master to hang incorrigible slaves and the death-dealing magic attributed to the medicine men were incidentally discovered during the inquiry into the sacrifices to the spirits of war.

The Minyong Abors, according to one of their *Gams*, conduct the augury in the following way.:—

Certain of the fighting men go out, some little way from the village, and first of all make a stand in which they place their spears the heads pointing in the direction of the enemy's village. In front of this they make two fences leading towards a big long basket with a wide opening to it, as shewn in the accompanying figure.

A red cock is then killed as an offering to the Spirit of War, the bird that is sacrificed acting as the medium through which Piang replies to his votaries. One of the war-



A fence.
B basket.
C mouth of basket.
D cock beheaded and thrown on ground.

riors holds the cock by the head another holding its tail. The bird is then beheaded and, with the words, "If we are to be successful may the body of the cock enter the basket," the headless body is thrown on the ground between the fences and sprinkled with a powder of Indian corn and roasted grains of rice. This ceremony is not performed by the *mirü*. If the cock dashes into the basket the omen is of course favourable and the foray takes place. If the raid is successful, fowls, pigs and other animals are sacrificed to the spirit of war whilst the prisoners (generally children) are kept as slaves. If, on the other hand, the cock does not enter the basket and the omens are therefore unfavourable, the men take a few steps beyond the altar in the direction of the enemy's village, and then go back to their own homes without speaking and enter the *moshap* for the night. The other villagers avoid meeting their eyes, for there is a superstition that, under these circumstances, "if four eyes are together" then the people of the village who looked will die from a discharge of blood from the mouth. The other dwellers in the *moshap* also take care to avoid them. A year must elapse, so it was stated, before the augury can be taken again.

The Galongs say that they make an image of Peka, their war god, of cane leaves on a bamboo frame. On this a helmet is placed. The *mirü* calls upon Peka to give the warriors power and lust for battle. A fowl is sacrificed to a small image or a pig to a

large one and the blood is smeared on its helmet and body. This ceremony takes place before going out to fight. If they are fortunate enough to capture any children they make slaves of them and perhaps sell them ; they categorically denied sacrificing their prisoners to Peka.

Lesser Spirits.

The extracts from Robinson's "Account of Assam" given by Mackenzie[1] must be read with caution, but the following passage referring to the Mikirs, would apply equally to the Abors and Galongs on the right bank of the Brahmaputra (whom, in many ways, they resemble) and illustrates the difficulty of cataloguing the less important spirits or describing the rites associated with them. "Propitiatory offerings have constantly to be made by in- "dividuals to evil spirits whose names and numbers are indefinite. They are demons "of the higher hills of the streams and even of large *bils*, or collections of water, and "some are household devils . . worshipped by way of disarming their malice. The "list may be increased at any time by the discovery of new devils . . . . . The names "of the dead are also reckoned among the powers of evil." The propitiation of the spirits of the dead that is considered necessary by both Abors and Tibetans[2] has already been mentioned[3] ; the possibility of having to add yet another to the army of spirits demanding propitiation is illustrated by the reply of an Abor to my inquiries after the water god. "Oh yes ! of course there is a spirit in the water, but I have not yet worshipped him." Passing over Motan Taran (the spirit of earthquake) and Mugling the spirit of thunder (who may be worshipped with Doing Anggong, but with less ceremony), we come to the demons of domestic animals and the spirit of the woods.

If swine fever or some other epidemic attacks the pigs in a village, it is attributed to the malevolence of a spirit Petpum, who is exorcised by what is called the *Eg Agam* (*eg* meaning a pig and *agam*, "genna"). The elders decide on this ritual in council, and the youths who act as the village criers announce it for the following day. Next morning three of the villagers, each holding a stick, to which an egg is tied and millet seed (*apong*) and ginger is bound, and followed by the criers, make a house to house visitation, grunting and squeaking like pigs as they go. When the procession reaches the door of a house, the owner puts food, *apong* and ginger in the pigs' trough, which the exorcisers devour keeping up as much as possible their imitation of the animal. They then enter the house and eat and drink with the household. Every house must be visited in this way before evening. When all the houses have been visited the exorcisers go down to some neighbouring stream and throw the sticks into the water. The next three days are observed as "genna." No one in the village goes to the fields nor may rice be husked.

Although not so clear an example of suggestive magic, or rather ritual, as the *Eg Agam*, the yearly *mithan* festival, called *Asho Agam*, in its strengthening of the cattle fences (against presumably an inroad of vast herds) possesses a similar interest. The object of this *agam*, to discard the less satisfactory term of "genna",

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[1] Mackenzie, North-East Frontier of Bengal, p. 537, *et seq.*

[2] Waddell, Buddhism of Tibet, p. 493.

[3] p. 75.

is to give security to the cattle and to increase the herds. On the day fixed for the beginning of the *agam* the villagers assemble at the *Moshup* bringing with them *apong* and rice, which they eat there. For the next five days the men of the village busy themselves in renewing the cattle fences used throughout the country to prevent the *mithan* straying from their feeding grounds in the jungle into the fields. During this period it is taboo for the women to go to the fields. Should any woman break this taboo it is believed that the cattle belonging to her household will break through the fences and destroy the crops. On the sixth day of the *agam*, the men of the village make new *mithan* ropes of the usual jungle fibres On the seventh day and following days if necessary, the cattle are all rounded up and brought in from the jungle. The *satkia hingak* ceremony, or operation, is then performed on the calves. This consists in cutting the beasts' ears, a distinctive mark being adopted by each sept.

The Spirit of the Forest.

In the Abor hills and as far west as the Dafla country the holok tree is regarded as the abode of the Wood Spirit. His home, up the Subansiri, was pointed out to me in an immense hollow tree. In the Abor hills this tree deity is a most sinister spirit. The *Gam* of Kalek called this spirit Pom-ti-are, but from the statements made by a man from Riu and by the *Gam* of Yagrung (a most intelligent and widely travelled blackguard) I gathered that it was held to be a manifestation of Epom, who apparently haunts the high hills, the jungle in general and the holok tree in particular. This spirit is wont to disguise himself as a man and, appearing in the form of a kinsman from a distant village, lures some unfortunate away into the jungle and kills him. So when any one is missing and cannot be accounted for, the people of the village go out into the forest armed with swords, bows, and arrows, to look for him. And they go to the holok tree and say to it, "O holok tree, give us back our brother and we will make to you a sacrifice." Then, to compel the holok tree to urge the spirit that dwells within it to restore its victim, the villagers hack at the trunk with their swords and shoot their arrows into its limbs. After this demonstration they go back to their village and await the home-coming of the wanderer; hope is not abandoned for about two months. If the man returns a *mithan* or pig is given as a thanksgiving feast, that is unaccompanied by any rites or religious ceremony. The belief in the minds of the Abors that associates the holok tree with the spirit of the woods as the power responsible for the death of these unfortunates, is strengthened in their minds by the occasional discovery of human bones at the roots of this particular tree. From what is known of the Dihang valley colonies these bones cannot be the traces of old Abor graves; they may be regarded, almost with certainty, as the remains of a pre-Abor race. The skulls would possess some scientific interest and it is hoped that it may be possible to obtain a specimen.

Conclusion.

This Memoir on Galong and Abor has been written with the recognition that it is a very incomplete account of their lives and their religion; but it is based on notes made in the country and not extracted from the works of others. As regards the religion enough has been

gathered to show that these hill-men have advanced some way towards polytheism,[1] although their beliefs are still entirely in keeping with the accepted definition of animism.[2]

And here we leave the hill-man to his future hopes and present fears, at the mercy of the spirits with whom he has peopled the world of nature around him. Certain features, such as the absence of human sacrifice, may differ, but in the main the study of these tribes brings before us as if by the wave of a magician's wand, the life of the wild races of north-western Europe two thousand years ago. The time machine is ours at will when we step into the fairy-ring that encircles the life of the hill peoples on the North-Eastern Frontier of our Indian Empire.

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[1] See Golden Bough, Magic Art, Vol. II, p. 48. the Abor example being the human shape assumed by the spirit of the wood. For a Dafla example see Robinson's Account of Assam or Mackenzie's extract on p. 537 "N. E. Frontier" (where the Subansiri Daflas are referred to as Hill Miris). Yapum, the tree god, is here described as an old grey-bearded man in his mortal shape From the context he does not appear to be particularly effective in his malevolence.

[2] Tylor, Primitive Culture, Vol I, p. 425.

APPENDIX I.

The following genealogies learnt in Kebang best describe one form at least of the Abor ideas of creation.

Table I.

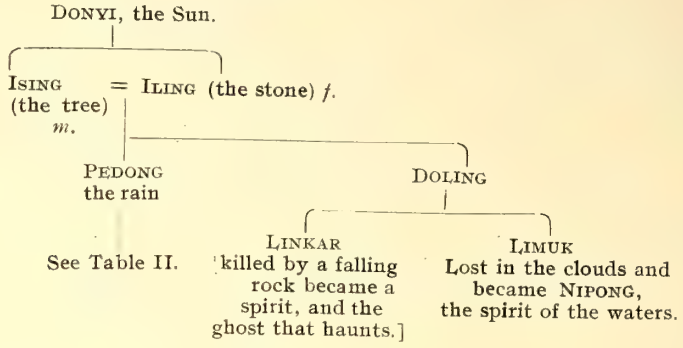

DONYI, the Sun.
ISING (the tree) m.
= ILING (the stone) f.
PEDONG the rain
DOLING
See Table II.
LINKAR killed by a falling rock became a spirit, and the ghost that haunts.]
LIMUK Lost in the clouds and became NIPONG, the spirit of the waters.

Table II.

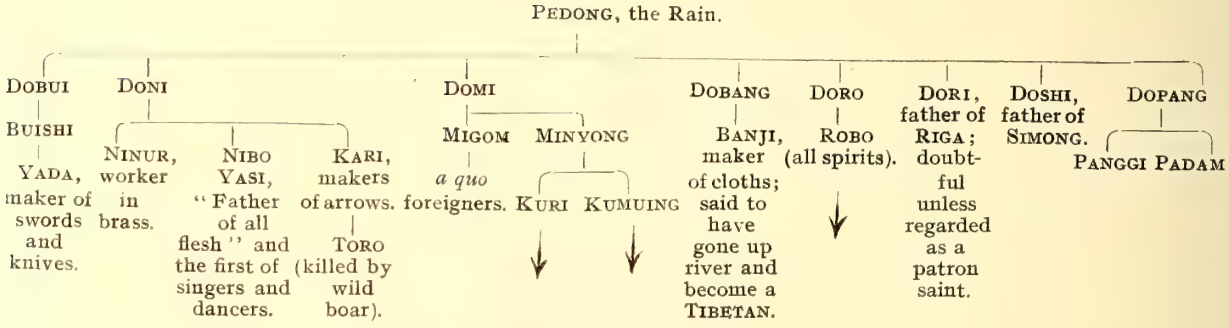
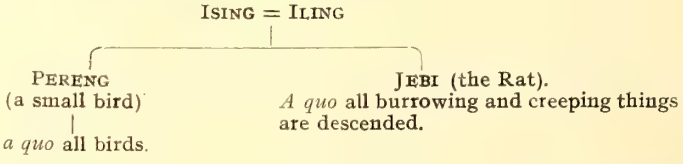


Table III.

One of the Kebang Gams gave me the following :—



The other Kebang Gam having traced the descent of the elephant Sita from Pedong told the following nursery tale :—

The elephant was a stupid and clumsy child and so his mother got angry with him and hit him on the face with an axe. She tried to get it out, but it stuck and grew there and became his trunk. But he was still very stupid and did not even try to learn how to prepare his food, or winnow out the corn. So one day when they were winnowing together she picked up the big winnowing fans, one in each hand and hit him over the head with them—hard. So hard that they too stuck there and became the great flapping ears he has to this day. But yet he remained very foolish and helpless and his mother threw the tongs at him one day when he was unusually

provoking, and they became his tusks. And then the elephant went away into the forest: but as a punishment for his laziness and stupidity he wears dhan-pounders on his feet as a punishment—and you can still see the marks of them, down in the country where the elephant lives.

APPENDIX II.

A. Dobang Septs.

Not only are the septs given below exogamous, but the septs given in group I do not intermarry amongst themselves; they marry into group II. The reason given is that each group is descended from one man. This prohibition is referred to on p. 9 and 54 and forms an interesting comparison with the Minyong custom that appears to allow intermarriage between the various Kuri or Kumuing septs resident in a village. It has been gathered that the Boris, who appear to intermarry with the Western Minyongs (in so far as Minyong men take Bori wives) observe the Galong custom of taboo within their groups.

Group I.		*Group II.*	
Kaking village ..	Dabing. Kaking. Ringu. Risong.	Dorkong ..	Moba. Mausir. Sapiri.
Basar ..	Sengo. Senjum. Senkar.	Kadu ..	Boru. Nibo.
Dharing ..	Martong. Miggo. Tonkar. Tori.	Kalom ..	Chaeo. Chajum. Jumper. Lango. Layor. Neola. Neojum.

B. Karko Septs.

Koku; Yugeng, Gosang, and Ramsing are the only Karko villages, Yugeng and Gosang are called Kobuk collectively.

The Septs below are in alphabetical order. The villages in which they are found are opposite their names.

Sept.	*Village.*	*Sept.*	*Village.*
Ali	Koku.	Buang (or Burang)	Kobuk Koku.
Amir	Koku.	Buintin	Kobuk.
Apang	Kobuk Koku Ramsing.	Deo	Koku.

Sept.	*Village.*	*Sept.*	*Village.*
Derang	Koku.	Lejo	Koku.
Donkar	Koku.	Lepak	Koku.
Donki	Koku	Muirne	Koku.
Ebu	Koku Ramsing.	Muirseng	Koku.
Jonbang	Koku.	Noveng	Kobuk Ramsing.
Jonke	Koku	Nangu	Ramsing.
Jontin (or Pankam?)	Koku.	Nokar	Kobuk Koku Ramsing.
Jopir	Koku.		
Karko	Koku.	Nunkar	Kobuk Ramsing.
Karne	Kobuk.	Pakjon	Koku.
Karseng	Kobuk.	Pane	Koku.
Kene	Koku.	Pase	Koku.
Keseng	Koku.	Patuk	Kobuk.
Kibo	Koku.	Puirne	Koku.
Kino	Koku.	Puirseng	Koku.
Koleng	Koku.	Rane	Kobuk.
Lede	Koku.	Rasheng	Kobuk.

The sept Karko gives its name not only to the village of Koku (as an alternative) but to the entire clan.

ABORS AND GALONGS:

PART II.

ANTHROPOMETRICAL SECTION

BY

J. Coggin Brown, M.Sc., *and* S. W. Kemp, B.A.

TABLE I.

MEASUREMENTS OF MALE MEMBERS OF THE ABOR TRIBE.

Name.	Locality.	Serial No.	Age.	Grande envergue.	Height.	Height sitting.	Height kneeling.	Cephalic length	Cephalic breadth.	Cephalic index.	Bigomac breadth.	Maximum bizygomatic breadth.	Maxilliary zygomatic index.	Nasal height.	Nasal width.	Nasal index.	Bimalar breadth.	Length of forearm.	Length of left foot.	Length of middle finger left hand.
Takar	Pangi ..	1	± 35	1668	1630	857	1205	195	147	75·4	132	133	..	48	39	81·2	118	438	248	111
Tarn	Kebang ..	2	± 20	1622	1617	858	1237	195	149	76·4	129	138	..	47	36	76·6	121	427	243	106
Takiang	,, ..	3	± 25	1580	1624	840	1188	186	152	81·7	132	128	..	48	39	81·2	116	432	235	105
Larok	,, ..	4	± 25	1623	1620	876	1225	192	142	74·0	124	127	..	46	40	87·0	124	443	256	113
Namkir	Yemsing.	5	± 35	1628	1593	856	1218	188	149	79·3	132	127	..	48	44	91·7	111	445	251	111
Taigu ..	,, ..	6	± 30	1528	1532	840	1148	185	140	75·7	134	135	..	49	36	73·5	119	396	233	101
Tarang	Lokpen ..	7	± 40	1594	1593	852	1179	183	141	77·0	115	115	..	52	39	75·0	113	438	249	113
Taget	,, ..	8	± 40	1542	1548	851	1196	185	141	76·2	113	125	..	44	39	88·6	111	416	241	108
Talem	Dabuk ..	9	± 40	1588	1560	840	1188	192	150	78·1	122	120	..	48	39	81·2	118	421	243	103
Takep	Pangi ..	10	± 45	1756	1738	905	1306	195	144	73·8	114	127	..	50	39	78·0	114	481	274	120
Tateli	,, ..	11	± 35	1596	1606	875	1222	195	150	76·9	119	135	..	47	41	87·2	123	424	243	106
Takem	Yekshi ..	12	± 25	1584	1581	842	1194	188	147	78·2	112	128	..	48	38	79·2	117	419	231	100
Tadu	Pangi ..	13	± 25	1646	1618	855	1188	205	145	70·7	136	138	..	49	44	89·8	120	435	246	107
Tabong	,, ..	14	± 20	1599	1586	858	1191	196	139	70·9	110	127	..	45	38	84·4	122	426	239	100
Takung	Kebang ..	15	± 18	1604	1612	847	1202	199	143	71·9	116	125	..	45	36	80·0	115	437	242	104
Taling	Raung ..	16	± 25	1610	1616	863	1214	192	149	77·6	120	122	..	45	40	88·9	115	425	232	103
Tazir ..	,, ..	17	± 25	1574	1559	829	1163	194	150	77·3	130	134	..	47	42	89·4	125	414	234	106
Tater	,, ..	18	± 35	1614	1603	871	1204	193	152	78·8	125	134	..	52	41	78.8	120	435	247	104
Tamar	Komsing.	19	± 25	1650	1588	848	1194	194	146	75·3	118	121	..	45	42	93·3	114	441	241	109
Taling	,, ..	20	± 35	1666	1614	834	1194	192	153	79·7	125	129	..	51	44	86·3	119	447	248	110
Tapok	,, ..	21	± 30	1566	1530	830	1170	180	141	78·3	128	127	..	49	39	79·6	112	410	231	102
Tarung	,, ..	22	± 30	1620	1581	818	1193	186	149	80·1	118	127	..	48	46	95·8	119	439	244	113
Tasso	,, ..	23	± 35	1645	1607	827	1218	182	141	77·5	114	123	..	51	42	82·4	116	449	250	109
Tamo	,,	24	± 25	1648	1707	918	1290	187	148	79·1	123	124	..	48	40	83·3	116	452	266	111
Taghat	,, ..	25	± 25	1590	1526	805	1165	187	146	78·1	115	127	..	41	37	90·2	119	413	242	106
Tabung	,, ..	26	± 25	1725	1637	881	1236	195	151	77·4	125	127	..	48	40	83·3	120	459	255	114
Tazir	,, ..	27	± 20	1770	1703	908	1282	200	148	74·0	115	125	..	42	42	100·0	117	483	259	119
Taker ..	,, ..	28	± 30	1695	1630	836	1240	205	149	72·7	114	131	..	47	44	93·6	120	449	245	111
Tarok	,, ..	29	± 20	1614	1580	803	1191	191	144	75·4	124	127	..	43	39	90·7	121	429	237	107
Taming	,, ..	30	± 40	1585	1593	854	1210	200	152	76·0	122	126	..	47	40	85·1	119	431	239	107
Paghag	,, ..	31	± 30	1665	1630	862	1198	196	143	73·0	122	128	..	47	41	87·2	123	450	242	113
Tadang	,, ..	32	± 35	1780	1690	857	1250	198	146	73·7	111	131	..	46	38	82·6	120	465	247	119
Taru	,, ..	33	± 30	1598	1581	848	1170	200	153	76·5	117	122	..	47	44	93·6	119	426	237	105
Tarung	,, ..	34	± 30	1560	1565	812	1178	201	145	72·1	116	124	..	48	44	91·7	122	422	234	103
Takeng	,, ..	35	± 45	1635	1612	840	..	194	149	76·8	117	130	..	49	45	91·8	125	448	240	115
Taking	,, ..	36	± 35	1620	1594	795	1192	182	144	79·1	114	120	..	49	40	81·6	119	438	240	112
Tater	Rotung ..	37	± 35	1575	1523	802	1150	192	141	73·4	107	118	..	37	38	102·7	115	426	238	99
Abur	,, ..	38	± 30	1614	1616	839	1192	190	147	77·4	118	124	..	49	41	83·7	117	439	245	106
Talo	,, ..	39	± 20	1535	1541	788	1136	185	142	76·8	113	117	..	45	38	84·4	110	420	237	100
Taan	Kalek ..	40	± 25	1602	1610	822	1240	197	153	77·7	127	130	97·7	45	40	88·9	113	417	239	96

Taka	Kalek ..	41	± 30	1049	1512	781	1124	187	138	73·8	118	127	92·9	46	42	91·3	108	445	228	110
Tiam	,, ..	42	± 30	1555	1559	851	1182	190	155	81·6	125	140	89·3	42	42	100.0	113	400	241	100
Tapi-ung ..	,, ..	43	± 30	1591	1603	854	1231	192	143	74·5	115	127	90·6	45	42	93·3	112	428	246	108
Mamur	Yagrun	44	± 35	1580	1587	786	1182	190	140	73·7	121	136	89 0	51	40	78·4	110	425	237	105
Bankosing ..	Gina ..	45	± 45	1716	1666	870	..	191	153	80·1	115	144	79·9	48	40	83·3	115	461	264	112
Sipai	,, ..	46	± 25	1680	1601	876	1224	189	150	79·4	118	144	81·9	43	39	90·7	112	450	248	112
Torsing	,, ..	47	± 24	1660	1628	842	1242	189	148	78·3	111	145	76 6	48	40	83·3	108	441	234	104
Taki	,, ..	48	± 20	1570	1531	830	1157	186	137	73·7	105	129	82·2	42	35	83·3	99	423	232	103
Lutem	,, ..	49	± 30	1526	1500	822	1138	191	142	74·3	102	136	75·0	44	38	86·4	104	417	227	104
Batem	Roing ..	50	± 30	1565	1582	836	1172	203	152	74·9	110	141	78·0	44	36	81·8	105	436	242	103
Mutem	Balek ..	51	± 25	1725	1644	855	1232	205	147	71·7	108	145	74 5	46	39	84·8	106	456	267	113
Matem	,, ..	52	± 30	1620	1540	824	1160	184	147	79·9	102	143	71·3	46	35	76·1	102	427	242	105
Lusin3	,, ..	53	± 20	1650	1625	866	1250	188	147	78·2	114	137	83·2	44	38	86 4	103	445	246	109
Bankun ..	,, ..	54	± 20	1662	1620	834	1218	190	143	75·3	109	135	80·7	43	38	88·4	100	446	245	110
Osau	,, ..	55	± 25	1450	1434	760	1118	186	144	77·4	110	140	78 6	45	35	77 8	96	398	217	100
Atau	Roing ..	56	± 25	1655	1630	868	1217	183	140	76·5	99	127	78·0	43	35	81·4	96	433	237	101
Taling	,, ..	57	± 30	1590	1517	808	1132	188	150	79·8	112	143	78·3	42	39	92·9	100	424	239	104
Shama	,, ..	58	± 30	1665	1590	833	1199	181	138	76·2	115	136	84·6	41	34	82·9	97	436	245	108
Badoo	,, ..	59	± 25	1570	1609	899	1211	197	150	76·1	119	140	85·0	48	38	79·2	106	426	247	106
Temtam	Romkong.	60	± 40	1640	1650	883	1232	190	147	77·4	115	133	86·5	47	38	80·9	101	400	250	111
Tajan	,, ..	61	± 25	1582	1534	830	1160	180	141	78·3	114	135	84·4	44	34	77·3	102	412	231	101
Okep	,, ..	62	± 25	1535	1530	827	1158	190	148	77·9	113	138	81·9	43	36	83·7	101	411	242	107
Botem	,, ..	63	± 30	1790	1681	870	1240	200	147	73·5	114	144	79·2	42	40	95·2	109	474	266	121
Tamat	,, ..	64	± 45	1565	1544	844	1159	187	145	77·5	106	140	75·7	46	39	84·8	102	426	245	110
Bongal	Tigra ..	65	± 20	1640	1610	837	1202	195	150	76·9	109	140	77 9	44	40	90·9	106	429	240	107
Yame	,, ..	66	± 30	1485	1483	801	1010	199	152	76·4	115	145	79·3	37	39	105·4	107	404	231	101
Neur	Mongkoo.	67	± 50	1640	1578	863	1169	196	145	74·0	113	141	80·1	51	44	86·3	103	443	246	114
Takut ..	,, ..	68	± 25	1500	1472	819	1120	184	141	76·6	101	132	76·5	39	35	89·7	101	404	213	101
Bongal	Balek ..	69	± 20	1555	1527	796	1157	185	145	78 4	109	140	77·9	43	38	88 4	100	418	243	107
Tame	Mongkoo.	70	± 25	1565	1535	822	1137	184	145	78·8	107	133	80·5	38	38	100·0	98	419	233	101
Konyok	Balek ..	71	± 25	1620	1615	853	1217	193	146	75·6	116	143	81·1	44	38	86·4	107	435	243	106
Lungkong ..	,, ..	72	± 25	1600	1590	827	1211	197	150	76·1	113	145	77·9	47	39	83·0	105	437	246	111
Tadang	,, ..	73	± 25	1730	1619	814	1224	192	143	74·5	110	140	78·6	46	38	82·6	100	466	246	112
Abuk	,, ..	74	± 30	1600	1608	848	1224	189	141	74·6	107	135	79·3	42	35	85·7	99	420	239	101
Atana	,, ..	75	± 30	1580	1575	866	1214	189	146	77·2	102	144	70·8	40	38	95·0	104	426	245	111
Tadi	Mongkoo.	76	± 30	1535	1515	812	1182	186	146	78·5	101	135	74·8	39	37	94·8	96	406	212	100
Kersing	Roing ..	77	..	1615	1556	796	1177	193	144	74·6	106	136	77·9	47	39	73·8	100	438	238	107
Keke	Romkong.	78	..	1620	1550	814	1168	191	154	80·6	109	145	75·2	44	40	90·9	104	436	244	103
Apok	Roing ..	79	..	1650	1553	792	1166	196	146	74·5	100	136	73·5	45	40	79·3	105	441	250	113
Osang	Gina ..	80		1675	1596	841	1196	192	147	76·6	108	143	75·5	42	39	92·9	107	441	242	108
Aduk	Mongkoo.	81	..	1535	1500	806	1125	200	150	75 0	105	141	74·5	42	40	85·2	102	411	238	105
Angidhi	Roing ..	82	..	1625	1603	840	1202	180	142	78·9	106	132	80 3	44	36	81·8	101	426	248	106
Onang .. .	,, ..	83	..	1595	1536	806	1145	191	141	73·8	102	136	75·0	44	35	79·5	103	424	228	105
Tapu	,, ..	84	..	1615	1579	813	1184	180	142	78·9	106	135	78·5	41	37	90·0	100	420	232	99

TABLE II.

MEASUREMENTS OF FEMALE MEMBERS OF THE ABOR TRIBE TAKEN AT KOMSING AND BALEK IN MARCH AND APRIL 1912.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
Name.	Locality.	Age.	Grande envergue.	Height.	Height sitting.	Height kneeling.	Cephalic length.	Cephalic breadth.	Cephalic index.	Bigoniac breadth.	Maximum bizygomatic breadth.	Maxilliary zygomatic index.	Nasal height.	Nasal breadth.	Nasal index.	Bimalar breadth.	Length of forearm.	Length of left foot.	Length of middle finger of left hand.	Serial No.
Yapan	Kebang ..	±40	1570	1572	816	1194	188	141	75·0	116	126	..	48	39	81·2	113	422	235	108	1
Papang	Rotung ..	±25	1515	1522	858	1172	183	144	78·7	120	122	..	39	38	97·4	111	395	221	98	2
Ayam	,, ..	±30	1450	1488	81·4	1142	186	140	75·3	106	118	..	41	37	90·2	113	382	219	98	3
Yamo	,, ..	±25	1458	1502	780	1115	191	140	73·3	128	127	..	42	40	95·2	114	368	225	99	4
Duna	Romkong.	±20	1465	1500	775	1106	174	141	81·0	97	129	75·2	41	37	90·2	98	399	239	104	5
Ka	,, ..	±25	1575	1515	766	1127	186	142	76·3	109	131	83·2	42	37	88·1	96	429	233	122	6
Yapak	,, ..	±25	1465	1501	808	1163	189	146	77·2	111	134	82·8	37	35	94·6	96	388	219	101	7
Batel	Roing ..	±30	1505	1500	793	1118	189	146	77·2	108	130	83·1	39	35	89·7	99	388	224	99	8
Bapung	,, ..	±35	1540	1518	829	1175	191	145	75·9	105	131	80·2	44	35	79·5	99	409	239	106	9
Yajum	,, ..	±20	1440	1404	741	1090	188	137	72·9	109	135	80·7	40	34	85·0	100	391	229	97	10
Grand Totals ..	..	..	14,983	15,022	7980	11,402	1865	1422	7628	1109	1283	485·2	413	367	891·1	1039	3971	2283	1032	..
Average	..	..	1498·3	1502·2	798·0	1140·2	186·5	142.2	762·8	110·9	128.3	80·8	41·3	36·7	89·1	103·9	397·1	228·3	103·2	..

TABLE III.

SERIATIONS.

Type Specimen: Abor.

Proportions of Head (Cephalic Index).		*Proportions of Nose (Nasal Index).*		*Stature.*	
Average ..	76·43	Average ..	86·28	Average ..	158·6
Maximum ..	81·7	Maximum ..	105·4	Maximum ..	173·8
Minimum ..	70·7	Minimum ..	73·5	Minimum ..	143·4
Range ..	10	Range ..	32	Range ..	30·4

Indices.		Number of subjects	Percentage on number of subjects. (5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50)
HEAD.			
Long heads	70 and under 72·5	5	●—6.
Dolicho-cephalic	72·5 ,, ,, 75	22	●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●—26.
Medium heads	75 ,, ,, 77·5	28	●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

Vol. V, Extra No., pp. 93—113.

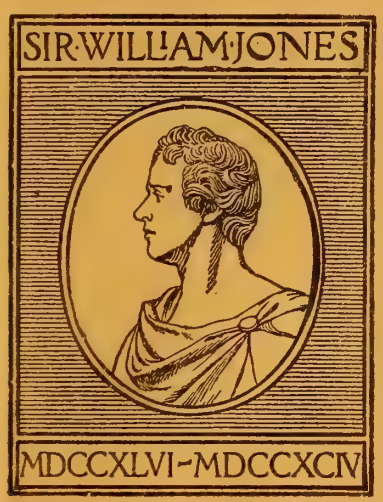
ABORS AND GALONGS:

PART III.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF A VISIT TO PEMAKOICHEN.

BY

GEORGE DUFF-SUTHERLAND-DUNBAR.



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Abors and Galongs: Part III. Personal Narrative of a Visit to Pemakoichen.

By George D-S-Dunbar.

[With Plate XLI.]

As the Membas were, until recently, an unknown people, these personal experiences on a visit made during June and July 1913 to Pemakoichen may be of interest. This country is a sleepy hollow in which appear to be crystallized the civilization of Tibet and the customs of Bhotan in a modified form. It is regretted that ignorance of the language and difficulties about an interpreter made systematic investigation impossible; the results here offered are consequently those of narrowly limited observation during a couple of weeks. With the general description I have included such extracts from my diary that bear upon the country and its people. This diary was invariably written up each day.

In earlier times the Dihang valley from the gorge, where the Tsanpo breaks through the main range of the Himalayas, down to the foothills of Assam was occupied by the Abors. Of these the Tangam clan held the country on both banks of the river from the gorge to the 29th parallel of latitude. About a hundred years ago a band of emigrants from Darma crossed the main range, it is conjectured by the Doshung-la, and settled in the valley about Marpung, which is probably the oldest settlement. From these adventurers some, at least, of the present inhabitants of Pemakoichen are descended. Kinthup calls the people of Pemakoichen "Chingmis" and states that R. N. found them in Bhotan. In calling them Membas we adopt the name by which the Abors know them.

The colony has gradually spread, ousting the earlier inhabitants from the best land on either bank of the river, but permitting them to remain on their holdings in the unproductive tracts lying immediately below the gorge and about the 29th parallel. Chonying has been a Memba colony for about eight years. In about 1904 the Membas came down and drove out the Abors who up to then had lived there. One Abor house still remains in the village It was learnt in Pemakoichen that the 'Lobas' used to occupy the left bank as far up as Yarang, but of this colony the solitary house in Chonying alone is left. Puchung, Mongku, Mayum and Korbo are mixed Abor-Memba settlements. The present mixed distribution of Memba and Abor has been further complicated by the occupation of some Tangam settlements on the Yang Sang Chu by Simong colonists in about 1884 and by the founding, about five years ago, of a Po settlement at Nyereng in the same neighbourhood.

The headman of Nyereng referred to the Tangam people as Lo-karpo, and called the Simong men Lo-nakpo and their women Lo-khapta when he visited our camp at Tuting in 1913. The Membas referred to the Abors as Lobas. The map published by the Survey of India with Kinthup's Narrative shows the Lo-karpo on both banks of the river, in what is the country of the Simong and Bomo-Janbo (Angong) Abors;

the Lo-nakpo in Galong and Minyong Abor country; and the Lo-tawa in the area occupied by the Padam Abors between the Dihang and the Dibang. The remarks made by earlier explorers, and others interested in this part of the world, are of some interest. Hodgson writes that the Yaru (or Brahmaputra) passed from Khombo into Lhokaptra beneath a great snowy mountain called Khombochari. This we may conclude is Namshia Barwa. Other writers such as Fr. Horace Della Penna refer to what we know as the Abors, as Lhopas: the Barkans or Lho-ka-ptra of Fr. Georgius to the north of the Subansiri tribes may be the Boka. The Abor country is called indifferently Lhoga, Lhopa, Lhoba and Lhokalo.[1]

Immediately below the gorge of the Tsanpo the country is precipitous and here the Abors have been left undisturbed in their struggle to scratch and snatch a livelihood from their wretched jhums and the none too prolific jungle. Lower down now on one bank, now on the other, the country offers more favourable opportunities for the agriculturist—a term that it is impossible, in spite of his Sisyphean industry, to apply to the Abor—and here mixed communities of Abor and Memba are to be found. On this fringe of the Memba country nature and the earlier inhabitants have combined to drag the more cultured race down to the level of its surroundings. The Abor type consequently predominates, the houses are poor and the roofs are thatched instead of planked, while the Memba principles of agriculture, that include wet rice cultivation and ploughing with cattle, are completely discouraged.

To the south of this inhospitable zone lies the Memba country proper, easy, prosperous and placid where rice fields stretch between the comfortable solid-built hamlets with the high stone monastery, or temple, on its knoll above the village; where the roads are carefully graded when they cross the deep ravines that here and there intersect the broad terraces of fields; and where the rivers are spanned with excellent bridges, some cantilever suspension, that display engineering ability of no mean order, being built of baulks and planks of the stoutest description, without a nail or fastening of any sort, and with good solid masonry work. All this comes as a very welcome change for the traveller who has emerged from the less hospitable Abor country below.

On the right bank the most fertile portions of the valley extend from a little above Marpung down to Shirang. Tuting, in which one Memba family has recently settled, is the most northern Abor village on the right bank, until the mixed Tangam Memba villages below the gorge are reached. The left bank above Jido[2] was not

[1] p. 6 of Memoir. See also Proc. A.S B. Feb. 1913, p. 116 with foot-note, and Explorations on Tsanpo by the Explorer Kinthup, Survey of India, Dehra Dun, 1911. Sarat Chandra Das on the authority of Lama Sarap-Gyatso, gives three different tribes of "Lhopas"—the Lho-Karpo, "white and somewhat civilized," the Lho-Nagpo, "black and a little less civilized," and the Lho-Tawas, "mottled and quite barbarous Lopas." He also calls this tribe the Lo-khabta. As the Lho-tawas "on the left bank of the lower part of the Tsanpo" were stated to indulge in cannibalistic rites during their marriage ceremonies (eating the bride's mother if no wild men were procurable), the epithet seems appropriate enough. While the nearest approach to this is found in the horrible custom of the wilder Mishmis, who actually kill the old and infirm to relieve the community of the burden of supporting them, it may be observed that our arrival in the Memba country was heralded by the report that we were cannibals. See also p. 5 of this Memoir.

[2] Jido was visited by Captain Bethell, 10th Gurkha Rifles, serving with the Lakhimpur Battalion, Military Police. He crossed by the 780 foot cane tubular bridge at Kodak and found Jido to consist of 40 houses and Ngamying of 60. He noted, as Kinthup did before him, that there is an excellent bridge over the Yang Sang Chu.

visited by any of the party that proceeded up the valley, but it was seen from the right bank of the river that the fertile tracts extend from somewhere above Rinchen-pung, to a little below Bi-pung.

Below Shirang the Memba villages are made up of thatched houses and hardly differ in appearance from those of the Angong Abors. While the Membas are most distinctly degenerate, the Angong Abors, who are markedly under Memba influence, have copied some of their customs and adopted as many articles of their clothing as they can secure. Certain things are of course articles of commerce throughout the length and breadth of the hills, but only in the Angong villages north of the Sirapateng did "cash" appear, or wooden drinking cups became common or Memba ideas in general obtrude into the everyday life of the people.

Coming up the valley there is of course an obvious change above Tuting, when the Lamaistic religion in its most perfunctory form takes the place of the Abor ritual. The piles of stones, the chhortens,[1] the prayer-barrels and the clumps of high poles, with their text-inscribed banners are quite unmistakable. But the character of the country does not entirely alter until the neighbourhood of Lingkong is reached. The first cantilever bridge, although it brought home the evident superiority of the new people whose acquaintance was just in the making, gave no idea of the really startling change from Abor land that greeted one when the first typical Memba landscape burst into view at the head of a rise.

> And there were gardens bright with sinuous rills,
> Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree,
> And here were forests ancient as the hills,
> Enfolding sunny spots of greenery.

Streams clear as crystal irrigated the fields, and over nearly all of them somewhere on their hurrying course to the Tsanpo, stood a little stone house in which a Persian wheel turned the prayers of the pious donors. Although prosperous the country is palpably priest-ridden and wandering friars visit and sometimes make considerable stays in the villages south of the country where monasteries are neither few nor far between. By keeping the trade monopoly in their own hands and by working on the superstitions of the people to encourage endowments to the monasteries by far the greater part of what wealth the country possesses is in the hands of the lamas. They also own the best land. Still the people in general as compared with the Abors live in a state of luxury and civilization. Education is not confined entirely to the monks. The headmen of the villages and possibly one or two of the householders in the community can as a rule read and write what I took to be the ordinary Tibetan character.

The Memba currency is the Tibetan 'tangka'; those that were collected were all identified in Mr. Walsh's Memoir "The coinage of Tibet." The coins varied con-

[1] Masonry shrines with a small interior chamber containing religious books and stones inscribed with prayers. The slate that walls them in is frequently engraved and sometimes a panel of stone lattice-work is found instead. See Sir T. Holdich's Tibet, p. 242.

siderably in age but none of the divided coins detailed in that Memoir were found. Yunnanese rupees and eight-anna pieces were noticed, generally being used as ornaments. Chinese cash do not appear to be legal tender, but they are frequently strung on necklaces.

Some cloth is made locally but the best, and the bulk of it, comes from Tibet. The Membas dye cotton, the ordinary colours being red and blue. The red dye is in great demand amongst the Abors. The plant from which it is made was pointed out to me in the valley. They dress skins for use as rain coats but the best leather all comes from across the main range. Nor do the Membas go in for any metal work involving more than the roughest casting. The greatest dependence is placed on the import trade from over the passes.

No horses, or mules, were found in the country. Yak are brought over the watershed, by Tibetan herdsmen,[1] to feed on the grass land of the Lulung la near the source of one of the branches of the Sirapateng, but the road down into the main valley is exceptionally difficult and yak are not brought down it. It is however presumed that the alternative track across the Doshung la, called the Yak Road, did not receive its name on the same principle as Goat Island. A wooden, yak pack-saddle was seen in Yortong. Moreover there appears to be a distinct strain of yak[2] in some of the Memba cattle. But no yak were seen.

It is now established that the Tsanpo flowing east past Gyala Sindang[3] takes a sharp turn south round the eastern shoulder of Namshia Barwa cutting its way through the main range, at the bottom of a stupendous cañon, in a series of terrific rapids. The difference between Captains Bailey and Morshead's hypsometric altitudes on either side of the gorge is 4200 ft. Apart from the difficulty made by the soft nature of the formation, it does not require a waterfall to explain an estimated descent through the gorge of 100 ft. a mile. The river is called the Tsanpo as far down as Panggo, that is to say by both Membas and Angong Abors.

The first Abor *takin* was shot on the 7th of June by a sepoy of the Lakhimpur Battalion Military Police, one of the Survey escort, on a hill above Tuting. It was one of a herd of between 30 and 40 found, in the snow, at a height of about 14,000 feet. The skin was brownish black, not red like those made up into coats and found being worn by the Mishmis. But colour appears to be a question of age not of species. Two more *takin* were shot later, up the Simu Nullah by Captain Hore, 120th Rajputana Infantry, and Mr. Huddlestone, R.E., one of the survey officers.

It may not, perhaps, be out of place to touch upon such religious customs of the Angong Abors (Bomo-Janbo) that can be in any way traced to the influence of their Memba neighbours.

Near Moshing there is a large stone covered all over with triangular plaited cane

---

[1] These may be the Dukpa or Dokpa: see S. C. D. "Journey to Lhasa," p. 33. The remarkable number of yellow snakes found up the route to the Lulung-la, by the party that explored it in 1913 may elucidate the snake story noted on p. 47.

[2] S. C. D. noticed half-bred yak (*jo*) on his way into Tibet, *ib.*, p. 39.

[3] See Captain F. M. Bailey's Note in the Geographical Journal, February 1914.

mats, that distinctly resemble the figure of Buddha and recall the images that Tugden said,[1] were plastered over the rock at Bombda Simbu on the road between Tsari and Lhasa. The Memba, like the Abor, believes in the efficacy of boughs planted round a house to avert disaster. High stout posts connected by long cane ropes seen in several Angong villages were noticed in one Memba village.[2] The Abors look upon them as a counterblast to sickness, and regarded the Union Jack of the escort troops as a similar "medicine." In Janbo village rough figures were fastened to the tops of the masts.[3] These had their counterpart in a most realistic scare-crow outside Didung and overlooking the river far below; it had been given black clothes and provided with a bow and arrows. This, we were told, was to guard the community against the river God, possibly a far-off echo of the folklore told by the Minyongs of Kebang. Another minor point of resemblance lies in the fact that the Membas make procession (and turn their prayer-wheels) from left to right clockwise. The Abors move the same way in their dances.

The Abors bury their dead; the Membas either bury or burn the body with the exception of the bones of the skull that are kept as relics and made into rosary discs, and possibly the thigh bones are sometimes turned to the uses of the temple in the form of trumpets. The well-to-do have a chhorten set up over the grave, the poorer a banner. The pauper's grave is the Tsanpo. One body we found jetsam, of a long-haired man,[4] was stark naked save for a brand-new wooden coolie-yoke and carrying-strap. He may have fallen in by accident—a Tangam Abor from below the gorge. On the other hand we were told that corpses are sometimes thrown into the river. No wound was visible and the man, of strong thick-set physique, appeared to be in good condition. The Abors are known to throw bodies (generally of their enemies) into the Tsanpo that they call Si-ang and we, of the plains, know as the "Dihang."

Beyond all this the fundamental idea of both religious beliefs is the propitiation, through fear, of malevolent spirits. In the one case it is overlaid with ritual and the aids of civilization, in the other it is not.

Similar though the inhabitants of Kopu and Geling are to the Abors of such northern villages as Tuting, the Membas deny absolutely that they intermarry with the "Lo" people. Certainly the sept names are dissimilar. The Memba septs as given to me are—Kaling-bo, Brim-tsi-pa, Narang-po, Dung-tsam-bo, Sher-pa and Basor-pa. The Angong Abor septs in Tuting are Rigu and Paling, other septs distributed in Miging, Ninging and Panggo being Nitik, Tagin, Lonchung, Nijo, Medo, Koting, Mirga, Panye, Pangge, Ugeng, Tedo and Dugong. The Membas are not apparently exogamous, but all Abors observe the marriage taboo within the sept.

The local mixed village club, or *Rambang*, was not identified unfortunately, but a reference to Mr. Sherring's "Memoir on the Bhotias"[5] would appear to throw light on an institution closely paralleled amongst the Abors.

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[1] See p. 3 of Memoir. [2] This may be compared with the worship of the Tibetan deity Dhamsal.

[3] Sherring's Memoir on the Bhotias (p. 100) affords a parallel in the worship of Dhurma.

[4] The Membas keep their hair cut short. The Pobas wear their hair long (see p. 7 of this Memoir).

[5] p. 105.

The Lamaistic sects in Pemakoichen are the Nyingma and the Gelugpa, the former predominating the latter being inconsiderable. I was told that the isolation of the monasteries was the cause of an indulgence permitting the Nyingma to marry.[1] The Gelugpa have been described as more asectic,[2] but I must regretfully record my impression that in Pemakoichen "the world forgetting" seems less applicable than "by the world forgot." The monks wear reddish-coloured robes and, in addition to their prayer wheels, have rosaries of wood, glass, crystal, coral, wax or amber beads with leather tags at intervals to which four-leafed shamrocks of silver or brass are attached. A skull-bone necklace in my possession has 109 discs and two ivory dice; two other rosaries have 109 and 112 beads respectively.

The Memba weapons are a gun and the long Tibetan sword.[3] The prong gun is rapidly being relegated to the position of an interesting heirloom—such is the march of civilization. No enthusiasm was, however, shown to produce less obsolete arms for inspection.

Men and women wear hats, chogas and putties, the women winding long woven cumberbands round their waists. The folds of the robe above the waistband make a capacious pocket for both sexes. The men wear trousers or sometimes "shorts." The wealthier people wear long warm boots. Women wear brass or silver ornaments from Pomed, Tibet and Bhotan. Amulets are universally used and a small devil cast in metal is frequently worn as a charm round the neck. These are supplied by the Lamas for the customary fee. It is, in fact, the country and not its present inhabitants that has been visited for the first time. For, as regards the people who live in Pemakoichen, it is felt that the knocker has been described off the door of their houses in a whole library of books on travel among the Himalayas.

June 23rd. Left Kopu and reached Geling in $5\frac{3}{4}$ hours, halting here for the night; an easy march. In general appearance Geling is an improvement on the village we have left. The only outward and visible signs that Kopu is a Memba village are the masts and streamers at the entrance, and a heap or two of stones.[4] Geling has a small stone and mortar house built about two years ago through which a stream flowing

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[1] S. C. D. in his "Journey to Lhasa" refers to Yaslung Shetag Lamasery where forty monks and as many nuns live together, the arrangement being sanctioned by the Nyingma church to which they belong. Rockhill in a foot-note referring to the "Report on Explorations," 1856–1886, confirms this practice, and states that explorer K. P. [Kinthup] found in the lower Tsanpo valley at Thum Tsung, Bhal Gompa and Marpung, monasteries in which both men and women were allowed to preach and live together. I visited Marpung and found nuns in its cloisters. Thum Tsung and Bhal Gompa I have not been able to identify. Waddell in "Lamaism" (p. 278) gives a list of 15 monasteries in Pemakoichen, all except two (the Gelugpa monasteries of Chamnak and Demu) being Nyingma. The names are not of course arranged in geographical order, and of them only Dorjiyu, Phuparong, Kongidem, Nartong, Rinchenpung, Tsenchuk and Geling have been identified. In connexion with this passage it was gathered in 1913 that the chief monasteries in the country are Marpung and Rinchenpung.

[2] See "Buddhism," pp. 58–63, for a description of this sect.

[3] The Tibetan sword is included in the Abor armament by the earliest European writers on Assam such as Butler.

[4] Mr. Sherring in his Memoir describes how the Bhotias erect *saithans* or shrines for their gods or, more frequently, a simple stone and by it a *darcho* which is a tree trunk with a few branches left on top fixed in the ground, with strips of cloth (daja) floating in the wind tied to it. The curiously similar practice of lopping the trees seen in Bomdo and Janbo villages may have thus originated.

above the village is diverted to turn a prayer-barrel and then, raised to the power of holy water, becames the village supply. The people of course both here and at Kopu look quite different to the Abors, with their prayer-wheels and rosaries, chogas and putties; and the interior of their houses, smooth, thick, blackened, plank walls, floors and ceilings together with their tables and neatly disposed belongings are in striking contrast to the squalor universal in the Abor country.

The Sibi waterfall on the left bank of the Tsanpo looked magnificent: where the stream poured over the brow of the cliff it seemed a good volume of water, but before it fell into the cup of light-green vegetation that lay on its way down to the great river below it had been dissipated into drifting clouds of spray. The Tsanpo here, narrowing at intervals through cañons, is broken by a series of tremendous rapids, the most considerable we have yet seen.

June 24th. The march opened with a climb of one thousand feet and a stiff descent of three. On the crest of the ridge we found a fine old chhorten about 10 feet high all stuck with rice-paper "tracts." It seems to be the correct thing to keep to the left when passing these altars (they form an "island" in the middle of the path) and the men of the Lakhimpur Military Police with the party pick leaves, or branches, and throw them on to the plinth, an offering to the patron saint of hill travellers. At the bottom of the descent the Nugong river rushed foaming under a cantilever suspension bridge, the first we have seen, with a span of 100 feet and about a 35-foot drop to the water below. The bridge was "insured" by the provision of miniature forests of long poles flying inscribed banners at the entrances and by quantities of rice-paper tracts on the bridge itself. On some of these were boldly drawn pictures of a horse.[1]

The path then followed the rocky shore of the Tsanpo keeping very little above high flood level. In most places logs and chunks of wood had been laid to fill up the more formidable interstices. Passing a rest house, solidly built (a Memba characteristic) with open sides we came to a wide-sweeping bay choked with magnificent pine lumber. The doctor, coming on behind, appropriately discovered a rather disagreeable corpse that had been thrown up by the Tsanpo, that breaks along the shore line of its upper bays in brisk little waves. We are camped for the night about two miles below Shirang.

June 25th. A cloudy day and excellent going over an easy road. We have at last got out of the zone of Abor influences observed in the Memba villages of Kopu and Geling and now chhortens and prayer-barrel houses are common objects on the road. We had a stiffish climb at the outset, and it was an hour and a half after starting before we were abreast of the Shirang Tsogan[2] which occupies a superb site above a gorge of the river, here running in a narrow cutting at least 1000 feet deep, the cliffs being absolutely precipitous. On the left bank, opposite, on a grassy plateau with a sheer

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[1] I have some of these in my possession printed in strips on tough country paper. Waddell ("Buddhism," p. 411 *et seq.*) calls it the Tibetan Lung horse.

[2] Tsogans would seem to be chapels with one lama as caretaker and generally a few servants in the buildings clustered round it.

granite bluff down to the Tsanpo stands Mongku. Just above the gorge a good cane bridge of Abor pattern keeps communication open between Mongku and Shirang.

The monastic buildings were enclosed within a high and solid stone wall with a picturesque gate on the north side, i.e. away from the river, which is here flowing almost due west. An orthodox mithan fence led one to hope vainly for yak, but the cattle we did see were fine upstanding beasts, rather like Herefords in appearance. Inside the wall were four houses. The main building was an imposing structure, the lower storey of solid masonry, the upper storey of wood with a delightful balcony, reminding one of the houses overlooking the Jhelum at Srinagar. The building of next importance was the dwelling house, in appearance like a stranded house boat, being built entirely of wood. An Abor-built granary and an open byre comprised the farm buildings. All round the houses grew crops, and fruit trees were dotted about; in one corner rose a small plantation of bamboos and in another a clump of plantains.

Passing through orange and hill lime trees, just turning from flower to fruit, we reached the village, which consisted of a group of between 30 and 40 solidly built houses of wood on well-made stone dykes. The carpentering and masonry work were exceedingly good. All the houses except one were thatched. The domesticated jungle fowl of the Abor hills has disappeared and a breed of black fowl and something very like a Plymouth Rock have taken its place. Some of the wall foundations of the houses were enclosed to make pigsties, but from the usual wooden pigsties attached to, or near, the majority of the houses it has been gathered that the Abor method of sanitation obtains in the Memba country. The people here are quite Tibetan in appearance. None of the women, and only a few of the men, can talk Abor. Altars, banners, heaps of inscribed stones and broken bits of pottery are to be found all along the road. The Membas understand wet-rice cultivation, grow flowers (I saw the ubiquitous marigold in one garden) and have carefully tended 'market garden' plots in which they grow beans, cucumbers and marrows.

After a certain amount of climbing down and up and the crossing of another cantilever bridge we reached our halting place for the night on a grassy lawn right down on the bank of the Tsanpo and near a clear stream with a little prayer-wheel house built over it. Just beyond our camp a cane bridge spans the river, the third since the Mongku gorge. This is a country of waterfalls tumbling down the high rock faces hundreds and hundreds of feet. The height of the river here is 2200 feet above sea level.

June 26th. Our road lay through the small eight-house village of Lingkong on to a wide plateau cut into terraces of wet-rice cultivation. The planting out is done in July and August, and the fields are now being ploughed and prepared with the help of cattle. From Lingkong onwards the valley widens, more particularly on the right bank. The mountains are above us, towering 12,000 feet and more, folds at the skirts of the dominating Namshia Barwa (25,741 ft.) that was known to the Abor Field Force as Pemakoi Peak. Between the jungle-clad steep slopes of the high spurs and the grey foaming river, now 2000 feet below the road, rolls out a stretch of wide

undulating grassy downs, dotted with villages and covered with fields, enriched with clumps of bamboos and fruit trees now heavy with ripening peaches, and watered by numerous streams. Where the industrious villager has not tilled, the land is under grass; brambles, black, red and yellow, an excellent wild raspberry and brachen break the stretches of short green grass and here and there are fields of iris, now in seed.

The country simply bristles with chhortens, and these catafalque-like expressions of piety, I am told, occasionally mark the grave of some earlier settler. Many of the streams as they murmur towards the high cliffs bordering the Tsanpo turn a prayer-barrel enshrined in a little white-washed stone house. Tsogans are attached to the more important villages and the villages themselves differ entirely in appearance from those lower down the valley. Solid houses of wood (very rarely of stone) roofed, at hardly any slope, with stout planks weighted down with stones have a friendly look across the plains; the hedges and fences, the lanes and roads are like nothing closer than Assam. Sometimes a bamboo pipe leads the village water supply into a large trough made of a hollowed-out tree-trunk; but the bamboo aqueduct is not the feature it is further south. As one follows the main path it is only where some big tributary has carved out a steep valley on its way to the Tsanpo that jungle is met with, and through it the path winds down, or follows a contour up the re-entrant, further evidence of the engineering skill of the inhabitants and a contrast to the country below that can only be fully appreciated by those who have scrambled about in Abor land.

All to-day the country on the opposite bank seemed much steeper. We had a longish climb up to the chhorten just outside Didung, which is built on a saddle below the Dzong which overlooks the neat prosperous cluster of houses. A wide grassy slope leads down to the village which is in two parts (like many of the villages up here) separated by some fields. At the chhorten were grouped several banners and against the shrine itself was a square plank box about 6 feet each way and 3 feet 6 inches high half covered in with boards. On this lid were half a dozen of the text-inscribed pots one has learnt to associate with the entrance to a Memba village—its Temple Bar in fact. Laid beside the pots were two square red cane baskets of eggs and a cluster of the little conical baked clay nodules (*tsatsa*[1]) we first saw at Geling in the prayer-barrel house. The box itself was nearly half full of them.

A climb to another village; and then a steep descent to the rocky gorge of the Kitsiri followed by a stiff and leech-infested climb out brought us back to the cultivated plateau land. As we rose out of the Kitsiri valley we found the steepest fields I have ever seen—far steeper than the Galong cultivation I once thought precipitous enough. From a high shoulder we could see Pongo, which we had skirted some hours previously after leaving Didung, and below us Didung itself set in its light-green rice

[1] In his "Trans-Himalaya" (Vol. III, Ch. XXII) Dr. Sven Hedin explains their origin. He was told that they are made of the ashes of persons (monks), who have been cremated, mixed and kneaded with clay. When still moist some sacred word or sentence is printed with a stamp. The ashes of a dead man, so his Lama informant stated, make a couple of thousand *tsatsa* which are deposited in a hollow in the plinth of the chhorten.

fields, with its orderly row of black wooden roofs nestling against the rounded hill on which the white walls of the squat solid Dzong showed through the trees. The top of the rise brought us within sight of Janyur and abreast of the field of grass, iris brachen and bramble where we are spending the night. Height of camp 5200 feet. Above us is the other half of Janyur village.

The hamlets that are here dotted thickly about the country are most of them small—a dozen houses or so. Our doctor Captain J. E. C. Macdonald, I.M.S., who knows Tibet, says that the Membas are very like the Tibetans: and they occasionally manage a rather disjointed conversation with some of our Bhotia coolies. The Abors call the people of Pemakoichen Membas; they themselves say they are Mumpas from Darma in Bhotan. They talk a dialect that is neither Kamba nor Po, and the Tibetan of Lhasa 'is to them unknowe.' It was stated by our Tibetan interpreter that the Tibetans call them Dukpas[1] (savages), but this I think may be incorrect as this term seems to be properly applied to the Nomads of Southern Tibet. What I believe are called Yunnanese rupees and eight-anna pieces are to be found, but the ordinary currency is the Tibetan tangka.

One man of Janyur, who electrified his audience by delivering himself in halting but undoubted Assamese, mentioned casually that he had been to Tezpur four times and once to Gauhati in a river steamer. He knew about Calcutta, but had not actually been there. He had however enlarged his experience by a ride on the Tezpur light railway. It transpired that he had been down with the Bhotanese officials who come yearly to Darrang to take the Posa,[2] going across the Doshung La and down into Towang: he had not been further down the valley than Tuting.

June 27th. We came to-day by a very easy road to the Pemasiri river, up the left bank of which run the roads to the Doshung La. There are apparently two; one the Yak track easy and circuitous, the other the ordinary travellers' path precipitous and direct that saves a day. Ngasang, just beyond Janyur, looked, but for the people and the general air of solidity of the houses, exactly like a village in the plains. We passed below the Tsogan, and a tall solitary pine growing on the hill-side lower down, and here we had a fine view of Bipung and the crest of the spur that shelters Rinchenpung from the gaze of travellers from the south. Sweet-william was found by one of the party in the Lama's garden up on the hill. Podung and Pateng were the two other villages we skirted on to-day's march.

The most southern point reached by Kinthup may be open to argument. He may have surveyed the scene from afar, or he may have heard some saga of adventure down the Abor valley, but that Kinthup came down to a point below the 29th parallel is indubitable, his accuracy to this point is in striking contrast to the fickleness of his memory regarding the Abor villages further south—or

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[1] S. C. D. ("Journey to Lhasa," p. 258) details a cure for snake bite followed by the "Glak-los (wild people) of Pemakyod," but these he identifies with the Lho tawa (Tangam Abors presumably). It is possible, if Waddell is followed here, that Dukpa may be Dugpa the Bhotanese sect of lamas, a name that this writer says is frequently and erroneously used as a synonym for the Nyingma sect. See "Buddhism," and also "Among the Himalayas," p. 249.

[2] The yearly subsidy dating from the old Assamese raj made to certain of the hill tribes.

to the indifferent manner in which he may have been served by his translator. His description of this neighbourhood as recorded by the Survey of India[1] might have come out of Baedeker (had that authority been so adventurous) and he is borne out in other ways by local information. Pangodudung, Korbo and Mayum have all been identified. Satong did exist 30 years ago, but has now disappeared. Jido and Ngamying we know were founded rather less than 30 years ago, which accounts for Kinthup's failure to notice them between 1882 and 1884.

After negociating the flimsy cane bridge over the Pemasiri we ascended the hill, and camped short of Yortong, the crest of the ridge being between us and the village. Sheep were grazing on the hillside, and Membas, both men and women, were working in the fields. Like the Abors the men wear daos but they differ from their wilder neighbours in having such special agricultural implements as short-handled axes, mattocks and large pruning hooks. I saw the women with these sickles at their girdles. Broad-cast cultivation and a reliance upon a hardened bamboo splinter or pointed stick compares unfavourably with wet-rice cultivation, and high farming generally. Talking of high farming 5500 feet (the Abor limit, with the rarest exceptions) is not an unusual height for Memba cultivation. Fowls and eggs here are really large, like home ones: the Membas milk their cattle, and make curdled milk.[2] Cows are driven into pens to prevent them from kicking while they are being milked. The Membas snuff, and that imported from Khong-bo is quite good. I like their polished horn mulls, but so do they and I doubt if I get one to take away with me. June 29th.

Halted at Yortong. It seems that "Mimat" is the Abor name for the people of Khong-bo, which kills the legend of cave dwellers and neckless savages, although the origin of the first may be found in the cave "rest houses" that they lodge in on their way over the passes, and the abnormal goitre met with in the upper valley may account for the second. An Abor seeing Tibetan or Lepcha obsequies for the first time might pardonably mistake the ceremony for cannibal preparations.[3] There are no villages up the trade routes into Tibet, once the main valleys of the Siyom affluents, and the Tsanpo, are left behind. The one still unvisited tribe in the Dihang water-shed, the Boka, neighbours of the Boris of the Upper Siyom, are hardly likely to combine in their habits and appearance the interesting features that figured in the travellers' tales,— June 30th.

> of the cannibals that each other eat,
> The anthropophagi and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders.

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[1] The account given by Colonel Waddell in "Among the Himalayas" of Kinthup's travels would seem to make no distinction between the Membas and the Abors. The explorer was admittedly sold as a slave in the Memba country, but the inhabitants are not a "fierce savage" people neither do they "kill the Tibetans on principle." Nor has the reputation for ferocity of the Abors of the Dihang valley been altogether established either by onfalls among themselves or by exploits against a foreign adversary, it has been favoured by circumstances and fostered by bluff. The truculence of the Boris, Boka and Galongs of the Upper Siyom has a better foundation of fact.

[2] See "Journey to Lhasa", foot-note to p. 36.

[3] The legend has at least the merit of age. It is noted as a Mongolian custom by Carpini in 1245 and definitely attributed to the Tibetans by the Fransiscan monk William de Rubruquis who flourished in the same century. ("Trans-Himalaya," Sven Hedin).

Another legend, that I heard far down the valley in 1911, was that in the "Lama" country a man was killed (sacrificed) whenever the salt was excavated from a great cliff. The Membas said that one of the passes was so bad that when they took Abor coolies along it on trading expeditions (when one of the chief exports from Tibet is salt) it was almost safe to calculate that at least one Abor would lose his head, his balance and his life over a sheer drop of 3000 feet, which probably accounts for the Abor and Galong belief in human sacrifice being in the nature of a salt tax in Tibet.

I am indebted to Mr. W. C. M. Dundas, C.I.E., the Political Officer, Central and Eastern Sections, North-East Frontier, for the following list of villages up the valley. Before giving them it may be noted that bridges over the Tsanpo are numerous from Shirang upwards and that, although a considerable trade artery exists along the right bank chiefly through Yortong, the amount of trade by the Lulung, Lushe, Deyan, Doshung and Nam passes combined, is possibly less than the influx of trade on the left bank. At all events the greater proportion of the imports seem to come from Pomed.

The Doshung La is the best and most frequented of the passes on the right bank. The best months to cross are July and August: they are hardly open in June. It appears to be a four days' journey from Yortong to Pheadoshung on the Tibetan side of the Doshung La.

List of places up the Tsanpo valley to the gorge.

Right Bank.	*Left Bank.*
(Above Yortong)	(Above Bi-Pung)
Pateng Yugungpe	Puchung
Siyor	Yarang
Poteng and Marpung Gompa (20 lamas)	Miking
Tanko and Shorang	Metohangjo
Hora	Cane bridge — Tompho-Lhorong
Tejing	Rinchenpung
Pematanko with Paro Gompa (40 lamas) on hill above it.	Bungmu
Ngunla	Makting
Tego	Cane bridge—Meri
Pi-Poh	Gemling
Una	Kapu. The Chindru Chu flows in here.
Penyong	Duk
Kani [beyond no road]	Sayu
(Hangmo-Gonga, deserted)	Pangzing
The Nyalam Tsanpo flows into the main river near Gonga, source at the Namla.	Kemting
Kongidem	Pango and Khing-Khing Gompa
Pangshing (2 houses)	Chonkong
Phuparong	Kempang
Paiyur (most northern known village)	Cherasa and Tsenchuk Gompa
	Lunglip
	The Yigrung Tsanpo and Po Chu flow into the Tsanpo at Gonpone.

We are now in a position to gauge the value of much of Kinthup's narrative, and review it on the ground.

On his journey down from Tibet in 1882 Kinthup reached the Tsanpo, in desperately bad country, at Dorjiyu Dzong, where he found a monastery of 10 or 15 Lamas. He then crossed to the left bank and went to Pango. "Here is the Tsenchuk Gompa with 30 priests and an incarnate Lama." One mile on took him to Pangshing on its plateau; after visiting Khing-Khing monastery (25 priests) he again crossed the Tsanpo, to reach the considerable village of Tambu. A stiff climb brought him to Richenpung whence he ascended to the pass. Returning to Tambu he again crossed the Tsanpo cane bridge and reached Hora—a "7 mile" march from Tambu. Thence to Marpung "4 miles" where he found a monastery with 30 Lamas and 15 nuns living together. After certain adventures, not fond but prosaic, he came into Yardong (Yortong), 30 houses and a monastery. There are now 19 dwelling houses excluding the monastic settlement on the top of the hill. He then crossed the stream [1] from the Doshung La "about 2 miles," and ascended the hill to Pateng, crossed to Bi-pung and Geling and then came back and returned to Lha-sa by the Doshung La.

It was on his further wanderings that he returned to Bi-pung and travelled down river through Dongsar, Pangodung, Korbo and Mayum towards the Abor country. It appears from the second-hand account of his explorations that, alone, is available that Korbo was a mixed village in the eighties. Allowing for lack of education and the time that elapsed between his journeys and his narration of them, Kinthup's account is accurate enough to warrant the belief that he got down into the Simong Abor country, as he maintains. The question of course is how far south did he actually get. The powerful Simong people bar the trade route down the valley constituting themselves the middlemen for the trade, such as it is, that filters through them; and this is not a new policy. Travellers from Tibet are so few and far between that one such visitor to Dalbuing about 30 years ago is still remembered there, so I was told by the party that visited the Milang country. It is within the bounds of possibility that this was Kinthup himself. As I have not myself visited the left bank above Geku it is not possible to express an opinion on the southern portion of his itinery. The description down to Angging is accurate. That the number of houses should be absurdly exaggerated, or that he should give both Angi and Hanging (20 houses approximately for the latter being correct) ought not to outweigh the credibility of his evidence as a whole. Jido and Ngamying we know were established after his journey. I should not personally be able to recount in their correct order with the number of the houses such hill villages as I have visited during the last three years; but Kinthup was exploring steadily for a longer period and saw many villages.

I do not think I have noted that chhortens, springs and trees near a village are in this part of the valley decorated with bits of cotton wool and festooned with

[1] The Pemasiri; formed by the four streams Pemasiri, Doshung, Budhatsiphak and Tangong, the Pemasiri being the most northern and the Doshung the biggest of the four.

rags, white, blue, red and occasionally yellow. It is correct to go round the left side of a chhorten.

Beyond Podung the country again closes in, and I have seen no ploughing in this neighbourhood, but the fields are terraced and the roads run, wherever possible, along a contour. Jungle-clad spurs are again common, interposing between wide patches of old jhums and present cultivation. There are no pines close to the camp, but in a corrie below us that overlooks the Pemasiri there is a single clump of fir trees.[1] The country up the Budhatsiphak, and south of the Doshung road, is the most desperate I have ever seen. I used to think the sheer Orkney precipices that frown and tower 1200 ft. over the Pentland stupendous, but here on either side of the narrow gorge rise peaks, pine-clad where trees can anchor, immense ant hills, pointing needle-like 12,000 ft. into the sky. Huge faces of rock overlook the river below and make a series of terrific passages for the Pemasiri. Going up into Yortong I found two girls querning[2] in the stone basement of a house with two large mushrabeah windows on the west wall. Over the door there was what looked like a wooden lantern painted blue with white whorls on it. Most of the people were out in the fields and their barred doors were decorated with different devices in white. Some were quite elaborate. The most common design was drawn something like this.

The women wear girdles of leather mounted with oblong pieces of pierced brass and white metal-work. The most highly prized belts come from Chiamdo, the next valued from Lhasa, and the more ordinary ones from Khong-bo. Not only is the Chiamdo work of finer finish, but designs of animals and flowers are worked on it. The Lhasa workman contents himself with conventional leaf designs worked, like the Chiamdo belts, in brass and white metal. All the Khong-bo belts I saw were in one metal, either brass or iron. The Memba maiden does not wear a *beyop*. This interesting girdle has been growing small by degrees and beautifully less during our progress up the valley; and here little girls who toddle about the villages innocent of their ordinary garments appear in a state of nature unadorned.

The breeds of dog are interesting. A Yorkshire terrier and a beast exactly like a small black wolf are the most curious I have seen. Dopo the headman of the village and locally known as the Dzong-pen (although there is no Dzong at Yortong for him to command) has a delightful short-haired blue cat from Khong-bo with which he absolutely refuses to part. Dark tortoise-shell and grey cats are quite common. When meeting one in the road a Memba first removes his felt cap and as one approaches nearer he makes a jerky salutation with his hands and puts out his tongue. To almost any and every remark he ejaculates "La-so la-so." The men,

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1 It was observed that, on the left bank of the Tsanpo, pine trees grew much lower down the hillside.

2 The Bhotia coolie acting as my interpreter said they were querning *mincha* into *phi*. The meal is made up into chapattis.

especially in wet weather, wear chogas pleated round them kiltwise, apron in front. The thick chocolate-coloured Memba cloths worn by the Abors from Riga northwards are only put on in rainy weather. Long surcoats made by sewing two skins at the shoulders leaving a hole at the place where the necks join for the wearer's head to be thrust through poncho-fashion are also worn. They are neatly bound and sewn with red leather. The crowns of their wide-brimmed straw rain-hats shine with plates of mica.

July 2nd. At Yortong, Dopo and his young son came in to see me. The headman Dopo says that he himself migrated from Darma. I extracted the following short list of Memba words which, as I have an indifferent ear, I give for what they are worth:—

Man	.. Minh,	woman	.. Bur-minh,
village	.. Yi,	house	.. Pai-e,
dry rice-field	.. Burra,	wet rice	.. Rhi,
tree	.. Shing-she,	bamboo	.. Tso,
mountain	.. Phu,	stream	.. Chu,
water	.. Ngam-tsu,	fire	.. Tsong-o,
salt	.. In-cha,	rice (grain)	.. Khu,
tea	.. Tcha-i,	mithan	.. Pā,
sheep	.. Si-sa,	pig	.. Pa,
dog	.. Khi,	monastery	.. Hora,
		chhorten	.. Tschegi.

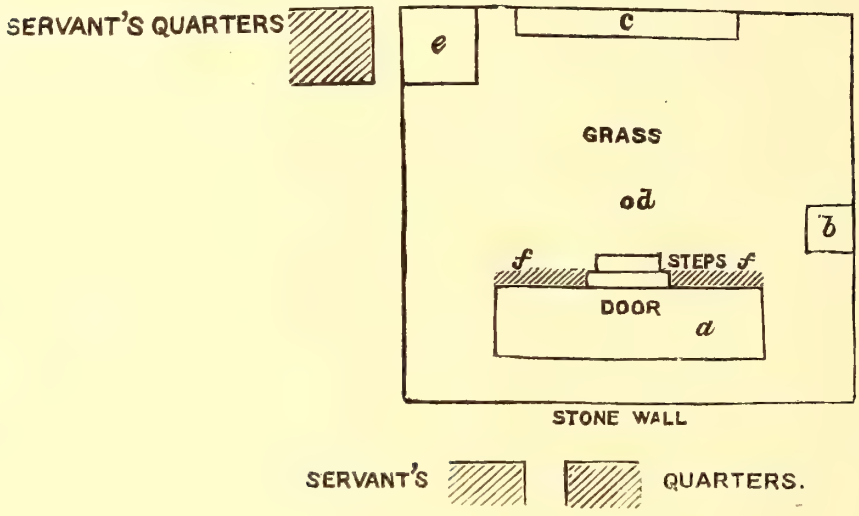
The Membas call the big copper medal that they wear, engraved with the Twelve Year Calendar of Beasts, *tsa-tsum*. A looking-glass is *milang* and this may, as Hore, of the 120th Rajputana Infantry, has suggested, be the origin of the specula-shaped *merang* of the Abors.

Dopo tells me there is one head Lama—of great importance—with 30 Lamas under him at Marpung monastery. This corroborates Kinthup's statement.

July 3rd. YORTONG. On our way up to the village, met a man and a very comely young woman on their way back to Khong-Bo—over the Doshung La. The lady wore a pleasant shade of maroon and the round pork-pie hat becomingly set on her neatly plaited hair was bound with silk of the same colour. Dopo asked me into his house. He has a narrow entrance hall extending athwart the building: his guest-room was on the left and I was ushered in to find eight people sitting solemnly—like so many Buddhas—with little black stools in front of them, and on the black stools their wood and silver cups. A young woman from a group about the fireplace was handing round "a-rah," filling the little cups from a large brass toddy ladle; I was given a place on a carpet on the extreme right. Save that the fireplace was more elaborate, the room larger and better built and evidences of wealth fairly apparent, the room was like the first I had seen in Kopu village; but the women wore far better clothes, had a better appearance and possessed many more ornaments of (comparative) value than their sisters lower down the valley. The fireplace was built on big flagstones with a square curbstone round it. The fire blazed in a square-built oven over which a pot was simmering. On a shelf and hanging on the wall behind were the cooking utensils. The neatness and order of these houses is

very striking. The "a-rah" seemed to me to be pure aniseed, which I swallowed with difficulty and, having taken leave of the party in the parlour, went up to the temple on the top of the hill above Yortong.

The thing was so unexpected, to breast the hill and find enclosed within a well-built stone wall a solid two-storied building, white, with strong bands of colour, blue, light green and chocolate in diamond patterns, half way up the building and just under the eaves.[1] Really good mushrabeah windows lit the upper storey. Its southern balconied face overlooked from its grassy site on the hill top the deep Tsanpo valley. Bipung like a garden city, surrounded by its ampitheatres of terraced cultivation, lay mapped out 3000 ft. below us. This is the place where Kinthup threw in his 500 marked logs to prove (by the orders of the Survey of India) that the Dihang and the Tsanpo are the same river. On the steep hillside opposite and high above Bipung a tremendous waterfall thundered in foam down the green mountain-side.



(*a*) Tsogan;
(*b*) Altar;
(*c*) Large altar and offerings;
(*d*) Prayer-banner;
(*e*) Lama's house;
(*f*) Flower beds to supply altar vases (Pink hollyhocks and marigolds).

The tsogan south wall was worthy of its surroundings. The white wall with its bands of colour, the solid wood carving of the eaves, balcony and the lintels of the great door, the massive effect softened by swaying pink hollyhocks cannot be described—nor can a photograph reproduce its charm. The quaintest keys in the world, like flattened lobsters of white metal, were brought and the big doors opened to let me see the shrine. My first impression, before one got used to the gloom and realized the somewhat startling galaxy of colours, reminded me of a Chinese temple. And then I began to take in details and the superficial likeness vanished. The square room was distempered a reddish chocolate: two rather low beams across the ceiling each supported by two wooden pillars broke up the temple into three parts. Facing the door on his throne sat gilded and haloed, against a rainbow background, a large Buddha, but with the face of a devil, radiating fiendish malevolence. The Lama who showed me round simply called him

[1] S. C. D. ("Journey to Lhasa," p. 238) states that all Nyingma lay and religions buildings are distinguished by black and blue stripes about 9 inches broad cut perpendicularly into the walls. This decoration was seen in the Memba country, but not at Yortong or Marpung.

"Guru." Before him were flowers and little cups, the offerings of his worshippers. Behind him was painted the rainbow background, faint lined on a white ground, and above him his nimbus, with its light-green centre and its gold and red and blue floral border. On either hand posed his attendant fiends. On his right Guda a little red devil in a watchful attitude, on his left Sindong,[1] a blue dancing devil with a light-green head. These unpleasant satellites had large halos behind them. It is most difficult to give a lucid description of the ornamentation of the pillars, the capitals were so thickly painted and heavily gilded as to give the effect of tile plaques, the design being lotus leaves in blue, green, gold and chocolate. These colours figured everywhere over the beams and wood-work in different conventional designs. Some rather beautiful, and one or two somewhat garish, banners hung on the walls. To the left of the door two big prayer-wheels were fastened to a wooden press; this and one or two stools and a table were new and of white wood and had the incongruous look of laundry furniture. A big drum was hanging to the right of the door and two copper and brass trumpets were fastened to a pillar. Near the altar was a large white shell. But the most interesting feature in the whole building was to be found in the masks[2] hanging above the door and from the pillars. There were two of each colour, blue, green, white and reddish brown, hanging in pairs. The faces were sinister enough but on the forehead of each grinned a tiara of little white skulls. So we left the low dark pillared room with its arabesques in green and gold and brown and its crude designs in white and blue to the malevolent influences brooding there, and came out into the clean sunlight.

In the afternoon Dopo came down again with my supply of milk, eggs and vegetables, by means of which negociations I am making quite a collection of tangkas in change for rupees. He vouchsafed some information that may perhaps be reliable. His other name, he tells me, is Tashi Pezong. With reference to a remark by Kinthup that he went to Giling (3 m. from Bi-pung) in search of salt, his pretext while preparing his logs can hardly have deceived the inhabitants if Dopo truthfully denies that there is any salt in the valley, declaring that it comes over the Doshung la—from Geling in or beyond Khongbo. I have not personally found any evidence or traces of salt in the valley. Apparently all the caretakers of the "parish churches" are regular Lamas with lesser brethren under them, and these live in the houses clustering round the close. Yortong tsogan is in the charge of one Lama who has ten servants under him. These temples have all a second and smaller upper chapel, the shrine of Cho.

I have also Dopo's unsupported testimony for the following information. The Memba Mumpa or Pema koiba have been established in the valley south of the main range for quite a long time. Dopo knows this to be the fourth generation. The septs are Kailing-bo, Brim-tsi-pa, Narang-po, Dung-tsam-bo, Sherpa and Basor-pa, the first four being all found in Yortong. There are also Kambas, whose language is

[1] It is suggested, with considerable diffidence, that this may be identified with Yama-g Sin-rje, the death-god and Lokpal of the south (see "Buddhism", pp. 84 to 86 and 367).

[2] They appeared to be made of papier maché.

different. The original home of the Memba I gather to be Darma in Bhotan, and Dopo says it is due to the Tong Tsa Penlop of Darma for people to go across once in their lives and pay their respects to him.

July 5th. The morning broke misty but promising and, except for an unlucky shower while I was trying to photograph Marpung monastery, we had a perfect day; sunny with a strong cool breeze up the valley.

It is a fair pull up the hill to Upper Pateng which is on a terrace higher up the spur from which Yortong overlooks the Tsanpo. A cluster of half a dozen houses. We found the Pateng villagers very busy with their mattocks in their neatly fenced fields. Passed a herd of about 30 cattle, my guide pointing out a pair of very fine bulls used for ploughing. These were all true cattle. I have seen no mithan about here, though some of the cattle appear to have a strain of yak in them.

A climb of half an hour or so from camp brought us on to the contour that we practically never left till we ascended the hill to the monastery. The Tsanpo writhed snake-like and grey in its gorge 3000 ft. below. High above it, on both sides of the valley, lay the light-green downs of grass and the cultivation of the little groups of houses that dotted the landscape. Pine trees clung to the high steep spurs that towered over us into the clouds veiling the snows above. We could see Puchung, Yarong and Mike on the left bank; the Rinchenpung group was hidden by an intervening spur. Our path, till near Shi-Yupe, ran first through brachen and brambles, ripe with yellow, red and purple fruit and an excellent true red raspberry and then through light tree jungle. The path was bright with butterflies, and a net would be of great value, for I am sure that there must be something new in the clouds of blues and swallow-tails; and there is a very large skipper up here that I have seen nowhere else. Poteng hillside is chiefly grass. It might be an exaggeration to call it undersheep, but I noticed some fine big sheep in excellent condition on the hillside.

As we climbed the hill to the monastery our guide thoughtfully provided a happy touch by cutting a stick and advising the rest of the party to do the same as the monastery dogs, living up to their orthodox character, were very ferocious. I was disappointed in not seeing them; the only animals we did see were some calves and a bluish-brown cat. The calves were feeding out of a brass-bound bucket that I very much coveted. We reached the monastery by a dirty lane twisting through the group of houses clustering below the gate, above which gleamed the gilded pinnacle crowning the temple. The buildings lay round the courtyard in the order and orientation already seen at Yortong, but instead of the small shrine outside and to the right of the tsogan, here we had a long stone balconied house, from the upper windows of which peeped one or two interested, and not uninteresting, young women—nuns doubtless. The building which at Yortong is marked "C" in the plan was of some size, but the abbot, not content with using the long altar shelf for lumber such as an old and broken Lama's chair, had, Cromwell-like, stabled his beasts in it. The banner covered with alternate black and red lines of character, hung on its pole in the centre of the square grass plot, but the ground was sludgy like a farmyard—and there were no flower-beds under the walls of the temple.

I was met by the head Lama, a dignified man in a reddish-purple silk-lined robe who gave me a skein of cotton; the gates of the sanctuary were opened and we were asked to go in. As at Yortong, I followed our own custom and took off my hat when I entered the temple. This seemed a sure mark of respect for the Membas never wear their hats in their churches and invariably took them off when they met us on the road.[1] Devils and devil-masks there were, but they seemed to be in the background; they did not dominate the place. The shining golden Buddha with his calm peaceful face sitting in contemplation opposite the doors made of the place a sanctuary. And not all the recital of the names of the demons by which his three chief companions were called could take that feeling away.

The interior was much larger than the Yortong tsogan. Apart from the keynote struck by the central figure and maintained by the infinitely more beautiful decoration of the wood-work and the richness of the banners, the great difference between the two lay in the Abbot's chair on the left of the altar, and the opposite wall with its pigeon holes from floor to ceiling filled with books under metal presses. The ceiling was canopied with silks of different colours. The gilding was chiefly confined to the main figure; and the conventional lotus designs on the pillars were in shades of green and pink softened by time and very beautiful. It could hardly be attributed to some Pictor Ignotus of the brotherhood, for the only decoration that was obviously new looked like nothing else than the crude tricking out of some medieval coat, argent and azure for the most part. The deities in their order, as one stood facing the altar, were Guru Dopu, Shukia Thoba,[2] and then, on his gilded lotus and in his golden shrine, with a light-blue nimbus, holding an orb and sceptre, sat what the monks called Guru Tsoke Dorje.[3] In front of his throne a long row of drinking cups had been placed. On his left glared the rather devilish, martial-looking Guru Tansi—and beyond him by the Lama's chair the little dancing blue devil whom they called King-toup. Personally I should call him "Fiendish-glee."

Between him and Guru Tansi was placed an object of great interest, the memorial casket in which rest the bones of Rintsing (or Teletsinge) the Abbot it must have been, who befriended Kinthup. From all accounts he was a man of strong personality: and to his pious exertions the endowment of the neighbouring tsogans and temples is attributed. After living—so I was told—about 60 years in the monastery of Marpung he died about ten years ago; his body was burnt according to custom, with the exception of the bones of the skull which are now preserved in the reliquary. This casket stood about 5 feet high and was in shape a minaret resting on six steps that rose pyramidwise from its square plinth. The globe of the minaret was surmounted by a tapering spire on the top of which was a gilded crescent with a ball above it—the origin of the device on the doors of the houses. The casket was of white metal with some

[1] Waddell confirms this as the Tibetan practice.

[2] See Waddell's "Buddhism," p. 343, where this deity may be identified with Sakya Muni.

[3] It is suggested that this may be Vajrasam Muni, an alternative form of Sakya's image (see "Buddhism," p. 344).

rather beautiful brass work set with coral, turquoise and porcelain—in rather marked contrast to the effigy of Tsoke Dorje, whose chief ornament was a large square of blue glass in the middle of his gilded lotus throne. On the Abbot's table by the altar, and to the right of the entrance, were the bell and thunderbolt of the dead Lama. Nearer the door were hung three large drums, and by one of the pillars stood two long and beautifully chased bronze and brass trumpets. Plain wooden floors seem to be invariable in both temples and houses.

A solid wooden ladder led up to the next storey where a much smaller chapel was surrounded by a wide passage. Here in a beautiful gilded shrine sat the golden Ye Bame. On either side of the central figure were ranged a row of lesser deities in their pillared niches of plainly carved wood, that looked as if they had served as the model for some early illuminated missal—a feeling strengthened by the "Anglo-Saxon" effect of breaking up a low square heavily timbered room with rows of painted wooden pillars. This impression was irresistible although some of the figures appeared to the casual observer to be strongly influenced by Hinduism.

Another ladder took us to the tiny room under the roof where Tso (Cho) stood, a gilt figure, bearing a distinct resemblance to the Virgin Mary in her diadem. There was a plain stone replica on a slab at one side. Just as the Buddhist sculpture found on the N.-W. Frontier bears the impress of Greek art, so may the images and symbols of Lamaism have been influenced by the sway that Christianity held in Central Asia during the Middle Ages. Great is the foot-print of Prester John.

The central figure in both the main temple and the one above it were in the conventional attitude of contemplation; most of the remainder were standing, some in angry and threatening attitudes. Ye-Bame's altar had many small effigies of Buddha about it; in the lowest temple there were numerous Buddhas worked, or painted singly or repeated in a pattern on the silken banners; I saw one wheel of life. I am told that the furniture and ornaments come over the Doshung La from either Chiamdo or Lha-sa. There is a big monastery at Chiamdo which appears to make a speciality of ecclesiastical furniture.

The dwelling-house was of solid stone, with very solid black beams, flooring and door-ways throughout. The living rooms were upstairs. In the passage I saw two *dankis* standing on a dresser. Over the door into the Abbot's private chapel (into which I was shown) hung a curtain. The room had one row of two pillars across it; the small but extremely beautiful shrine faced the door-way; on the Buddha's right, by the window of mushrabeah pasted over with rice paper, was the Abbot's bench and table. On the table were books, an elaborately chased bell and a prayer-wheel set with turquoise and coral. Before I left I was given some excellent *chang* which tasted exactly like still hock. I was not asked, and so did not intrude into the rooms occupied by those of lesser degree. The house curiously resembled à Becket's house at Canterbury in outward appearance. In these remote districts Lamaism seems to be a peculiarly debased type of Buddhism, and is in fact the Abor spirit-worship

in a civilized and ornate form. The monasteries far removed from the (presumably) restraining influence of the higher ecclesiastical authorities blandly and openly practise the abuses laid to the charge of the English monasteries in the time of Henry VIII. Dopo tells me that the monasteries draw from the villages the money, food, and clothing that enrich their altars and support and clothe themselves. The Marpung Abbot collects cloth, grain, etc., from the district in the "Pus" month, and afterwards distributes, what is required, to the monks. It was also gathered that the monasteries run the caravans and so obtain the middleman's profits in selling to the country-side.

When anyone dies the relatives give either money, or ornaments, to the monastery. This money is saved up and finally expended on the shrine. Sometimes the family of some one who has died give money or valuables to build a prayer-barrel house over a stream. The people of the village build the walls and roof and put in the timber work and frames, the monastery prints and supplies the prayers and fits the drums into the buildings—which are known as *phais*. It was noticeable that in the best buildings the same facet-like effect is obtained in wood over the doors of the temples as is produced in the stone porches of western cathedrals.

The party returned from Yortong in 22 marches to Yembung (the headquarters of the expedition of 1911–12), and in another three to Pasighat at the foot of the hills. Unavoidable delays prolonged the journey from the 9th of July to the 9th of August. The route taken when going up the valley was followed on the return journey. After the visit to Marpung monastery I have, therefore, nothing of interest to record.

While it is hoped that this diary recording my own very limited experiences may be of interest to the Asiatic Society, it is a matter of universal congratulation that Captain Morshead of the Survey of India and Captain F. M. Bailey of the Political Department, carried the work of exploration up the left bank, crossing from the Dibang basin and reaching the Tsanpo at Kapu. From there they went north, joined up with the work done by Captains Trenchard and Pemberton (who crossed the Doshung La and reached the Tsanpo between Phea Doshung and Gyala Sindang) and then pushed on through Gyala to beyond Pemakochung.

LUMNE HILL FROM TORNE.

VIEW FROM MISHING LOOKING SOUTH.

DIHANG VALLEY IN CLOUD, LOOKING NORTH FROM TORNE.

THE DIHANG FROM THE KALEK ROAD.

THE DIHANG BELOW ROTUNG.

ROTUNG GORGE.

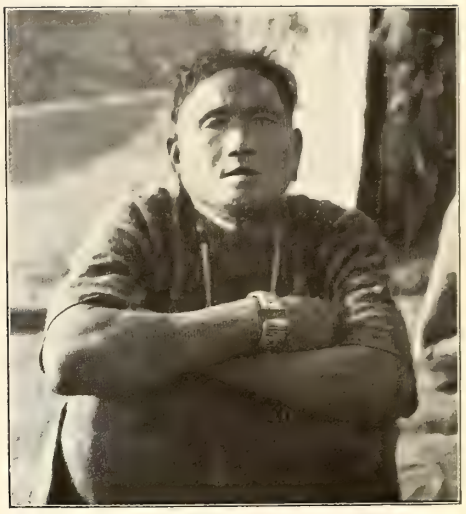
ENTRANCE TO KOMSING BRIDGE.

ON THE BRIDGE.

KOMSING BRIDGE.

GALONG.

PANGGI PRIESTESS.



MINYONG ABOR.

MINOYNG CHILDREN.

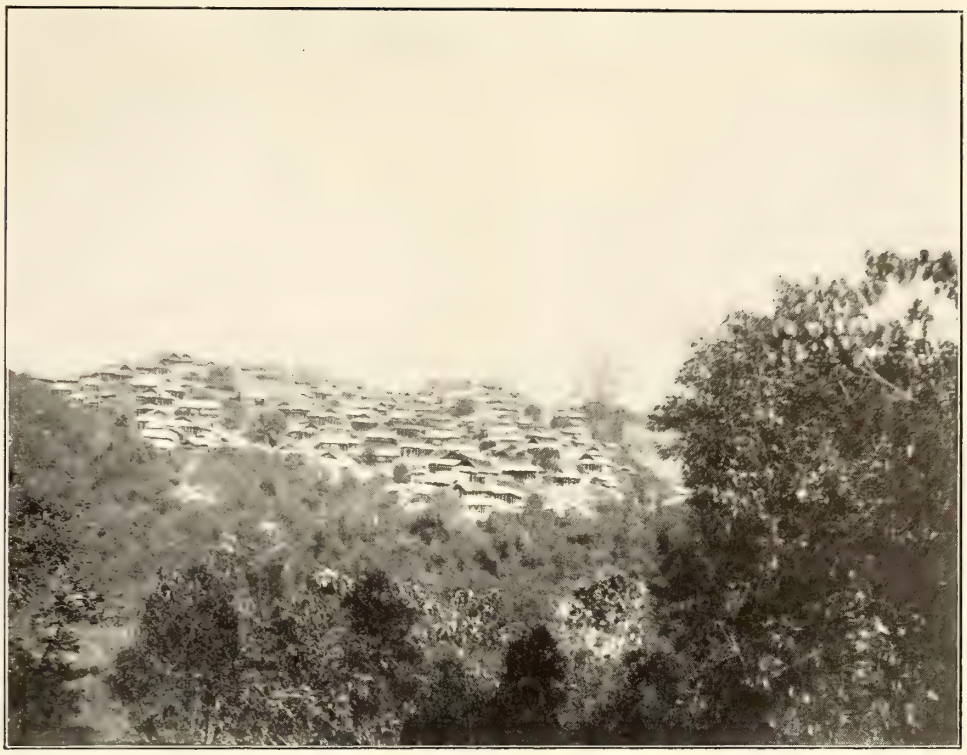
A MINYONG FAMILY.

GALONGS.

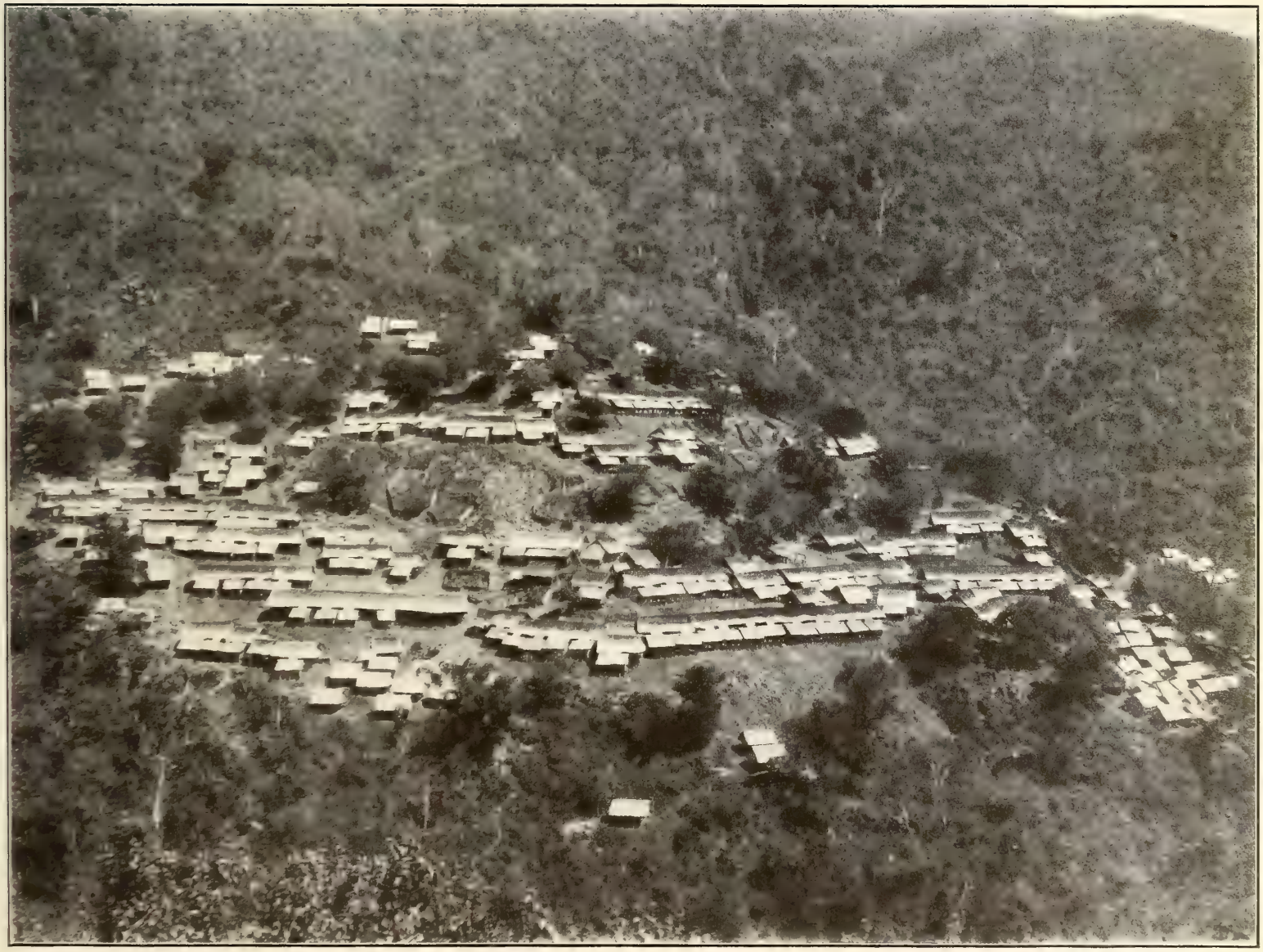
MEMONGS.

GALONG WOMEN AND HOUSE.

SCENE IN A MINYONG VILLAGE.



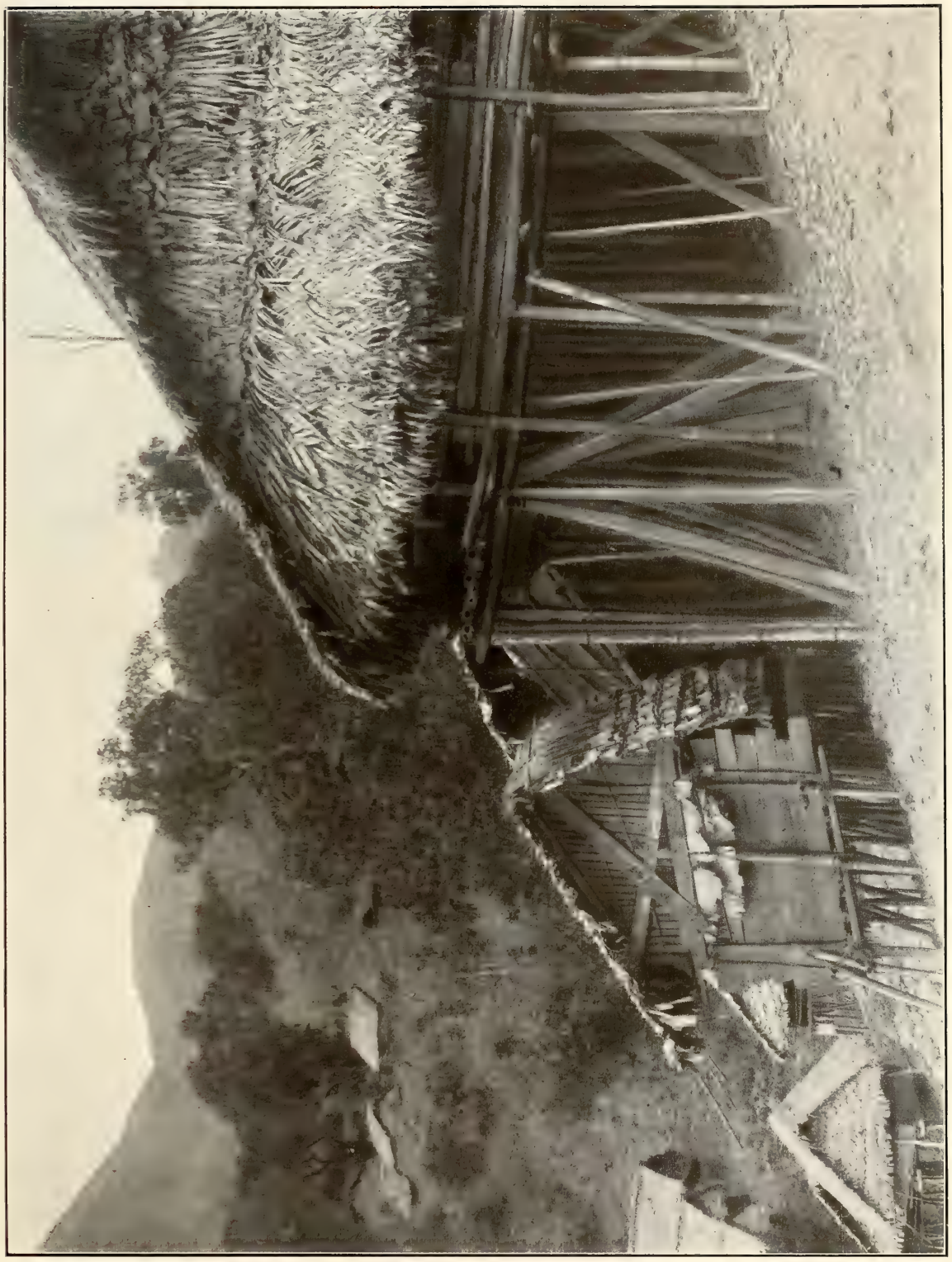
KOMBANG GALONG VILLAGE.



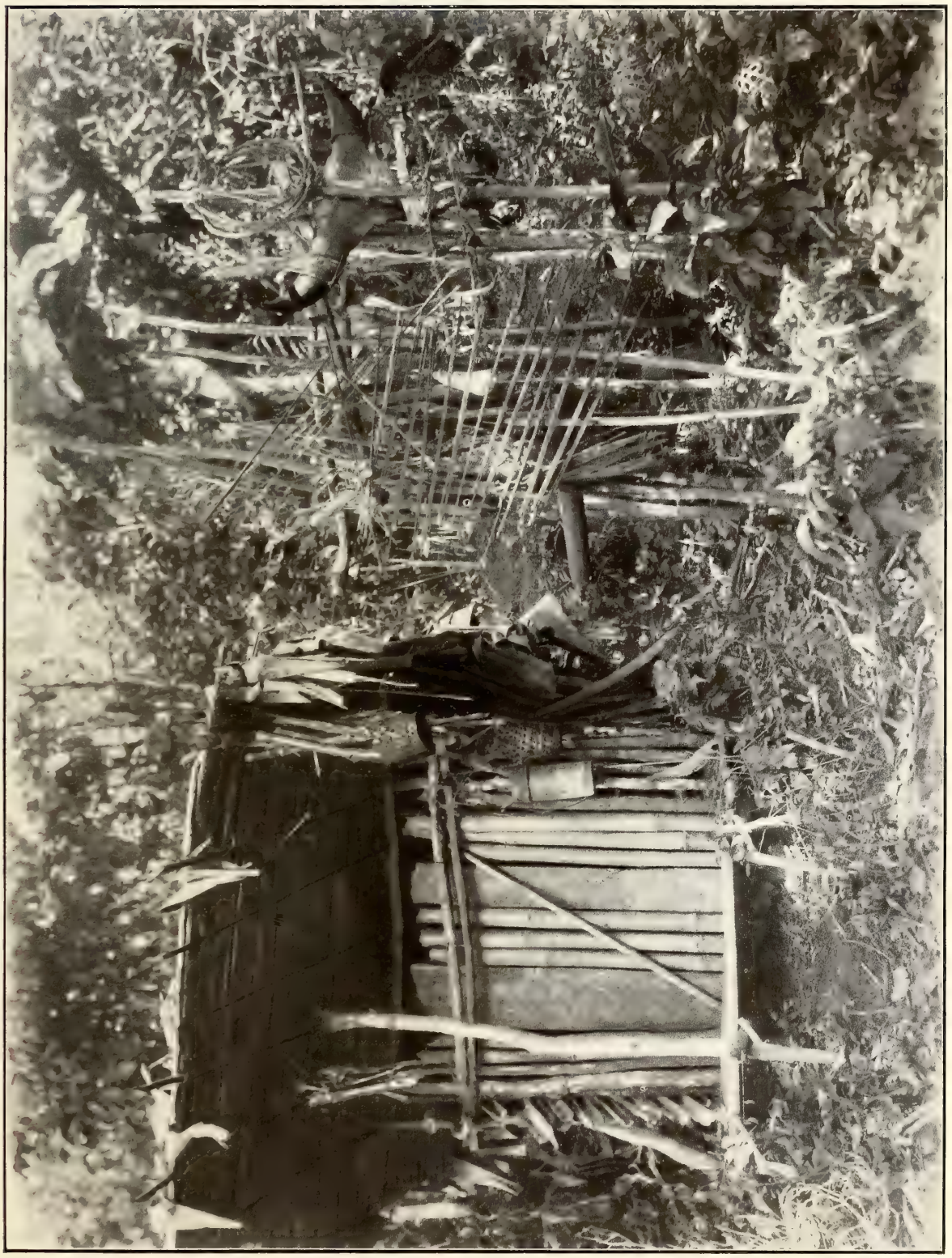
KOMSING MINYONG VILLAGE.

SPINNING.

WEAVING.



A MINYONG HOUSE AND PIGSTIES.



A HUNTER'S GRAVE.

ALTARS IN TIME OF SICKNESS.

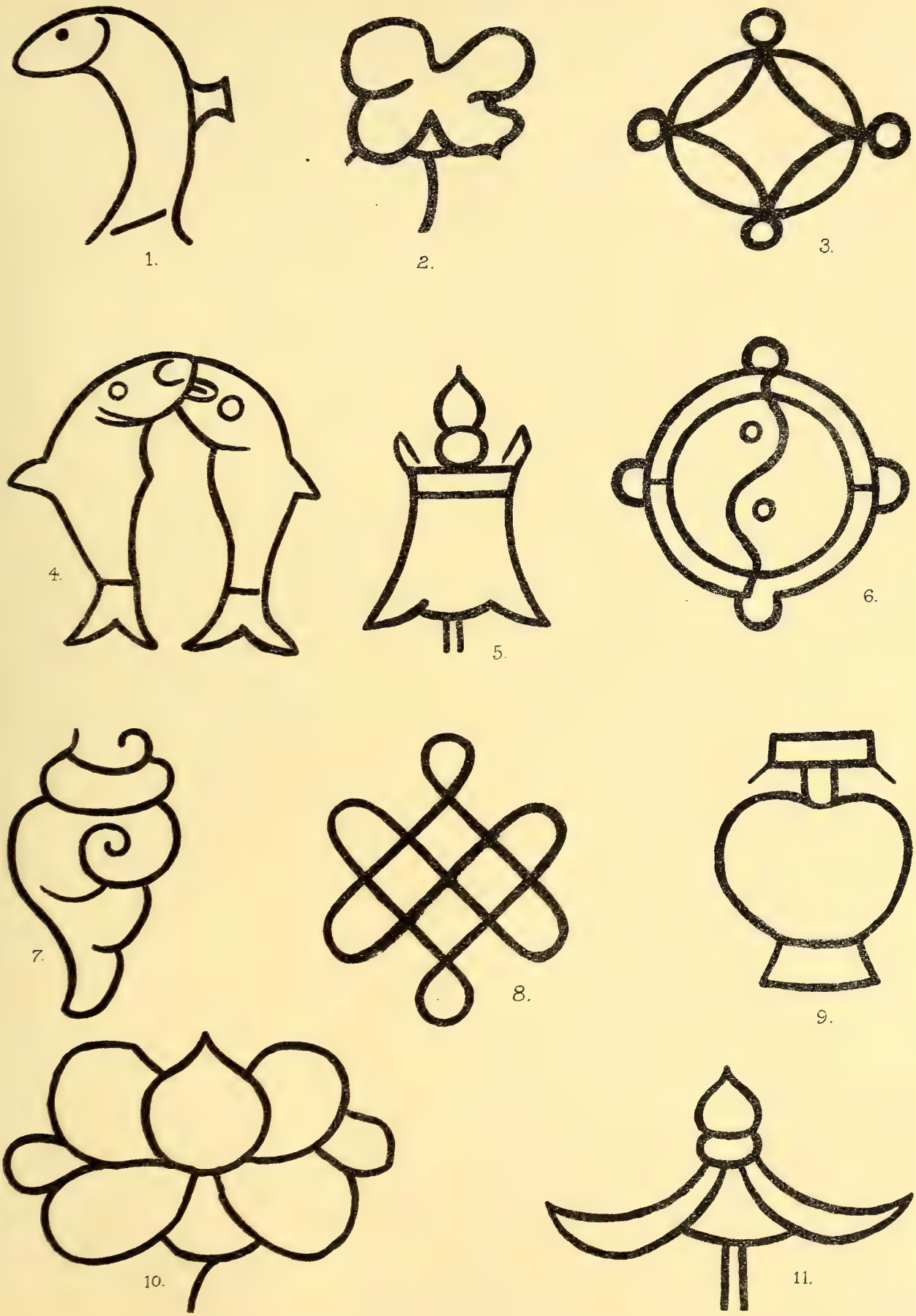
HARVEST ALTARS.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIII.

Designs on Bowls from the Abor Country.

Fig. 1.—Fish.
,, 2.—Lotus.
,, 3.—Wheel of Life? or a portion of one of the Seven Personal Gems.
,, 4.—Fish.
,, 5.—Banner of Victory.
,, 6.—Wheel of Life.
,, 7.—Sacred Shell.
,, 8.—The Noose of Love.
,, 9.—The Bowl.
,, 10.—Lotus.
,, 11.—Umbrella.

Figs. 1, 2 and 3 are on a bowl in the possession of Lt.-Col. A. B. Lindsay, 2nd Gurkha Rifles, and are about half natural size. The other designs on this bowl are similar to those numbered 4-11 which are taken from a specimen in the possession of the author.



DESIGNS ON BOWLS FROM THE ABOR COUNTRY

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIV.

Designs on Bowls from the Abor Country.

Fig. 1.—Wheel of Life (simplified).
,, 2.—Umbrella.
,, 3.—Fish.
,, 4.—The Bowl.
,, 5.—Lotus.
,, 6.—Sacred Shell.
,, 7.—The Noose of Love.
,, 8.—Banner of Victory.
,, 9.—Design at Base of cleat.
,, 10.—Design round lower edge outside.

These designs are on a bowl in the collection of the Indian Museum.

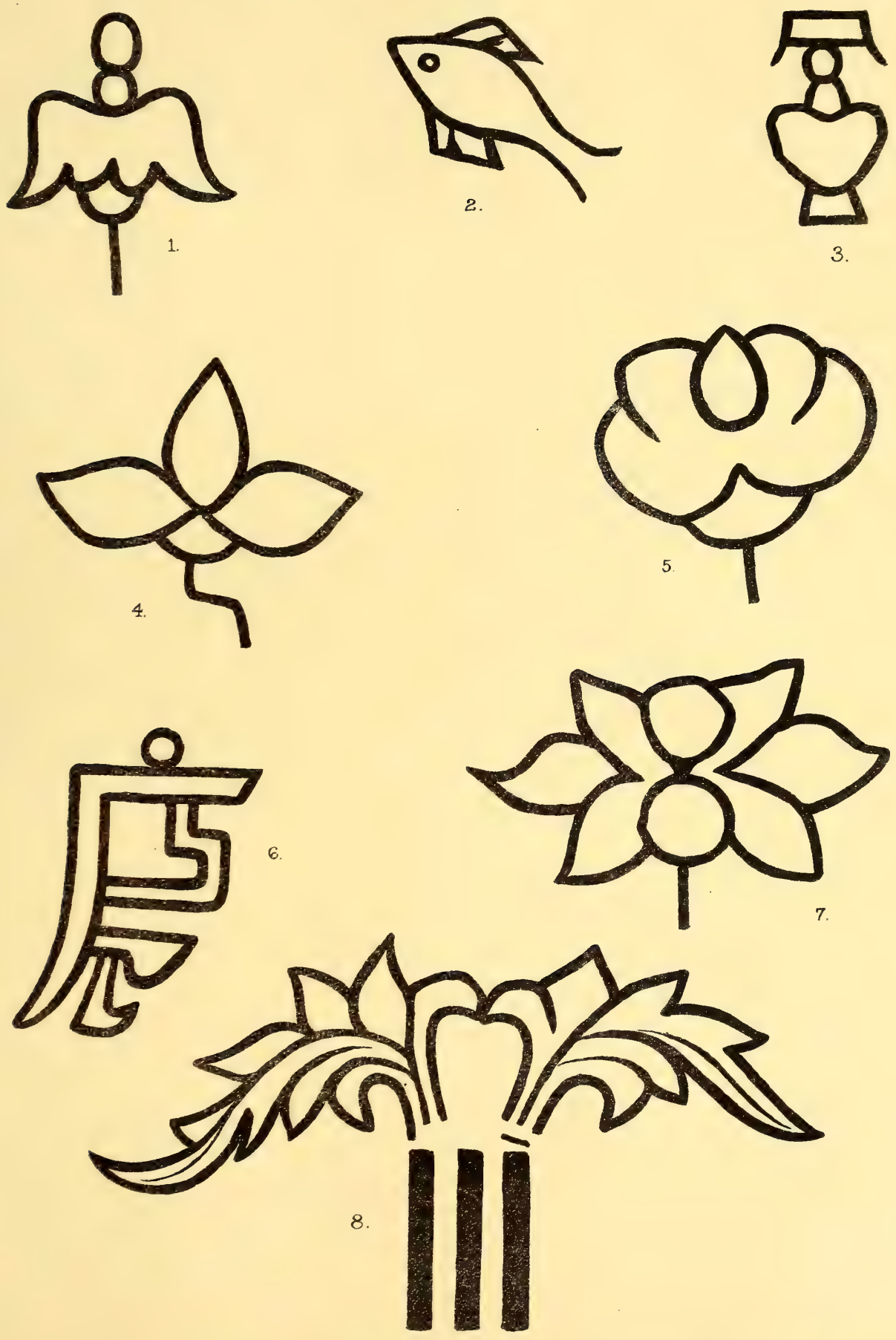
DESIGNS ON BOWLS FROM THE ABOR COUNTRY.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XV.

Designs on Bowls from the Abor Country.

Fig. 1.—Banner of Victory.
,, 2.—Fish.
,, 3.—The Bowl.
Figs. 4, 5, 7.—Different forms of Lotus.
Fig. 6.—Symbolical letter.
,, 8.—Design at Base of cleat.

Figs. 1-4 are on a bowl in the collection of the Indian Museum, and figs. 5-8 on another in the same collection.

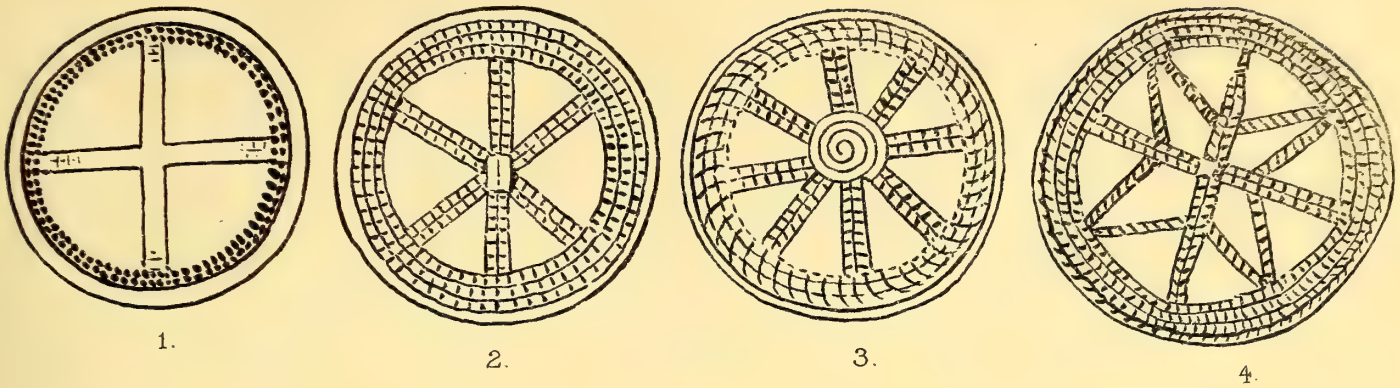


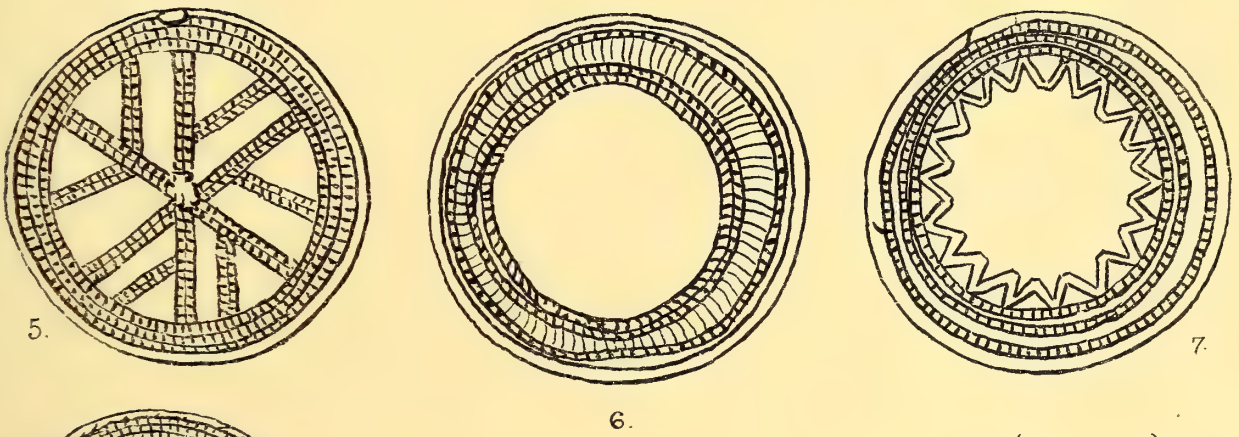
DESIGNS ON BOWLS FROM THE ABOR COUNTRY.

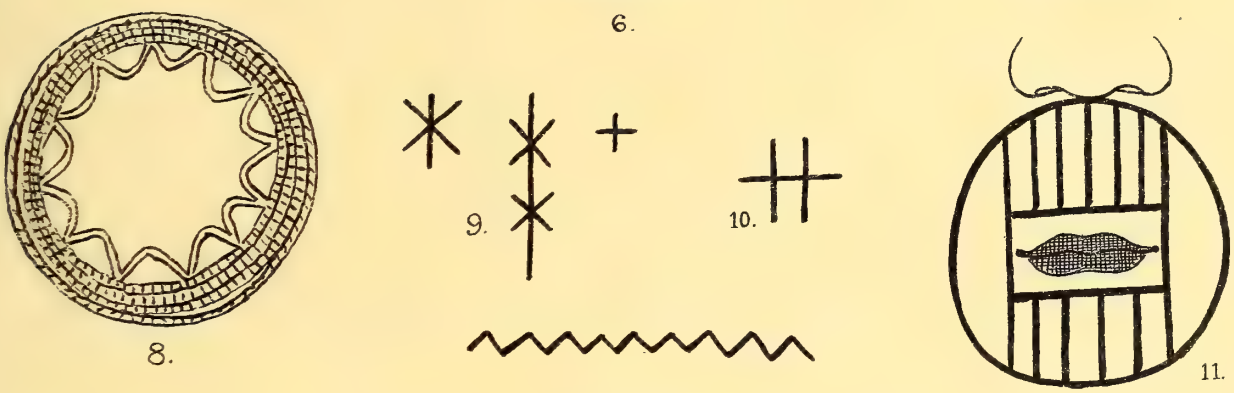
EXPLANATION OF PLATE XVI.

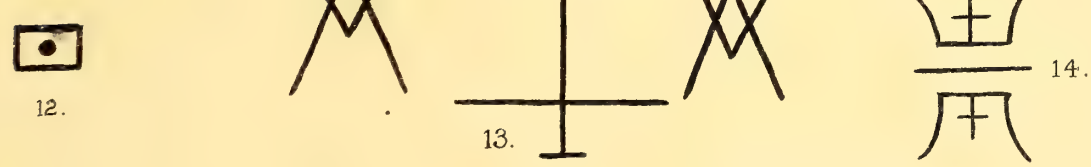
Designs on Girdle-Discs. Tatto-marks. Patterns on Coats.

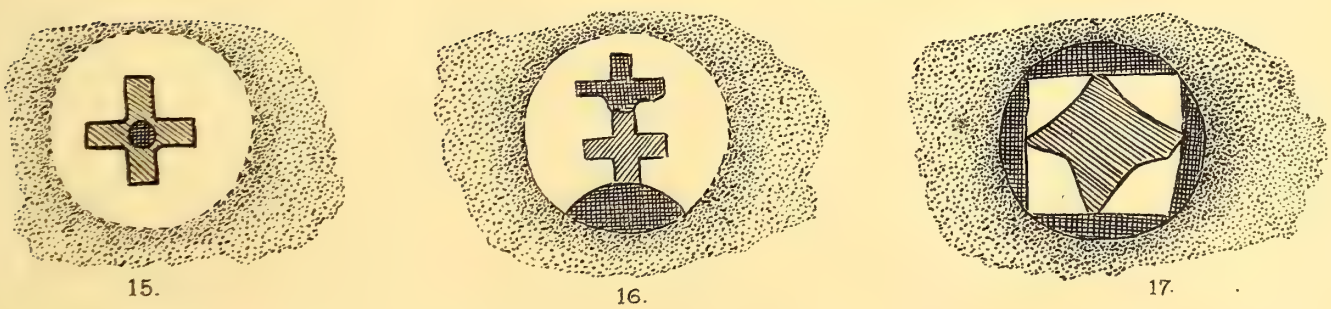
Figs. 1-8.—Western Dafla Girdle Discs.
,, 9-14.—Tatto marks.
Fig. 9.—*Minyong*, forehead (old).
,, 10.—*Pasi*, forehead (men).
,, 11.—*Pasi*, mouth and chin (women).
,, 12.—*Minyong*, forehead (modern).
,, 13.—Leg marks, back of calf.
,, 14.—Tibetan Trigram, *Hor-yig*.
Figs. 15-17.—Designs on Coats obtained by Pasials from the Mishmis.









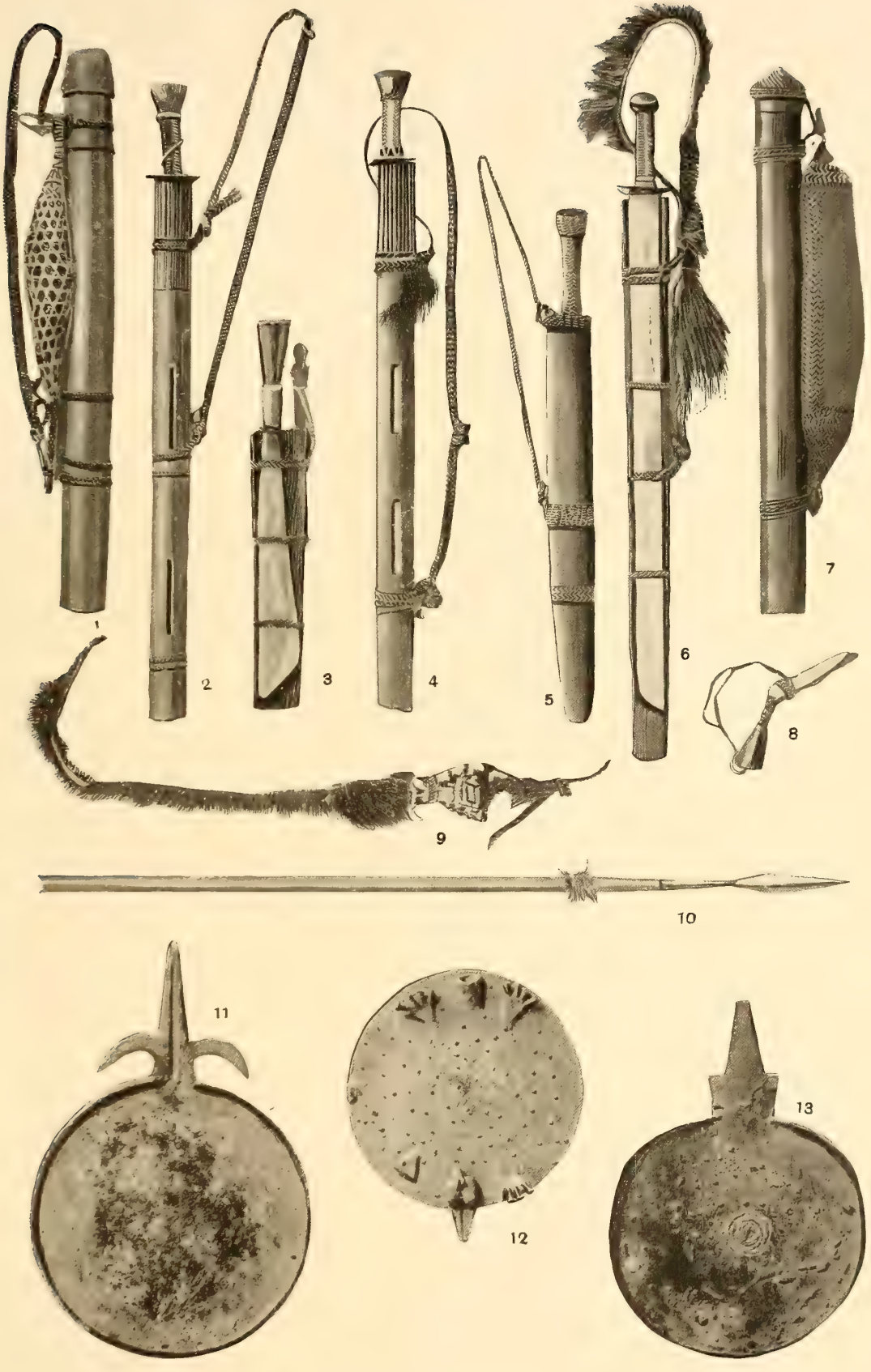


DESIGNS ON GIRDLE-DISCS. TATTOO-MARKS. PATTERNS ON COATS.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XVIII.

Abor Weapons, etc.

Figs. 1, 7.—Quivers with cane pockets for spare bow-strings (pp. 47, 48).
,, 2, 4, 5, 6.—Swords in bamboo scabbards (p. 48).
Fig. 3.—*Dao* in sheath (p. 48).
,, 4.—Small knife in sheath.
,, 9.—Bear-skin sword-sling ornamented with jaw of large carnivore (p. 48).
,, 10.—Spear.
Figs. 11, 13.—Bronze discs or *merangs* of the Minyongs.
Fig. 12.—Bronze charm in the form of a tortoise.



Abor Weapons, etc.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIX.

Abor Musical Instruments, etc.

Figs. 1, 2.—Bamboo jews' harps.
Fig. 3.—Bamboo comb.
,, 4.—Wind instrument made of gourd and bamboos.
,, 5.—Comb made of fish-bone.
Figs. 6, 7, 11, 12.—Small bronze bells.
Fig. 8.—Wooden tobacco pipe.
,, 9.—Tobacco and lime boxes connected by cane strings.
,, 10.—Tobacco pipe of white metal.
,, 13.—Tinder pouch of monkey's skin with steel. The flint is carried inside the pouch.
Figs. 14-17.—*Beyop* discs.

Abor Musical Instruments, etc.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XX.

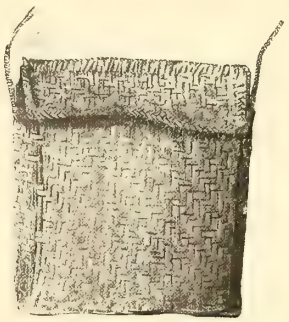
Abor Clothing, etc.

Fig. 1.—Rain coat made of coarse fibre.
,, 2.—"Apron" of fibre and deer-skin worn behind.
,, 3.—Gourd bottle with cane covering.
,, 4.—Bamboo haversack.
Figs. 5-8.—Patterns on cloth.

1

2

3



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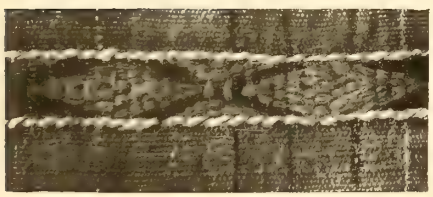
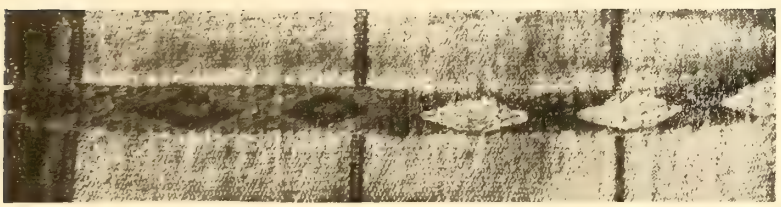


5



6

7

8

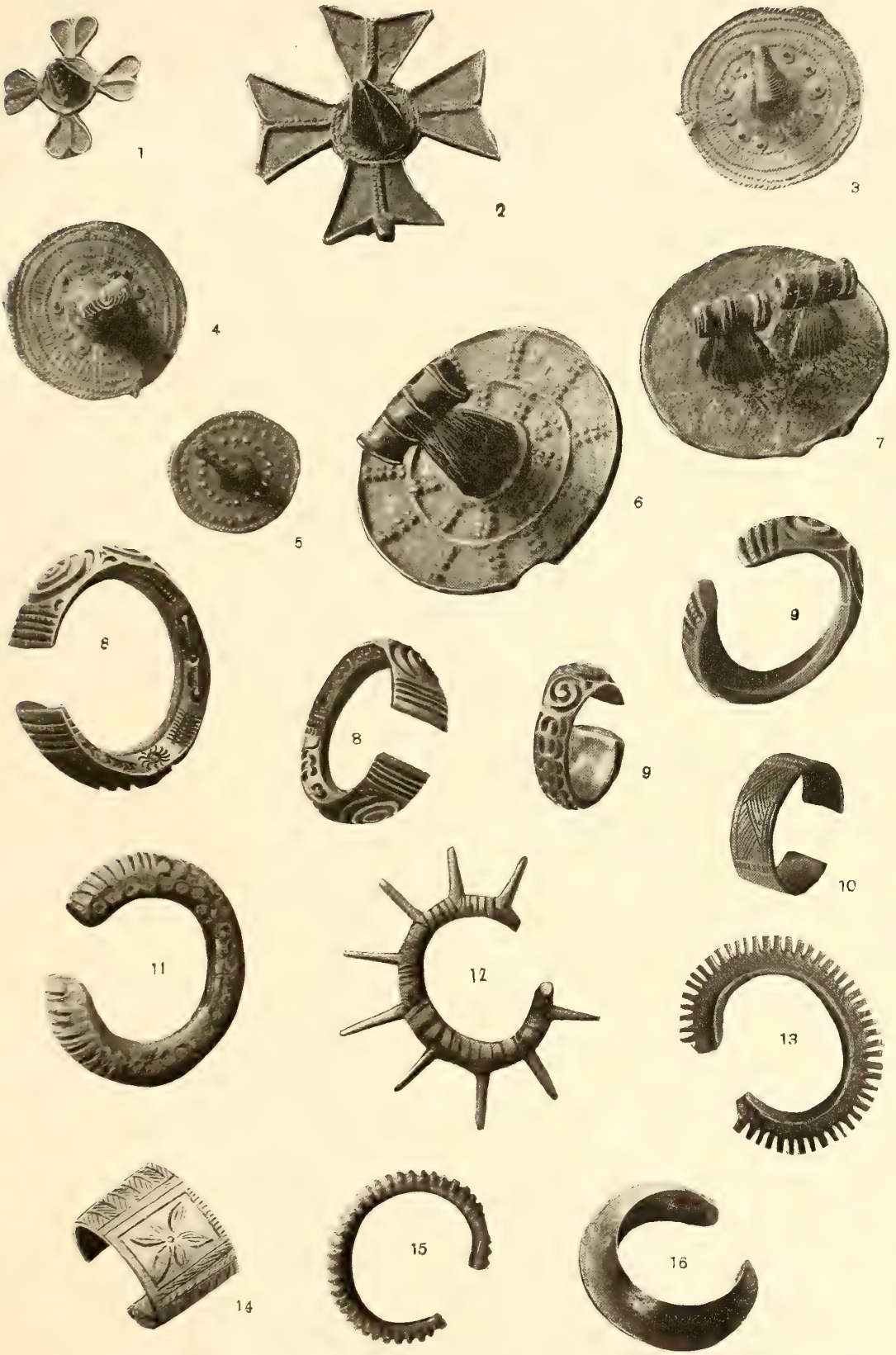
Abor Clothing, etc.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXI.

Abor Metal Work.

Figs. 1-7.—Charms.

,, 8-16.—Bracelets. Figs. 10 and 14 worn by women, others worn by men and often used in striking an enemy.



Abor Metal Work.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXII.

Abor and Dafla Hats.

The specimens, except figs. 3, 9 and 11, are made of cane ornamented with pieces of bear-skin (figs. 1, 2, 4), with fibre dyed red (figs. 1, 2), with bills or skulls of hornbills (figs. 2, 3), with boars' tusks (figs. 2, 4, 5), with feathers (figs. 5), or a strip of horn (fig. 6). Figs. 7 and 8 represent war-helmets strengthened, to turn a sword-cut, by vertical strips of cane. Figs. 3, 9 and 11 represent hats made of skin, either pig-skin, moulded into shape (fig. 9) or of sewn deer-skin (fig. 11).

Fig. 6 represents a Dafla hat; the remainder specimens from the Abor country.

Abor and Dafla Hats.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXIII.

Bronze Bowls from the Abor Country.

Designs from these bowls are reproduced on Plates XIII-XV.

Bronze Bowls from the Abor Country.

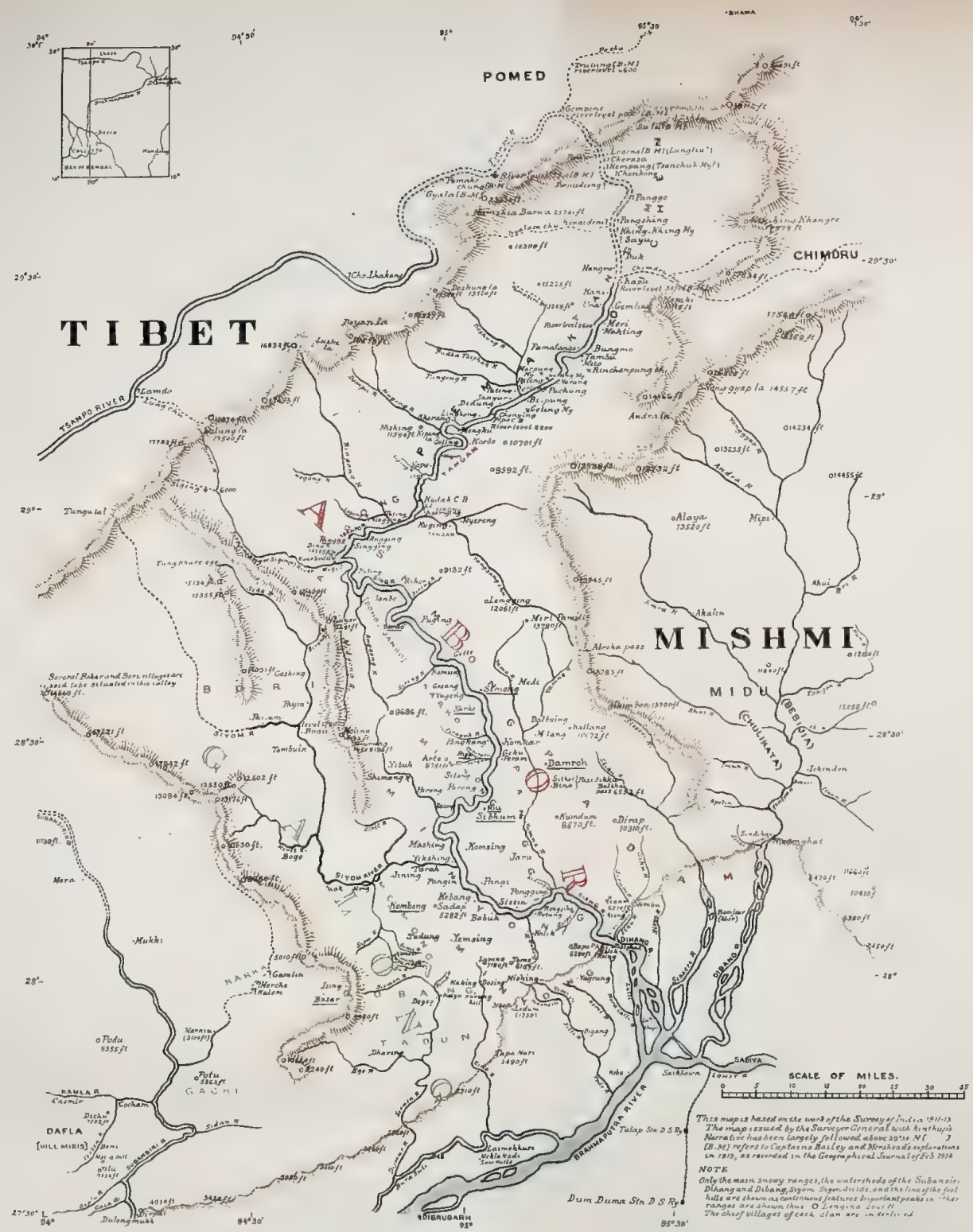
S. W. K. Phot.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL TYPES.

S. W. K. Phot.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL TYPES.

SHAWA
95°30'
86°
130°
Po chu
Druisung [B.M.] river level 6600.
Gompone river level 6000 [B.M.]
Legong [B.M.] (Lungtid?)
Cherasa
Kempang (Tsenchuk My?)
Chonkong
Panggo.
Pangshing
Khing. Khing My
Sayu
Duk
Hangmo
Chimdru chu
Kapu river level 3070 [B.M.]
Kani
Una
Gomling
Nanki 10185 ft.
Meri
Makting
Bungmo
Tambu
Mato
Rinchenpung Mt.
CHIMDRU
29°30'
Yonggyap la 14557 ft.
Andra la
Yonggyap R.
Andra R.
Alaya 13520 ft.
Mipi
29°
Ahui Dist R.
Simra R.
Akalin
MISHMI
Abroka pass
MIDU
(BEBEJIA)
(CHULIKATA)
Tsangjom R.
Ahui R.
Ithun R.
Ichindon
Imuri R.
Apolin
Sindkai
Magmghat
28°30'
Hallang 10072 ft
Dirap 10310 ft.
Baisha pass 5332 ft.


TIBET
POMED
CHIMDRU
MISHMI
MIDU
(BEBEJIA)
(CHULIKATA)
ABORS
DAFLA
(HILL MIRIS)
MISHMI
TSANGPO RIVER
BRAHMAPUTRA RIVER
DIBRUGARH
SADIYA
Several Bokar and Bori villages are said to be situated in this valley
SCALE OF MILES.
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35
This map is based on the work of the Survey of India 1911-13. The map issued by the Surveyor General with his Chief's Narrative has been largely followed above 29°30' N. [ ] [B.M.] refers to Captains Bailey and Morshead's explorations in 1913, as recorded in the Geographical Journal of Feb 1914
NOTE
Only the main snowy ranges, the watersheds of the Subansiri, Dihang and Dibang, Siyom, Sigon divide, and the line of the foothills are shown as continuous features. Important peaks in other ranges are shown thus ○ Lengnang 20215 ft.
The chief villages of each clan are underlined

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE MEMOIR ON ABORS AND GALONGS.

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